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Dilecto Filio Nostro JACOBO CAROLO Tit. S. Mariae de Populo S.R.E. Presbytero Cardinali McGUIGAN Archiepiscopo Torontino eidemque Pontificii Instituti Studiorum mediae aetatis Torontini Cancellario.

PIUS PP. XII

Dilecto Filio Nostro, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Haud parva animi suavitate nuper agnovimus per Dilectum Filium Stephanum Gilson, qui sub tuo sapienti moderamine Institutum studiorum mediae aetatis in urbe Torontina dirigit ac docendi munere clare in eo fungitur, illud laetiora in dies capere incrementa, tum ob magistrorum peritiam atque auctoritatem, tum ob publicas quoque praelectiones historicasque investigationes typis impressas, quibus fideliter luculenterque proferuntur quae ad incrementa fidei scientiarumque, praesertim medii aevi floruere. Illud autem constanti cura in Athenaeo ipso servatur, ut eruditio ac doctrina cum fidei incolumitate apte coniungatur, neque minus ad religionem, quam ad artes optimas informentur adulescentes. In comperto sane est in ipsa mediae aetatis parte, quae obruta tenebrarum caligine videri solet, litteras ingenuasque artes, ab omnibus paene derelictas, apud Ecclesiae templa atque monasteria, veluti in unum perfugium, tuto se recepisse, atque ideo per Ecclesiae praelatos, illo quidem saeculorum intervallo, sapientiae veteris documenta servata fuisse.

Quapropter Nos, qui nihil ducimus antiquius, quam ut studia sive sacra sive profana magis magisque foveantur atque ita omnes homines, de tenebris in admirabile lumen fidei vocati, ad agnitionem veritatis perveniant, Torontinum Institutum usque ab exordiis Nostri Pontificatus benevolentia atque auctoritate complexi sumus, praesertim quum per Sacram Seminariorum Studiorumque Universitatum Congregationem canonica erectione confirmavimus. Nunc autem libenti animo addimus exhortationem, quae omnes Athenaei docentes ac discentes exacuat, ut strenue in nobili proposito persistant, et, Episcoporum praecipue Canadensium industria atque studio, Institutum istud auditorum etiam frequentia floreat in dies. Hisce votis omnibusque Nostris, in caelestis auxilii auspicium inque peculiaris Nostrae caritatis pignus, Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, sodalibus Congregationis Sancti Basilii, tam egregie de eodem Instituto meritis, cunctisque Athenaei moderatoribus, doctoribus atque alumnis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die xxx mensis Maii, anno MDCCCCXXXXVII, Pontificatus Nostri nono.

(Signed) *Pius pp. XII.*

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The Painting of the Good Shepherd at Dura-Europos

JOHANNES QUASTEN

DURING the excavations of the city of Dura-Europos, conducted by Yale University in 1932, C. Hopkins[1] discovered close to the west wall an ancient Christian baptismal chapel[2] the walls of which are decorated with fairly well preserved frescoes. The frescoes on the side walls present the scenes of David and Goliath, of the paralytic, of Peter walking on the water, and of the prudent virgins;[3] on the rear wall which forms a kind of apse, one sees on the lower portion a picture of Adam and Eve, and on the upper portion, one of the Good Shepherd with his flock. Baur gives the following description of the latter:

> The Good Shepherd is depicted in frontal view, and stands behind his flock. On his shoulders he carries a huge ram, holding the hind leg of the animal with the right hand against his chest, and grasping the foreleg with the left hand close to his shoulder. He is painted in dark red; the details of his feet are not clear. The girt tunic is yellowish-brown with dark edgings. Slung over his right shoulder is the strap of a bag which hangs at his left side. The head is represented with a band of dark hair; the eyes are dark dots; nose and mouth are scarcely distinguishable. In front of him is a flock of seventeen rams huddled together, and as difficult to count as a real flock of sheep. They are of the oriental fat-tailed variety with long, curving horns. The leader of the flock and some of the other rams lower their heads to drink at a brook beyond which reeds grow. Behind the Good Shepherd on the left side of the picture, are a number of trees. From one of these trees, which probably indicate the celestial paradise, the paint ran down, making a streak on the face of Adam.[4]

The private dwelling, of which the baptismal chapel is a part, was covered up in the year 256, when the Romans hastily converted the border stronghold of Dura into a breastwork against the Parthians. The frescoes must therefore have been installed before that year. Thus we have here the picture of the

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[1] See M. J. Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work*, October 1931-March 1932 (New Haven, 1934).

[2] In this connection see M. Aubert, 'Les Fouilles de Doura-Europos, Notes sur les origines de l'iconographie chrétienne', *Bull. Monum.* (1934) n. 4; A. von Gerkan, 'Die frühchristliche Kirchenanlage von Dura', *Römische Quartalschrift* 42 (1934) 219 ff.; W. Seston, 'L'Eglise et le baptistère de Doura-Europos', *Ann. de l'Ec. d. Hautes Et. de Gand* I (1937), 161 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (Oxford, 1938) 130 ff.; A. J. Pelekanides, *To protochristianikon baptisterion tes Douras-Europou kai hai toichographiai autou: Nea Sion* 31 (1936), pp. 50-57; 138-49; 209-220; 282-291. The theory of P. V. C. Baur, 'Les peintures de la chapelle chrétienne de Doura', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 65 (1933) 66, that the rectangular depression in the floor of the chapel is not the *piscina* of a baptistry, but a place used for the preservation of relics, is untenable. The position in the city, on which J. Kollwitz, *Jb. f. Liturgiewiss.* 13 (1935) has already commented, the steps which lead down from three sides to the floor of the basin, and the frescoes, all disprove this view. Baur believes that the basin was probably covered with a stone slab upon which the *mensa* used for the celebration of the Eucharist was erected. The condition of the basin, however, shows that it never was covered. There is just as little trace of Baur's supposed stone slab for the altar. Baur's objection that the space could not have served for the administration of Baptism since the *piscina* is only 0.95 m. deep, is refuted by a comparison of this with the other baptistries which we possess. For example, the *piscina* of the baptistry of Fréjus is only 0.82 m. in depth. Cf. Pfister, 'Il battistero di Fréjus', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 5 (1928), 352.

[3] Regarding this matter see O. Casel, *Jb. f. Liturgiewissenschaft* 13 (1935), 311, note 1; E. Weigand, *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* 37 (1937), 240, is in agreement.

[4] P. V. C. Baur, in M. J. Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations*, p. 259. See the reproduction on plate XLIX and our plate I.

Good Shepherd in a baptistry which comes from the middle of the third century.

A twofold question arises: first of all, can the picture of the Good Shepherd be found in other baptistries? Second, why did early Christian thought associate the Good Shepherd with the liturgical room in which the ceremony of baptism was performed?

About a century and a half later than Dura-Europos we find a picture of the Good Shepherd in a baptismal room in the West. The baptistry of *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Naples contains among the mosaics[5] which decorate its interior room, not less than four representations of the Good Shepherd. The artist has arranged them according to the laws of symmetry on the slanting surfaces above the corners, thus giving them a place of prominence. The Good Shepherd stands in the center of each of the four mosaics,[6] but one recognizes without difficulty that the two diagonally opposed pictures are complementary in composition. Twice the Good Shepherd is presented between two harts, which are refreshing themselves from a spring which flows from the rocks, and twice he is represented as standing between two sheep which are hastening toward him. In the first two scenes the Good Shepherd stands between the fountains which break from the rocks, supporting himself on his staff, gesturing invitingly toward the spring, in one picture with his right[7] and in the other with his left hand.[8] In both mosaics which picture him between the two sheep the scenery is entirely different, if we exclude the palms and the birds which form a sort of frame work. The Shepherd is placed not in a rocky landscape but in a blooming meadow, and in one picture he carries a lamb on his shoulders[9] and in the other he is resting among colorful flowers with his arm out-stretched, beckoning to his flock.[10]

The mosaics of *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Naples were, until the discovery of the baptismal chapel of Dura-Europos, the sole example preserved to us of the representation of the Good Shepherd in an ancient Christian baptistry. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from this, that the picture of the Good Shepherd in ancient Christian baptistries was as rare as the examples which have been preserved. The mosaics of the old portico of the Lateran baptistry,[11] the so-called chapel of Rufina and Secunda, derive from approximately the same period[12] as those of the baptistry of *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Naples. Opposite the still extant mosaic of the eastern apse, which shows on a blue background a gigantic acanthus vine, the golden branches of which fill the entire surface of

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[5] For a description of these see R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* IV (Prato, 1877), pp. 79 ff.; E. Muntz, 'Notes sur les mosaïques chrétiennes de l'Italie', *Revue archéologique* I (1883) 21 ff.; J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* I (Freiburg, 1916), pp. 214-229; G. Stuhlfauth, 'Das Baptisterium San Giovanni in fonte in Neapel und seine Mosaiken', *Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift* II (Leipzig, 1929), 181-212.

[6] See the reproduction by J. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III (Volume of Illustrations) plates 36; 37, 1; 38, 1; and 38, 2.

[7] See the reproduction given in our plate II.

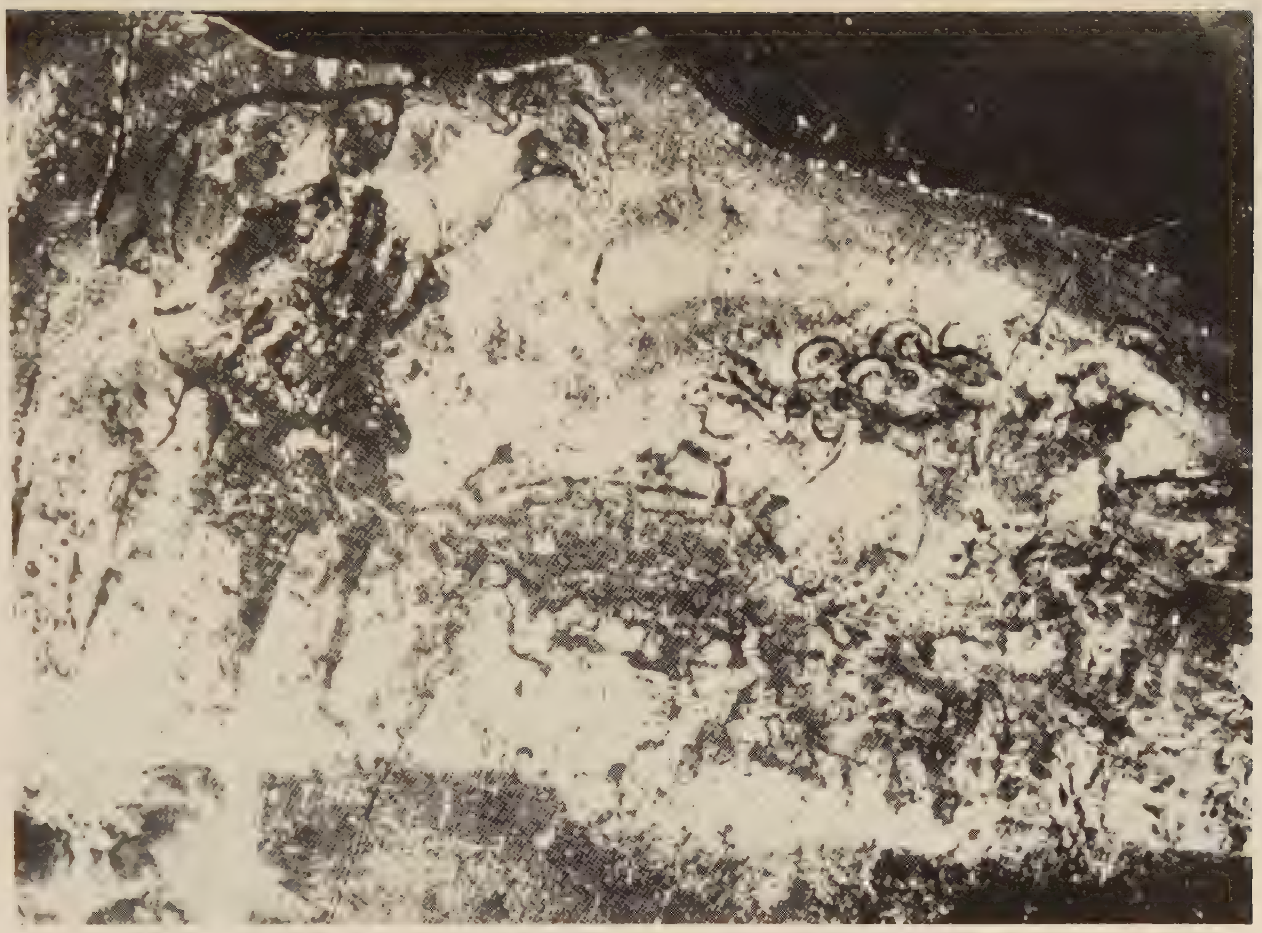
[8] See plate III.

[9] See plate IV.

[10] See plate V.

[11] J. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 246 is of the opinion that the mosaics are from the second half of the fourth century, and believes that the date of the mosaics must be placed "toward the beginning of that period rather than at the end." G. Stuhlfauth *art. cit.*, 206 assigns their origin to the early fifth century on the grounds that the mosaics are of a formal artistic kind. The mosaics cannot be assigned to a later date, because of certain parts of the garments worn by the Good Shepherd, principally the shoulder cape. As G. Rodenwaldt, 'Eine spatäntike Kunstströmung in Rom', *Römische Mitteilungen* 36/37 (1921-22), 58-100 has pointed out, this shoulder cape is a characteristic piece of clothing peculiar to Roman dress among the rural population of the fourth century, and one introduced into the West under the influence of Roman culture. A typical example of this outside Rome is the representation found in the mosaic paving of the Basilica of Aquileia. See the reproduction of this in: *La Basilica di Aquileia a cura del comitato per le ceremonie celebrative del IX° centenario della basilica* (Bologna, 1933), plate 30.

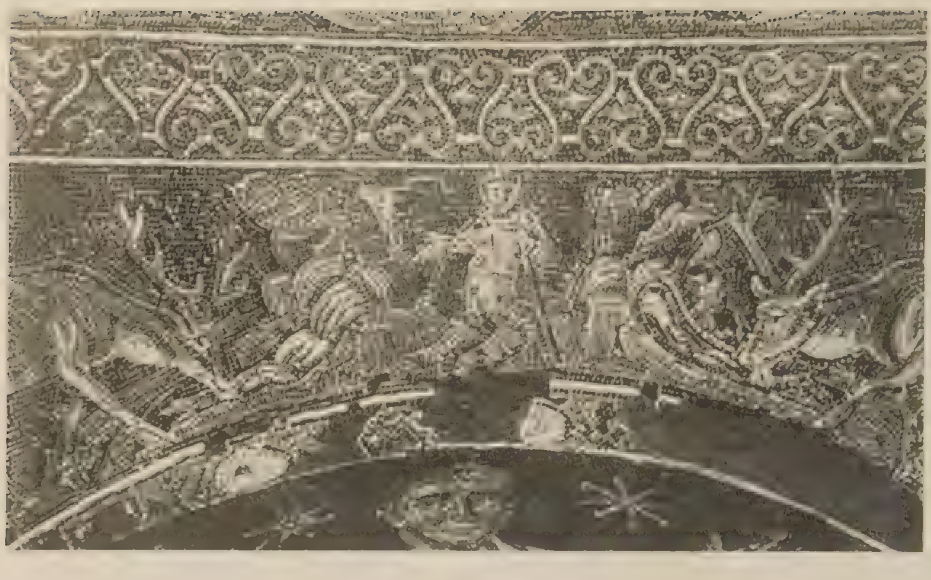
[12] Regarding this see J. Wilpert *op. cit.*, I, pp. 250-268; G. B. Giovenale, *Il Battistero Lateranense* (Studi di antichità cristiana I, Rome, 1929), pp. 121 ff.



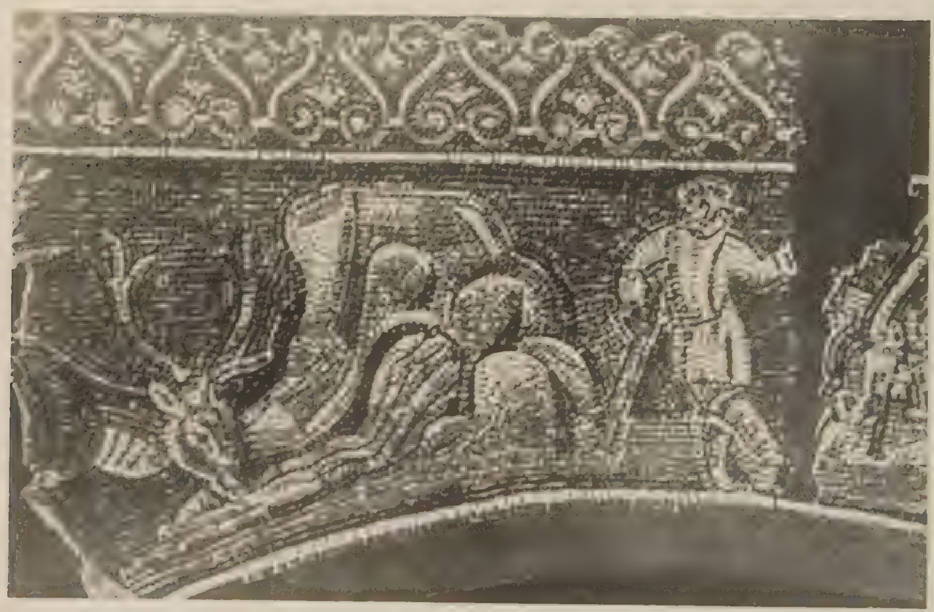
I

Painting in the Baptistry at Dura-Europos

The Good Shepherd and his flock.
(Rostovtzeff)



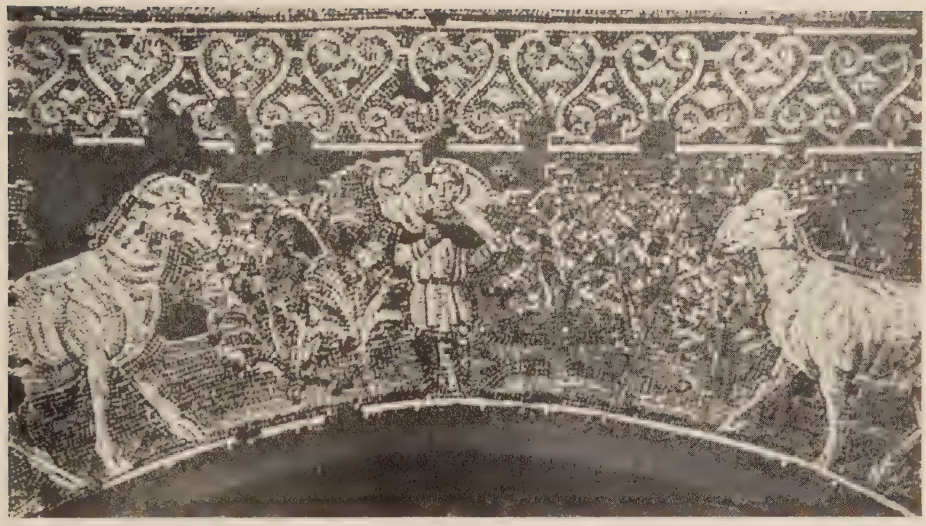
II



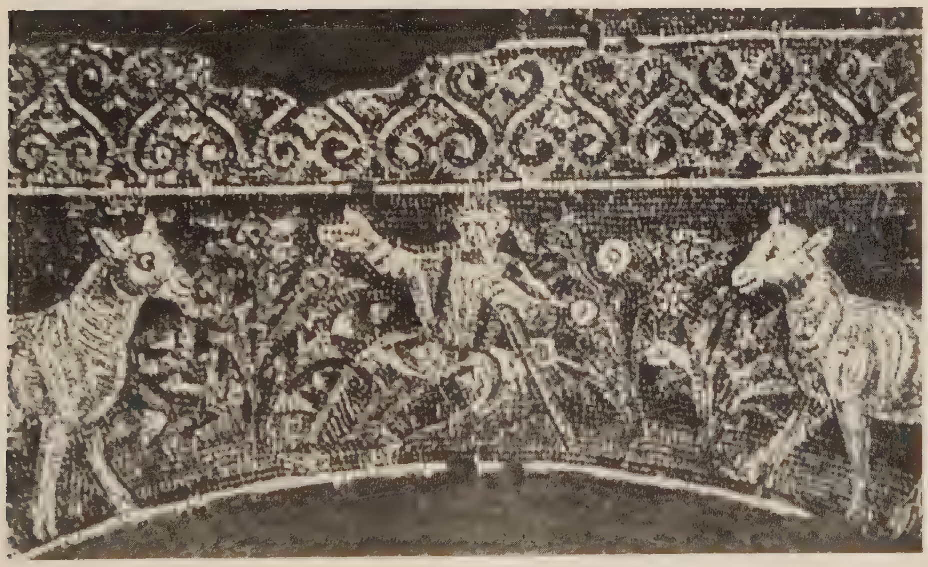
III

Mosaics in the Baptistry of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples

II. The Good Shepherd inviting to the waters of Baptism.
III. The Good Shepherd and the hart at the fountain.
(Wilpert)



IV.



V.

Mosaics in the Baptistry of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples

IV. The Good Shepherd carrying the lamb.

V. The Good Shepherd among flowers inviting his sheep.
(Wilpert)

the mosaic, there was formerly another one in the western apse, which, if we may judge from the attention given to it in the old descriptions, must have been, from the artistic point of view, the more important of the two. According to the description of this mosaic given by A. *Ciacconio*, it also contained a picture of the Good Shepherd: *Christus ter armentarii, semel pecuarii habitu cernitur, caetera quae olim superius exstabant temporis iniuria collapsa sunt, nec potest aliud videri.*[13] The copies which he added[14] to his manuscript notes have of course only a relative value, since according to his own words the mosaic was already at his time in a state of decay. They give four representations of the Shepherd in the midst of his flock. The position which he assumes reminds us strongly of the representations in *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Naples. In both instances he stands leaning on his staff with his legs slightly crossed. O. Panvinio describes it as follows: *In dextera sunt picti pastores, armenta pascentes cum ovibus aviariisque, emblematibus scite expressis.*[15] From these words, as well as from the description and the drawings given by Ciacconio, it may be concluded that the representations of the Shepherd in the one-time mosaic of the Lateran baptistry had taken on a highly ornamental character which relegated the thought associated with the picture into the background.

Through the description given us by Prudentius of the arrangement and decoration of the baptistry which Pope Damasus had erected near the Vatican Basilica[16] we know that here also the picture of the Good Shepherd appeared in the cycle of the mosaics. Prudentius describes the picture in the following words: "The Shepherd himself there refreshes with the fluid from the cool spring the sheep, which he sees panting after the waters of Christ".[17]

Since Prudentius adjoins these words to his description of the richness of color and the splendor of the mosaics, the presumption is justified that he intended to describe the content of the picture also. His words remind us spontaneously of the representations in the baptistry of *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Naples. Probably here in the baptistry of the Vatican Basilica the Good Shepherd was also represented as inviting his sheep to the fountain.

In the early Christian baptistry of Mainz, the Good Shepherd appeared not in a picture but in the form of an inscription which has been preserved by Venantius Fortunatus.[18] The intitial verses of this inscription which in classical form pay a final tribute to Christian antiquity[19] deserve to be reproduced here:

Ardua sacrati baptismatis aula coruscat
  quo delicta Adae Christus in amne lavat
Hic pastore Deo puris grex mergitur undis,
  ne maculata diu vellera gestet ovis.[20]
Traxit origo necem de semine, sed pater orbis
  purgavit medicis crimina mortis aquis.[21]

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[13] A. Ciacconio, *Vita Bonifacii VIII.*, vol. II col. 302; Codex Vaticanus 5407, pp. 195-200.

[14] See the reproductions by Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1877), pl. 43; J. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III (Volume of Illustrations), p. 256, fig. 72 and p. 257, fig. 73; G. B. Giovenale, *op. cit.*, p. 124, fig. 71 and p. 125, fig. 72.

[15] O. Panvinio, *De septem Urbis ecclesiis* (Roma, 1570), p. 158.

[16] For a description of this baptistry see J. Zettinger, 'Die ältesten Nachrichten über Baptisterien der Stadt Rom', *Römische Quartalschrift* 16 (1902), 331-336; A. de Waal, 'Das Baptisterium des Papstes Damasus bei St. Peter', *Römische Quartalschrift* 16 (1902) 58-61.

[17] Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 12, 43 (456 Dressel):
Pastor oves alit ipse illic gelidi rigore fontis videt sitire quas fluenta Christi.

[18] Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* 2, 12. See also the verse of another hymn which goes back to Fortunatus: Accedite ergo digni/ ad gratiam lavacri/ quo fonte recreati/ refulgeatis agni. A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 192.

[19] See W. Neuss, *Die Anfänge des Christentums im Rheinlande* (Bonn,^{2} 1933), p. 25.

[20] See Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* 173, (PL 52, 651A): vos filioli dominici gregis portio copiosa niveo et divino vestita iam vellere.

[21] The complete inscription may be found

What thought did Christian antiquity associate with this picture of the Good Shepherd in the baptistries? H. Achelis[22] in answer to this question has pointed out that the baptismal chapel is a place "in which the forgiveness of sin was imparted". He applies to the mosaics of the baptistries his general interpretation of the pictures of the Good Shepherd, which he explains from the controversies regarding the sacrament of penance. However, this interpretation cannot be easily reconciled with the paintings in the catacombs. This is still more true of such representations of the Good Shepherd in the baptismal room. The connection of the picture of the Good Shepherd with the room used for the baptismal ceremony is much more deeply rooted in the mysteries of Christianity.

Even in the period before the coming of Christ, the Good Shepherd was the symbol of the *σωτήρ*, the author of salvation.[23] Thus also in the Gospel of St. John (x, 28) he guarantees the *σωτηρία*: "And I give them life everlasting and they shall not perish forever, and no man shall pluck them out of my hand." It is significant that the parable of the Good Shepherd, which is given both by St. Matthew (xviii, 12-14) and by St. Luke (xiv, 4-7) who places his lost sheep on his shoulders and carries it back with joy to the flock, was applied by the ancient authors consistently to the *σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου*, Christ, who bears his lost sheep, humanity, on his shoulders, and brings it back to the heavenly fold, to the host of the angels.[24] According to the Christian conception the *σωτηρία* which the Good Shepherd brings, is the "salvation of the world". For the individual this salvation begins with Baptism. It is for this reason that ancient Christianity associated the picture of the Good Shepherd with the mystery of rebirth. In his *Exhortation to the Heathens*, Clement of Alexandria exclaims:

> *σπεύσωμεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐπὶ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν· εἰς μίαν ἀγάπην συναχθῆναι οἱ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μοναδικῆς οὐσίας ἕνωσιν σπεύσωμεν.*[25]

Clement uses side by side various names for Christ such as "the author of salvation", "the life", "the leader", "the illuminator", "the living water", and "the shepherd of the sheep". He states:

> *εἰκότως ἄρα σωτῆρος μὲν οἱ νοσοῦντες δεόμεθα, οἱ πεπλανημένοι δὲ τοῦ καθηγησομένου καὶ οἱ τυφλοὶ τοῦ φωταγωγήσοντος καὶ οἱ διψῶντες τῆς πηγῆς τῆς ζωτικῆς, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ μεταλαβόντες οὐκέτι διψήσουσιν, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ δὲ τῆς ζωῆς ἐνδεεῖς καὶ τοῦ ποιμένος τὰ πρόβατα καὶ οἱ παῖδες τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀνθρωπότης Ἰησοῦ.*[26]

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in: *Die christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande* I, by F. X. Kraus (Freiburg i. Br., 1890), Nr. 46.

[22] H. Achelis, 'Altchristliche Kunst IV', *ZNW* 16 (1915), 23.

[23] Further information on this subject will be provided in a forthcoming article.

[24] Cf. Origen, *In Gen. Hom.* 9.3. (GCS Orig. VI 92 Z.5 Baehrens): necesse habuit "pastor bonus" relictis in supernis nonaginta novem, descendere ad terras et unam ovem, quae perierat, quaerere inventamque eam et humeris revectam, ad supernum perfectionis ovile revocare. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* III 22,2 (124 Harvey): Necesse ergo fuit, Dominum ad perditam ovem venientem, et tantae dispositionis recapitulationem facientem, et suum plasma requirentem, illum ipsum hominem salvare, qui factus fuerat secundum imaginem et similitudinem eius, id est Adam adimplentem tempora eius condemnationis. Additional passages will be found in F. J. Dölger, *Ichthys* II (Münster, 1922), p. 467.

[25] *Exhortation to the Heathen* 9, No. 88, 2 (GCS Clem. I 65Z. 27 Stählin): Let us hasten to salvation, to rebirth. Let us who are many hasten that we may be gathered into one flock, according to the unity of the one being.

[26] *The Instructor* I, 9, No. 82, 3 (GCS Clem. I, 139 c: 2 Stählin): Naturally we who are sick stand in need of the author of salvation, having wandered, one to guide us, being blind, one to bring us to the light, being thirsty (we stand in need of) the living fountain, of which if anyone partakes he shall no longer thirst; being dead, we stand in need of life, the sheep of the shepherd, the children of the instructor, while all humanity stands in need of Jesus.

He explains the σωτηρία which the Good Shepherd brings as the eternal life which begins with Baptism:

> We can learn if you will, the perfect wisdom of the holy shepherd, of the instructor, of the almighty logos of the Father, when he represents himself in figure as the shepherd of the sheep; for he is the instructor of the children. For he tells us through Ezechiel, addressing himself to the Elders, and setting before them the salutary example of his prudent solicitude: 'And that which is wounded I will bind up, and that which is ailing I will heal, and I will pasture them on my holy mountain' (*Ezechiel* xxxiv, 14, 16). These are the promises of the Good Shepherd. Guide us, the children, like sheep. Yea, Lord, satiate us with pasture, the pasture of righteousness! Yea, Instructor, lead us to the pastures of thy holy mountain, the Church, which rises aloft, which towers above the clouds, which reaches the heavens! 'And I will be', he says, 'their shepherd; and I will be as near to them as the garment to their skin' (*Ezechiel* xxiv, 23). He wishes to redeem my flesh by enveloping it in the garment of immortality and he hath anointed my skin.[27]

It is even more important for the interpretation of the painting of the Good Shepherd at Dura Europos that in the *Acts of Thomas*, which originated about the year 200 in Syria, before the baptism of King Gundafor and his brother Gad, the Apostle says the following prayer which pictures Christ as the Good Shepherd who through Baptism becomes for man the σωτήρ and φύλαξ:

> And now at my supplication and request, do thou receive the king and his brother and join them unto thy fold, cleansing them with thy washing and anointing them with thine oil from the error that encompasseth them; and keep them also from the wolves, bearing them into thy meadows. And give them also drink out of thine immortal fountain which is neither fouled nor drieth up; for they entreat and supplicate thee and desire to become thy servants and ministers, and for this they are content even to be persecuted of thine enemies and for thy sake to be hated by them, and to be mocked and to die, as thou for our sake didst suffer all these things, that thou mightest preserve us, thou that art Lord and verily the Good Shepherd.[28]

The connection between the picture of the Good Shepherd and Baptism arises therefore from the fact that in early Christianity the ποιμὴν καλὸς was a favorite symbol of the redeemer and author of salvation.[29] One can readily understand why early Christian mysticism extended the use of this picture also to Baptism. The ancient Christian name for Baptism, *Sphragis*, (seal) contributed much to this process.

As F. J. Dölger[30] has proved, the oldest indisputable evidence for the designation of Baptism as a seal, σφραγίς, is met in Hermas in the first half of the second century.[31] Since, however, this designation of Baptism appears almost simultaneously in Asia Minor, in Lyon, in Carthage, in Alexandria, and in Rome, about the middle of the second century, Dölger rightly concluded that this term must have been in use previously for a considerable time.[32] The concepts which the Christians of antiquity associated with this name for Baptism, are extraordinarily rich in content, according to the multiplicity of meaning given to the word *Sphragis* in the profane and religious culture of antiquity. One of the most interesting uses of the word, and one which led to its application to baptism, is its use in the sense of a mark of identification for property; proprietors branded their animals with such a mark in order to make deceit and theft more difficult, and to facilitate the process of sale. Attaching this sign of ownership to an animal was usually done in the form of a stamp with a branding iron. In the case of small animals the mark was applied as a rule by means of a weather proof paint or tax. The sign or mark was called the *nota* or *signum*, and the branding iron was called *χαρακτήρ* and *καυτήριον*. The branding was known as *χαράσσειν* or *σφραγίζειν*. One meets both terms in the documents of sale which we possess in the papyri. This brand usually consisted in an abbreviated signature which was meant to represent in a kind of monogram, the name of the owner.

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[27] *The Instructor* I, 9, No. 84, 1-3 (GCS Clem. I, 139, Z 11-25).

[28] *Acts of Thomas* 25; translation into English by M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 375.

[29] On the meaning of the mystery of redemption in ancient Christian art, see O. Casel, 'Aelteste christliche Kunst und Christus-mysterium', *Jb. f. Liturgiewiss.* 12 (1932), 1-86.

[30] F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* 5, 3-4 (Paderborn, 1911) pp. 70 ff.

[31] *Pastor Hermae*, Sim. 9, 16, 2-7 (PA I, 2, 608 f Funk): Sim. 9, 17, 4 (PA I, 2, 610 f. Funk); Sim. 8, 6, 3. (PA I, 2, 566 f. Funk).

In order to be able to evaluate the importance of the picture of the Good Shepherd in the liturgy and art of antiquity, a picture which was a general favorite with the authors of antiquity, one must be familiar with the custom of branding animals as it was then practiced. For the Christians, to be baptized meant to be stamped with the indelible mark of the name of Christ. And since Baptism meant the designation of a human being as God's property, this figure of the branding of animals was borrowed from contemporary custom and Baptism was called *Sphragis*. We find this comparison already in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*:

> *καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα διὰ σφραγῖδος δείκνυσι τίνος ἐστὶν ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σφραγῖδος ἐκδικεῖται. οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ πιστὴ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας λαβοῦσα σφράγισμα "τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ" περιφέρει. οὗτοι εἰσιν τὰ παιδία τὰ ἤδη ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ συναναπαυόμενα "καὶ αἱ παρθένοι αἱ φρόνιμοι," αἷς αἱ λοιπαὶ αἱ μέλλουσαι οὐ συνεισῆλθον εἰς τὰ "ἡτοιμασμένα ἀγαθά, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι".*[33]

In the *Acts of Thomas* which originated at the same time and in the same country as the painting of Dura, this figure becomes still more clear. Here there is no longer question of animals in general, but it is the baptized who are designated as the sheep of God. Of King Gundafor and of his brother Gad, it is said:

> *ἐδεήθησαν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἵνα καὶ τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ λόγου δέξωνται λοιπὸν καὶ αὐτοί, λέγοντες αὐτῷ· Σχολαζουσῶν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ προθύμων ἡμῶν ὄντων περὶ τὸν θεόν, δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν σφραγῖδα· ἠκούσαμεν γάρ σου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὃν κηρύσσεις διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγῖδος ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα.*[34]

Here, as is apparent from the accompanying text, the anointing with oil in the form of a cross before Baptism, is considered a seal, and similarly in other places in the *Acts*, it is unmistakably applied to Baptism. So, when Siphor begs the Apostle for himself and his wife:

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[32] Cf. F. J. Dölger, 'Profane und religiöse Brandmarkung der Tiere in der heidnischen und christlichen Antike', *Antike und Christentum* 3 (1932), 25-61.

[33] *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 86, 2 (GCS Clem. Alex. 3, 133 Stählin): Also irrational animals show through their brand to whom they belong, and according to their mark they are assigned to their owners. In the same manner the believing soul carries, after the reception of the seal of truth, the stigmata of Christ.

[34] *Acta Thomae* 26 (2, 2, 141 Bonnet): And they besought him (the Apostle) that they also might henceforth receive the seal of the word, saying unto him: 'For we have heard thee say that the God whom thou preachest knoweth his own sheep by his seal.'

> *δέομαί σοῦ ἡμᾶς τὴν σφραγῖδα δέξασθαι παρὰ σοῦ, ἵνα γενώμεθα τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀληθινῷ λάτραι καὶ ἐναρίθμιοι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀρνίοις καὶ ἀμνάσιν.*[35]

Accordingly, through the *Sphragis* one is accepted into the flock of Christ. In one of his baptismal catecheses, Cyril of Jerusalem addresses the candidates for baptism as follows:

> *Προσέλθετε εἰς τὴν μυστικὴν σφραγίδα, ἵνα εὔγνωστοι ἦτε τῷ δεσπότῃ· συγκαταριθμήθητε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ λογικῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνῃ, εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ ἀφορισθησόμενοι, καὶ κληρονομοῦντες τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν ζωήν.*[36]

Just as the faithful sheep of Christ carry the name of their great Shepherd and Redeemer as a sign, so too the heretics have marked the flock of their followers with their name, but it is the "sign of the thieves". In his Hymn 56 "Against the Heretics", Ephraem, the Syrian, explains:

> His flock, Bardaisan has signed and named according to his name. According to his name, the flock of Mani is also called. Like stolen sheep they are signed with this ugly sign of thieves. According to the name of the Redeemer, his sheep are marked; it is Christ who has collected them; the sheep (therefore) are (called) Christians . . . Therefore, depart you rams, and lambs, and sheep, you who have been stolen from the heretics, and renounce the markings and the name of thieves; come and let yourselves be called Christians, in order that according to that sign and name you may be in every regard a Christian flock.[37]

In the background of this entire exposition there stands the figure of the branding of the flock with the name of their owner. For Ephraem, Baptism is the source through which the lambs and the flocks of the Church multiply. It is in this sense that he places the following petition to God in the month of the Church: "increase my lambs and flocks, on the great stream of my fountain".[38] The sign which the Christians receive through anointing before Baptism is at the same time the mark of property ownership and protection. It puts the devilish adversary to flight. Ephraem makes use of this thought in the picture of the flock, which by having received the seal of their Lord, is protected from the attacks of the wild animals: "Through thy seal has the wicked one been put to flight. Through thy seal evil things have been driven away. Come ye sheep, receive your seal, through which those who try to devour you will be put to flight."[39]

A thought which is very similar to this is developed by Basil in his homily *On Baptism*:

> *οὐδεὶς ἐπιγνώσεταί σε, εἰ ἡμέτερος εἶ ἢ τῶν ὑπεναντίων, ἐὰν μὴ τοῖς μυστικοῖς συμβόλοις παράσχῃ τὴν οἰκειότητα, ἐὰν μὴ σημειωθῇ ἐπὶ σε τὸ φῶς τοῦ*

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[35] Acta Thomae 131 (2, 2, 239 Bonnet): I beseech that we may receive of thee the seal and become worshippers of the true God and numbered among his sheep and lambs. In this connection see W. Heitmüller, *Sphragis. G. Heinrici zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 51 ff.

[36] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* 1, 2, (30 Reischl): Approach to the mystical seal in order that the Lord may recognize you Let yourself be joined to the holy and spiritual flock of Christ, in order to be placed on his right hand and in order to inherit the life prepared for you.

[37] A. Rücker, *Des heiligen Ephräm des Syrers Hymnen gegen die Irrlehren aus dem Syrischen übersetzt: BKV* 61 (Munich, 1928), pp. 188 ff.

[38] Th. J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraemi Syri hymni et sermones* I (Mechliniae, 1882), 105, 7. See also B. Schmidt, *Die Bildersprache in den Gedichten des Syrers Ephräm* I. Teil (Breslau Diss., 1905), p. 30.

[39] Ephraem, *Hymnus* 3, 24 (I, 42 Lamy): Signo tuo halus in fugam actus est, signo tuo iniquitates dissipatae sunt. Venite oves, accipite signum vestrum quo fugantur qui vos devorare quaerunt.

> προσώπου κυρίου. Πῶς ἀντιποιηθῇ σου ὁ ἄγγελος; πῶς δὲ ἀφέληται τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιγνῷ τὴν σφραγῖδα; πῶς δε σὺ ἐρεῖς· τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμι, μὴ ἐπιφερόμενος τὰ γνωρίσματα; ἢ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι τὰς ἐσφραγισμένας οἰκίας ὁ ὀλοθρευτὴς ὑπερέβαινεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀσφραγίσταις κατεφόνευε τὰ πρωτοτόκα; ἀσφράγιστος θησαυρὸς εὐεπιχείρητος κλέπταις· πρόβατον ἀσημείωτον ἀκινδύνως ἐπιβουλεύεται.[40]

In the baptismal catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia once used in Syria, and recently discovered by A. Mingana, the rite of imposing the seal on the forehead before Baptism is explained in the following words:

> And he signs you on the forehead with the oil of anointing, and he says at the same time. 'N. is sealed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' It is this sealing through which you are now signed as sheep of Christ . . . Because when a sheep is bought it is marked with a seal in order that one may recognize the owner to whom it belongs.[41]

In his treatise on the *Consecration of the Oils of Anointing* George, the bishop of the Arabs, explains:

> Baptism is completed through the same (oil) and thus becomes the mother which brings forth the children of light to the Father who is in heaven; and the baptized will also be signed with him and sealed, and become spiritual lambs in the flock of the son.[42]

In another place he says:

> He cleansed us with the pure water of baptism, we have been baptized in his name, we have put him on as is written (*Gal.* iii, 27). He anointed us and sealed us with the pure and sweet smelling oil of anointing and gave us the guarantee of the Holy Spirit in our hearts. He made us to be lambs and sheep endowed with reason, in his great flock.[43]

Therefore he praises the Church:

> Hail to thee, O Church, that the day of thy sterility is passed. And behold, baptism gives birth to new children for thee. Hail to thee, O Church, that the Lord of the flock impressed his sign upon thee, in order that he who comes to thee becomes a pure lamb through anointing.[44]

The symbolism which finds expression in these texts of the oriental authors, was however, not limited to the Orient. It is well known in the Occident also. Augustine refers to it several times: *Et vos oves Christi estis*, he says on one occasion, *characterem dominicum portatis in sacramento quod accepistis.*[45] The *character dominicus* is the mark of ownership of their lord, which the "sheep of Christ" have received at Baptism. Referring to the validity of the Baptism of heretics he explains in one place:

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[40] Basil, *Hom. 13 in s. baptisma* 4 (PG 31, 432): No one will recognize whether you belong to us or to the enemy if you do not prove it through the mystical sign of your membership, if the light of the faith of the Lord is not found upon you as a sign. How will the angel protect you? Will he save you from the hands of the enemy if he does not recognize the seal? How can you say 'I belong to God' if you do not carry his sign (on you)? Or know you not that the destroying angel passed by those houses which were marked, but destroyed the first-born in those which were not? A treasure which is not sealed is easily stolen by thieves, a sheep which is not branded may be molested with impunity. See also Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 40, n. 15 (PG 36, 377).

[41] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catechetici* (3 177 Mingana). Cf. Rücker, *Ritus baptismi et missae quem descripsit Theodorus ep. Mopsuestenus* (Opuscula et Textus series liturgica, fasc. 2, Monasterii, 1933), p. 15: Et signat te in fronte oleo unctionis et dicit: "Signatur N. in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti": Est enim haec signatio, qua nunc signaris, signum, quo obsignaris ut ovis Christi . . . Nam ovis, cum acquiritur, signatur sigillo, ut cognoscatur, cuius domini est.

[42] *Uber das Salböl* I, 99-102 in: V. Ryssel, *Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 11.

[43] *Uber das Salböl* I, 196-201; *loc. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

[44] *Uber das Salböl* II, 591-594; *loc. cit.*, p. 30.

> etiam ovem, quae foris errabat et dominicum characterem a fallacibus depraedatoribus suis, foris acceperat, venientem ad christianae unitatis salutem ab errore corrigi, a captivitate liberari, a vulnere sanari, characterem tamen in ea dominicum agnosci potius quam inprobari.[46]

With regard to the winning of the Donatists for the true Church he says:

> Annon pertinet ad diligentiam pastoralem, etiam illas oves quae non violenter ereptae, sed blande leniterque seductae, a grege aberraverint, et ab alienis coeperint possideri, inventas ad ovile dominicum si resistere voluerint, flagellorum terroribus, vel etiam doloribus revocare . . . ? Sic enim error corigendus est ovis, ut non in ea corrumpatur signaculum redemptoris.[47]

Thus from Oriental as well as from Occidental testimony one can see how the designation of Baptism as *Sphragis* helps to interpret the picture of the Good Shepherd as a symbol of Christian initiation. We are not surprised to find therefore that early Christian mysticism and liturgy look upon that Psalm which praises the loving care of God for man as a hymn of thanksgiving for initiation into the Christian mysteries. The exegesis of the Psalms and the historical sources of the liturgy of Christian antiquity supply sufficient proof of this.

As St. Jerome tells us,[48] Origen composed a homily on Psalm 22. Unfortunately it has not been preserved for us. Still, in his commentary on the *Canticle of Canticles* he gives us an interpretation of the entire Psalm. To Origen Christ is the Shepherd who initiates souls in his mysteries. The Royal Psalmist speaking about the "waters of refreshment" points to the fact that the waters which the Shepherd has provided for his sheep are not only "flowing over" but "salutary" and "refreshment for all".[49] In the language of the discipline of the secret, which Origen likes to use, these expressions point clearly to the sacrament of Baptism. He calls the bringing of the sheep to the "waters of refreshment" and "to the green pastures" the "instruction in beginnings".[50] Through this Christ, the Good Shepherd bestows upon the soul the first token of his great goodness. This is the real conversion of the soul, its introduction to the "path of justice".[51] In the same manner, the "anointing of the head with oil" and the "preparation of the table" and the "chalice which inebriates" are all mystical secrets to Origen.[52] In these words he sees indicated the *μυστικὸν χρῖσμα* and the *σεμνὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ τραπέζης θύματα*, the mysteries which follow immediately after Baptism.

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[45] Augustine, *Epistula* 183, 2 (PL 33, 754).

[46] Augustine, *De baptismo* 6, 1, 1 (CSEL 51, 298 Z. 12-17, Petschenig).

[47] Augustine, *Epistula* 185, 26, 23 (CSEL 57 22, Z. 2-17, Goldbacher).

[48] Jerome, *Epistula* 33, 4 (CSEL 54, 253 Hilberg).

[49] Origen, *Homiliae in Canticum Canticorum* II (GCS Orig. 8, 138 1, 7 Koetschau): de hoc optimo pastore Domino dicit: "in loco viridi, ibe me collocavit; super aquam refectionis educavit me" ostendens pastorem hunc non solum abundantes "aquas" ovibus suis sed et salubres ac puras, et quae per omnia reficiant, providere.

[50] *Loc. cit.*, 1, 27: Illa prima, id est pastoralis, institutio initiorum fuit, ut "in loco viridi collocatus super aquam refectionis educaretur".

[51] *Loc. cit.*, 1, 10: Sed quoniam ab hoc statu, quo ut ovis sub pastore deguerat, conversus ad rationabilia et celsiora profecit idque adeptus est per conversionem, subjungit et dicit: "animam meam convertit; deduxit me super semitas iustitiae propter nomen suum".

[52] *Loc. cit.*, 1, 21. Hinc vero, ubi se a pastoralibus videt pascuis ad rationabiles cibos et mystica secreta translatum, addit et dicit: "Parasti in conspectu meo mensam adversus eos, qui tribulant me; impinguasti in oleo caput meum, et poculum tuum inebrians quiam praeclarum est".

Athanasius calls Psalm 22 a song of the nations proclaiming their gladness that the *Kyrios* is their shepherd, enabling them to participate in the "mystical banquet".[53] For him, too, the "waters of refreshment" are the waters of holy Baptism which take away the burden of sins.[54] For the words "he has converted my soul" he gives the explanation: "From the imprisonment of the devil he led my soul to himself, and on the path of his commandments, and thus he led her from death to life."[55] Accordingly, he explains the words "Thou hast anointed my head with oil" as indicative of the Sacrament of Confirmation: "This is the mystical Chrism."[56] The "prepared table" is the *τραπέζα μυστική*,[57] an expression which, in the language of the time, meant the Holy Eucharist.[58]

In this interpretation the Psalm becomes an exquisite hymn of thanksgiving for the reception of the mysteries of Easter Eve. The exegesis of Origen and Athanasius is not at all sporadic. Eusebius, for instance, gives the same interpretation He says:

> When a man has dropped the whole burden of his old sins, he may in truth say, 'He has brought me to the waters of refreshment'. Waters of refreshment are certainly those waters through which one casts off the heavy and tiring burden of sins oppressing his soul.[59]

Therefore the baptized may actually say, "He has converted my soul".[60] The oil is that of the Holy Spirit, the table is the "mystical food offered by Him who came as Shepherd and Bridegroom".[61]

To Cyril of Alexandria, the Good Shepherd of the Psalm is Christ, the Archshepherd, in distinction to other shepherds like Moses.[62] The pasture is Paradise from which we were driven, but to which Christ has led us back, and in which He placed us through the "waters of refreshment," i.e. through Baptism.[63] "Because we are baptized in the death of Christ, even Baptism itself should be called 'shadow and imitation of death', which are not to be feared".[64]

Consequently, Cyril interprets even the words "Though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I fear no evil" as referring to the mystery of Baptism, in which we are buried together with Christ. For the "table prepared before me" he gives the explanation: "But even this mystical table, the flesh of our Lord, makes us strong against the passions and the demons because Satan is afraid of those who participate worthily in these mysteries".[65]

> St. Augustine declares in his *Enarratio* on Psalm 22: The Church says to Christ, 'The Lord rules me, and I shall want nothing'. The Lord Jesus Christ is my shepherd, and therefore I shall want nothing. 'He has brought me to the waters of refreshment,' i.e. He has brought me to the waters of Baptism in which those are restored who had lost their innocence and vigor.[66]

In a commentary on the Psalms, edited among the works of St. Athanasius, but which according to the researches of M. Faulhaber[67] and G. Mercati,[68] was composed by Hesychius of Jerusalem, the "Lord" of verse one is described as the Good Shepherd who gave His life for us.[69] "In a place of pasture" means according to Hesychius, "in the Church of God in which His saints flower".[70] "He has brought me to the waters of refreshment" means the grace of the Holy Ghost.[71] He remarks on "Thou hast prepared a table before me": "The Psalmist calls the mystery of immortality the heavenly table".[72] Finally, as Hesychius interprets the oil as the "grace of the Holy Pneuma"[73] it is evident that he also conceives the Psalm as a hymn of thanksgiving for the sacramental initiation, the reception of Baptism, Confirmation and the Holy Eucharist.

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[53] Athanasius, *Expositio in Psalmum* 22 (PG 27, 140).

[54] *Loc. cit.*

[55] *Loc. cit.*

[56] *Loc. cit.*

[57] *Loc. cit.*

[58] Cf. F. J. Dölger, 'Die Heiligkeit des Altares und ihre Begründung im christlichen Altertum', *Antike und Christentum* 2 (1930), 172.

[59] Eusebius, *In Psalmum* 22 (PG 23, 17).

[60] *Loc. cit.* (PG 3, 216).

[61] *Loc. cit.* (PG 23, 219).

[62] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Psalmum* 22 (PG 69, 840).

[63] *Loc. cit.* (PG 69, 841).

[64] *Loc. cit.*

[65] *Loc. cit.*

[66] Augustine, *In Psalmum 22 Enarratio* (PL 36, 182): Ecclesia loquitur Christo: Dominus pascit me, et nihil mihi deerit. Super aquam refectionis educavit me: super aquam baptismi quo reficiuntur qui integritatem viresque amiserant, educavit me.

[67] Cf. M. Faulhaber, *Isaiasglossen des Hesychius* (Freiburg, 1900), pp. XVI ff.

[68] Cf. G. Mercati, *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica* (Studi e Testi 5, Rome, 1906) 145-179.

How deeply it was felt that this Psalm was a fitting prayer of the baptized is further shown by the interpretation of Theodoret of Cyrus. "Here are obscurely symbolized", he says, "the waters of regeneration, in which the person to be baptized, longing for grace, puts off the old man of sin and receives youth in place of old age".[74] Again he writes: "Thou hast prepared a table for me against those who afflict me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil: and my cup which inebriates me, how goodly it is. This is clear to the baptized, and it needs no explanation, for they know the spiritual oil with which they anointed the head, as well as the inebriating but not weakening cup, and the mystical food which the Shepherd and Bridegroom offers us."[75]

Cassiodorus gives a similar exegesis in his *Expositio* on Psalm 22. "The waters of refreshment are the bath of Baptism in which the soul, barren through the dryness of sin, is bedewed with divine gifts to produce good fruits." And fittingly he adds, "He has gradually nourished me like new born babes and reborn men, as the Apostle Peter says, 'As new born babes, desire spiritual milk unadulterated, that thereby you may grow unto salvation (*1 Peter* ii: 2).'" Furthermore, he says:

> He has converted my soul because after Baptism the sinner has become righteous, the unclean radiantly pure, the blemished without blemish; as the Apostle says, 'That he might present the Church to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle' (*Eph.* v, 27)! He justly congratulates himself that his soul, which was so long a slave of the devil, was converted to Christ . . . 'Thou hast prepared a table', i.e. Thou hast predestined the holy altar which the whole Church sees, around which all Christian people throng. *Mensa* is derived from *mensis*, because on the same day the pagan banquets were celebrated. But the table of the Church is the gathering of the faithful, joyous feasting, spiritual satisfaction, heavenly food. 'The cup that inebriates,' that is a new gift of the blood of the Lord which inebriates so as to heal the soul, preserves from crimes and prevents sins.[76]

In view of the great variety of interpretation found in the ancient Christian commentaries on the Psalms, the uniformity of explanation given Psalm 22 is surprising. The reason for this can only be that this prayer of the Old Testament had a prominent place in the liturgy of the Christian service. Perhaps it was already in the liturgy of Baptism in the time of Origen. At least it is remarkable that in the sermons to the newly baptized this Psalm is so often cited.

Cyril of Jerusalem addresses his audience in such a sermon: "You also say with the Psalmist, 'The Lord rules me and I shall want nothing; He has set me in a place of pasture. He has brought me to the waters of refreshment; He has converted my soul'."[77] In his fourth *Mystagogical Catechesis*, he points out more clearly the relation of this Psalm to the mysteries of Easter Eve:

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[69] Athanasius, *De titulis psalmorum* 22 (PG 27, 79).

[70] *Loc. cit.*

[71] *Loc. cit.*

[72] *Loc. cit.*

[73] *Loc. cit.*

[74] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretatio Psalmi* 22 (PG 80, 1025).

[75] *Loc. cit.* (PG 80, 1028).

[76] Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum* 22 (PL 69, 168).

> The blessed David shall advise you of the meaning of this saying, 'Thou hast prepared a table before me against those who afflict me'. What he says is to this effect: before Thy coming the evil spirits prepared a table for men, polluted and defiled and full of devilish influence; but since Thy coming, O Lord, 'Thou hast prepared a table before me'. When man says to God, 'Thou hast prepared a table before me' what does he mean but that mystical and spiritual table which God has prepared for us . . . in opposition to the evil spirits? And very truly; for that led to communion with devils, but this with God. 'Thou hast anointed my head with oil'. With oil He anointed your head, upon the forehead for the seal which you have of God; that you may be made 'the engraving of the signet, Holiness unto God' (*Ex.* xxviii, 32), and 'Thy cup inebriates me, how goodly it is!' You see that cup here spoken of which Jesus took in His hands and gave thanks and said, 'This is my blood of the new covenant which shall be shed for many unto the remission of sins.' "[78]

It is more than likely that this interpretation of Psalm 22, addressed by Cyril to the newly baptized can be atributed to the use it had in the liturgical ceremonies of Easter Eve. It is not known when this Psalm was recited by the newly baptized in Jerusalem, though it may have been during the procession from the baptismal font to the altar.

On this subject we have better information concerning the liturgy of Milan. In the *De Mysteriis* of St. Ambrose, a western counterpart to the *Mystagogical Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, the procession of the newly baptized from the font to the altar is described thus:

> Enriched with these adornments, the cleansed people hasten to the altar of Christ saying, 'And I will go unto the altar of God, unto God who gives joy to my youth'; for putting off the slough of long-standing sin, renewed in the youth of the eagle, the soul hastens to approach that heavenly banquet. She comes, therefore, and seeing the holy altar duly ordered cries, and says, 'Thou hast prepared a table before me'. She it is whom David represents as the speaker in the words, 'The Lord is my shepherd, and I shall want for nothing. He has set me in a place of pasture. He has brought me to the waters of refreshment. For though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I fear no evil; for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff have comforted me. Thou hast prepared a table before me against those who afflict me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and the cup which inebriates me, how goodly it is'![79]

Judging from this interpretation of St. Ambrose, the newly baptized recited this Psalm when they approached the altar for the first time. It is impossible to give a different meaning to the words: *Venit igitur et videns sacrosanctum altare compositum, exclamans ait.* Even in *De Sacramentis*, another collection of mystagogical lectures, the author of which is, according to the latest researches, also St. Ambrose, the description of the procession from the baptismal font to the altar mentions Psalm 22.

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[77] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* 1, 6, (36 Reischl).

[78] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. mystagogica* 4, 7, (376 Rupp).

[79] Ambrose, *De mysteriis* 8, 43: J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (Bonn, 1937), pp. 131 ff.

> Therefore you have come to the altar, you have received the body of Christ. Hear again what sacraments you have obtained. Hear holy David speaking. He, too, foresaw these mysteries in the spirit and rejoiced and said that he 'lacked nothing'. Why? Because he that has received the body of Christ shall never hunger. How often have you heard the twenty-second Psalm and not understood! 'The Lord is my shepherd, and I shall want for nothing. He has brought me to the waters of refreshment. He has converted my soul. He has led me on the paths of justice for his own name's sake. For though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I fear no evil; for Thou art with me. Thy rod and Thy staff have comforted me.' Rod is rule, staff is passion; that is the eternal Divinity of Christ, but also His passion in the body. The one created, the other redeemed. 'Thou hast prepared a table before me against those who afflict me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil. The cup which inebriates me, how goodly it is!' Therefore, you have come to the altar, you have received the grace of Christ, you have obtained the heavenly sacraments.[50]

The investigation of the place of Psalm 22 in the catechumenate and the baptismal liturgy leads further to the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermon 366*, which according to the words *Qui ad Christi baptismum properatis*, is addressed to the catechumens. The preacher says here:

> We present his Psalm to you, beloved, who are hastening to the Baptism of Christ, in the name of the Lord, so that you may keep it in your heart. But it is necessary that we reveal its mystery under the inspiration of divine grace because this Psalm contains in a special manner the regeneration of fallen mankind, the order of the holy Church, and at the same time the sacraments. The ears of your heart, therefore, may open in silence to hear, and the seed of the word may fall in furrows prepared through complete recollection, so that what the thirsty earth receives now, may at the opportune time, bedewed with the blood of Christ, sprout into high stalks and bring forth fruit in abundance.[51]

In these words of the sermon a *traditio* of the Psalm to the audience is mentioned. That reminds us at once of the *traditio symboli*, and the *traditio orationis dominicae* to the catechumens during Lent. It is a fact that there was a *traditio psalmorum* to the catechumens. At least this was true of the liturgy of Naples, as we know from the investigations of G. Morin.[52] The immediate preparation for Baptism began in the second week of Lent, with the listing of the persons to be baptized, and it ended in the three Masses of "scrutinies". In the first of these, celebrated on "Oculi Sunday", the solemn delivery of the Psalms to the catechumens took place. In the second, on "Laetare Sunday" the Our Father was given to them. And in the third, on Passion Sunday, the Creed was delivered. According to current opinion, this order represents a peculiarity of the rite of Naples, for which no parallel has been found. During the solemn delivery of the Psalms to the catechumens, the Psalter was placed in the hands of the catechumens. The text of two of the Psalms was read to them. It is of importance for our investigation to observe that one of these Psalms was that of the Good Shepherd. On the occasion the bishop interpreted Psalms 22 and 96.[53] The catechumens were admonished to learn the text by heart, and to assimilate the contents.

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[50] Ambrose, *De sacramentis* **V. 3, 1-14: J.** Quasten, *loc. cit.* pp. 165 ff.

[51] Augustine, *Sermo* 366, 1 (PL 39, 1646).

[52] G. Morin, 'Etude sur une série de discours d' un évêque (de Naples?) du VIe siècle', *Revue Benedictine* II (1894), 392.

[53] Cf. F. Wiegand, *Die Stellung des apostolischen Symbols im kirchlichen Leben des*

A sermon delivered on such an occasion is preserved in manuscript form in the Library of State at Munich. The sermon is here attributed to St. Augustine, while the old edition of Venice declares St. John Chrysostom to be its author. According to G. Morin,[84] however, a bishop of Naples of the sixth century must be regarded as its author. In this sermon Psalm 22 is mentioned and the catechumens are admonished: *Hos versiculos psalmi memoria tenete, ore reddite . . . Tenete traditum vobis psalmum cum tenueritis lingua, reddideritis vita, vocibus et·moribus.* Judging from these words there was not only a *traditio* but even a *redditio psalmorum* as there was in the case of the Our Father and the Creed.[85] F. Wiegand[86] has maintained that only Psalm 22 was delivered to the catechumens on the occasion of the *traditio psalmorum* at Naples. He pointed to the fact that this Psalm more than any other reflects the religious mentality of the early Church. But after the above investigation of the place of this Psalm in the ancient Christian cult, and in the liturgy of Baptism, this explanation is far too weak. The Psalm was rather the great hymn of thanksgiving for the reception of Baptism, Confirmation and the Holy Eucharist. It was for this reason that it was presented to the catechumens to be learned by heart. The Our Father was given them because it expresses better than any other prayer the filial relation to God which the Sacrament of Baptism conferred upon them. Like the Our Father, Psalm 22 was probably recited immediately after the reception of Baptism. This is made likely by the fact that even in the liturgy of Milan this Psalm was a hymn of thanksgiving for the newly baptized.

Thus our investigation takes us back to the baptistry of *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Naples. The mosaics depicting the Good Shepherd inviting to Baptism require no further elucidation. They belong, as we saw, to about the beginning of the fifth century. From the manuscript of the homilies in Munich, which according to G. Morin must be attributed to a bishop of Naples, the *traditio psalmorum* to the candidates for Baptism can be traced back to the sixth century. It is not entirely certain that, at the time of the completion of these mosaics, the solemn tradition of the Psalms with which the Psalm of the Good Shepherd was so intimately connected was already in practice. But even if this were not the case, the mosaics with their fourfold repetition of the picture of the Good Shepherd at the fountain of water, and the rite of the *traditio psalmorum* with the Old Testament song of the Good Shepherd who leads his sheep to "The waters of refreshment", are both executed in one and the same spirit. The mosaics receive their meaning from the traditional interpretation of Psalm 22. We are therefore not in the least surprised to find in another baptistry of fifth century Italy, the baptistry of the Orthodox church at Ravenna, the following inscription instead of the picture of the Good Shepherd at the fountain of water:[87]

IN LOCUM PASCVAE IBI ME CONLOCAVIT
suPER AQVAm REFECTIONIS EDOCAVIT ME

The picture of the Good Shepherd and the flock has remained alive in the liturgy. In the liturgy of St. James Psalm 22 is the communion song. The Oriental

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Mittelalters, (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche, 4 Band, 2 Heft, Leipzig, 1899), 171 ff.

[84] Cf. G. Morin, *loc. cit.* p. 392.

[85] According to these facts, *Sermon 366*, printed by Migne among the *Sermones dubii*, must be attached to Naples. Its opening words leave no doubt that it points to a *traditio psalmorum* known only in the prebaptismal rites of Naples.

[86] Cf. F. Wiegand, *loc. cit.* p. 172.

[87] Cf. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* I (Oxford, 1906), p. 63.

baptismal liturgies display a special fondness for this picture. In the Armenian rite Psalm 22 is recited before Baptism is administered.[88] In the Syrian ritual of Baptism of Severus of Antioch the picture of Shepherd and flock have been kept in the baptismal formula. It reads: "N. is baptized that he may be a lamb in the flock of Christ in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the living Holy Spirit unto eternal life."[89] After Baptism the deacons sing a hymn in which the verse occurs: "Stretch out thy wings, O holy Church, and take up the humble lamb which the Holy Spirit has begotten from the waters of Baptism. We salute thee, O Lamb and Son born of Baptism, whom I have brought forth from the water in the name of the Holy Trinity."[90] In a prayer which is said later by the priest over the baptized we read:

> The holy God, the author of all holiness with whose seal thou art sealed, and the seal of whose holy and sweet smelling and vivifying chrism thou hast been marked, himself make thee worthy to receive zealously his body with purity, and to drink his blood in holiness and be numbered among his divine flock, an heir to his eternal kingdom, and be protected finally through his victorious cross.[91]

When the candidate is anointed with oil the priest says:

"Behold in the Church, the humble lambs who have come unto Baptism, shall be anointed with oil".[92]

The picture of the Good Shepherd appears most frequently in the baptismal liturgies of the Orient in connection with the idea of *Sphragis*. Thus in the Marionite rite of Baptism of James of Sarug at the rite of the *Signatio* the priest says: "Good Shepherd, Thou who findest those who are lost, whom thou hast marked as thy sheep, with the seal of the Holy Trinity, that they may be protected from the ravening wolves, protect them through thy glorious name".[93] After a prayer for strength in time of battle there follows: "May the humble lamb of thy flock be marked, and through thy seal may it be numbered in thy spiritual flock, may it enter into thy sheep-fold, and be thy own, and be protected from all evil; and do thou sanctify it by the seal of the most Blessed Trinity, and may it be reborn with praise and thanksgiving".[94] Then the priest anoints with the sacred oil in the form of a cross the head of the baptizand who is facing the east. Meanwhile, the priest prays: "Thou shalt be sealed N. as a lamb in the Christian fold, with the oil of holy anointing in the name of . . ."[95]

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[88] *Ritus baptismi et confirmationis apud Armenos I, 1 Ordo baptismi et confirm. ex Maschdoz impresso*: H. Denzinger, *Ritus orientalium, Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum in administrandis sacramentis* I (Wirceburgi, 1863), p. 386.

[89] *Ordines baptismi et confirmationis Jacobitarum. 4a. Ordo apostolicus a Severo Antiocheno ordinatus* (H. Denzinger, *loc. cit.* p. 307): Et demittit eum in craterem, conversa ad orientem quidem baptizandi facie, sacerdotis vero ad occidentem, et dexteram suam capiti eius imponens, sinistra ex aquis, quae coram baptizando sunt, attollit et fundit super caput eius, dicens: "Baptizando sunt, attollit et fundit super caput eius, dicens: "Baptizantur N., ut sit agnus in grege Christi in nomine Patris." Et ex iis, quae sunt a tergo eius, et fundit super caput eius, dicens; "Et filii". Et accipit ex aqua, quae est ad dexteram et sinistram ipsius, funditque super caput eius dicens: "Et Spiritus vivi et Sancti in vitam saeculi saeculorum."

[90] Cf. H. Denzinger *loc. cit.* p. 308.

[91] *Loc. cit.* pp. 308 ff.

[92] *Loc. cit.*

[93] *Ordo baptismi et confirmationis Jacobi Sarugensis* (H. Denzinger *loc. cit.* p. 347): Pastor bone et perditorum inventor, qui Trinitatis signaculo oves tuas obsignasti, ut a lupis rapacibus custodirentur, glorioso tuo nomine eas conserva. Cf. also S. 356.

[94] *Loc. cit.* p. 348: Signetur agnus simplex gregis tui et per signaculum tuum connumeretur cum spirituali grege tuo, ingrediatur tuum ovile, commisceatur cum tuis ovibus tuusque sit, et custodiatur ab omnibus malis, ac illum sanctifica sigillo Trinitatis gloriosae, veniatque ad regenerationem, gloriam canens et gratiarum actionem attollens.

[95] *Loc. cit.* See the same formulary in the *Ordo brevissimus Philoxeni Mabugensis*: H. Denzinger I, 320.

The deacon anoints the body of the candidate. The priest accompanies the candidate into the water of the baptistry and baptizes him with the words: "I baptize thee N. as a lamb in the fold of Christ in the name of . . ."[96] When the newly baptized Christian has donned the white garment "the priest makes him a partaker in the holy mysteries and says: 'Be thou, O Lord, the protector of this lamb, which is accepted into thy fold, baptized with thy Baptism, and sealed in the mystery of the Most Blessed Trinity, that it may be reared and may grow in the true faith in Thee and be a sharer of thy love'."[97]

In the ritual of Baptism of the Jacobites, which is ascribed to James of Edessa, we read the following words in the prayer which precedes the blessing of the water:

> Good Shepherd, who has gone in search of the erring sheep which through the cunning of the hostile serpent had fallen from the number of the enlightened . . . liberate now, O Lord, and redeem for the sake of thy grace and bounteous mercy all our souls from every stain and defilement of sin . . .[98]

While the anointing is performed by the priest, the deacons sing: "The oil anoints the exterior: Christ seals the interior of his new and spiritual lambs, his flock namely, whose adornment is twofold; its conception from the oil and its birth from the water."[99]

In the Nestorian baptismal liturgy the Good Shepherd is besought, in one of the first prayers with which the ceremony begins, to withdraw his sheep from the maze of the world into his fold, by means of holy Baptism: "Bring us back to Thee, in thy mercy, and make us members of thy household, O Thou Good Shepherd, who hast come forth in search of us and found us lost, and hast been propitious to us upon our return to Thy grace and mercy, O Lord of All, Father, Son and Holy Spirit in all eternity."[100]

After the entry into the baptistry the following prayer is said: "Gather us unto Thee and bring us into thy fold and mark us with thy seal, and make our childishness to be wise through thy truth, that we may honor thy holy name at all times O Lord of all."[101] Here Baptism, in harmony with the ancient Christian concept, is thought of as a *Sphragis*, with which all the lambs of the Good Shepherd are branded upon their reception into the fold. The same is true of the prayer which precedes the imposition of hands:

> Accept, My Lord, in thy mercy, these sheep, these lambs, and these newlyborn, which have been branded with the holy sign, and inscribe their names in the Church of the first-born in heaven, that they may acknowledge and honor thy Blessed Trinity, at all times, O Lord of all . . .[102]

The picture of the Good Shepherd no longer exists in the baptismal ritual of the Roman Church. But in the liturgy for Quadragesima, which is still strongly pervaded with the thought of the preparation of the catechumens for the reception of the holy mysteries during Easter night, we still find many traces of it. On the Monday after the first Sunday of Lent, on which day in the ancient Church the names of the candidates for Baptism were entered on the lists, the catechumens are presented in the Epistle with the picture of the Good Shepherd who calls his sheep to him from the darkness of paganism:

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[96] *Loc. cit.* p. 349.

[97] *Loc. cit.* p. 350.

[98] *Ordinis baptismi et confirmationis Jacobi Edesseni*: H. Denzinger, *loc. cit.* p. 292.

[99] *Loc. cit.* p. 294.

[100] G. Dietterich, *Die nestorianische Taufliturgie ins Deutsche übersetzt* (Giessen, 1903), p. 6.

[101] G. Dietterich, *loc. cit.* p. 10.

[102] G. Dietterich, *loc. cit.* p. 26.

> Thus saith the Lord, Behold I Myself will seek my sheep and will visit them. As the shepherd visiteth his flock in the day when he shall be in the midst of his sheep that were scattered, so will I visit my sheep and will deliver them out of all the places where they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day. And I will bring them out from the peoples, and will gather them out of the countries, and will bring them to their own land; and I will feed them in the mountains of Israel, by the rivers, and in all the habitations of the land. I will feed them in the most fruitful pastures, and their pastures shall be in the high mountains of Israel; there shall they rest on the green grass, and be fed in fat pastures upon the mountains of Israel. I will feed my sheep and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord God. I will seek that which was lost; and that which was driven away I will bring again; and I will bind up that which was broken; and I will strengthen that which was weak; and that which was fat and strong I will preserve; and I will feed them in judgment, saith the Lord Almighty. (*Ezech.* xxxiv, 11-16).

The Mass for the Saturday of the fourth week of Lent is entirely inspired by the picture of the Good Shepherd, who invites his sheep to the fountains of water, just as in the scene we have seen depicted in the mosaics of *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Naples. The Introit begins with the words: *Sitientes, venite ad aquas.* In the lesson the catechumens are promised fountains of water and abundant pastures by their shepherd:

> Super vias pascentur, et in omnibus planis pascua eorum. Non esurient, neque sitient, et non percutiet eos aestus, et sol, quia miserator eorum reget eos, et ad fontes aquarum potabit eos.

The *Communio* begins with the initial words of Psalm 22, which was so popular in the ancient christian sermons addressed to the newly baptized, *Dominus regit me* . . . The Wednesday after Passion Sunday contains in its Gospel the classical description of the Good Shepherd from the New Testament, (*John* x. 22-38), in which the Good Shepherd promises his catechumens the Sacrament of Life. The fourth responsory of Matins for the Saturday before Easter presents the picture of the Good Shepherd and the fountain: "Our Shepherd goeth away, the fountain of living water, at whose death the sun hid his face." The second responsory of Matins on Easter Monday recalls the Good Shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep. In the *Liber Responsalis* of St. Gregory the newly baptized are compared to lambs in a responsory for the Wednesday following Easter. Here they are pictured as coming forth from the fountain in which they have been made immaculate: "These are the young lambs who have announced the alleluia; they but now come to the fountain where they were filled with light."[103] Th Roman liturgy makes use of this text on the Saturday after Easter, the day on which it was customary for the newly baptized to lay aside their white garments. Here we are dealing with ancient christian symbolism as we learn from the *Catechesis* of Cyril of Jerusalem[104] and from the *De Mysteriis* of St. Ambrose.[105] It is noteworthy that these same words are used at the rite which accompanies the distribution of the blessed *Agnus Dei* which are given to the newly baptized on the Saturday of Easter week in remembrance of their Baptism.[106] In the Roman *Caeremoniale*[107] it is prescribed that on these days after the Communion, the tray holding the previously blessed *Agnus Dei* be received in solemn procession. Then it continues:

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[103] *Liber responsalis S. Gregorii*, ed. Bened. (Paris, 1705) III, 787.

[104] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 3, 16 (86 Reischl).

[105] Ambrose, *De mysteriis* 7, 38 (Quasten).

[106] Cf. H. Grisar, *Das Missale im Lichte römischer Stadtgeschichte* (Freiburg i. Br., 1909), p. 566.

[107] *Caermoniarum sacrarum sive rituum ecclesiasticorum s. Romanae ecclesiae*, liber

> Cum fuerint intra ostium capellae, genuflectunt omnes et subdiaconus cantat competenti voce ita ut ab omnibus audiatur, dicens: Pater sancte, isti sunt Agni novelli, qui annuntiaverunt vobis alleluia, modo veniunt ad fontes, repleti sunt claritate, alleluia.

Thereupon, the *Agnus Dei* are distributed by the Pope. The newly baptized took the small waxen lambs to their homes as a remembrance of their enrollment in the fold of Christ through the *Sphragis* of Baptism on Easter night.

In the Mass of the Second Sunday after Easter, the text of which expresses gratitude for the accomplishment of the redemption, Christ appears again before the liturgical community in the form of the Good Shepherd. In the Epistle we read the words taken from the First Epistle of St. Peter: "For you were as sheep going astray; but you are now converted to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls."[108] The second alleluia verse reads: *Ego sum pastor bonus, et cognosco oves meas, et cognoscunt me meae, alleluia.* The same words of Holy Scripture are repeated in the communion prayer. The Gospel repeats the classical passage describing the Good Shepherd (*John* x, 11-16), which contrasts the conduct of the hireling with that of the true shepherd at the approach of the wolf. The hymn at Matins, however, sings at Eastertide the song of the eternal Shepherd who cleanses his flock with the waters of Baptism.

Qui Pastor aeternus, gregem
Aqua lavas baptismatis:
Haec est lavacrum mentium;
Haec est sepulchrum criminum.

Thus the presence of the Good Shepherd in the baptistry of Dura-Europos is by no means accidental. It has deep roots in ancient Christian art, mysticism and liturgy which associated this parable with the ceremony of Baptism throughout the early centuries as the baptistries of Naples, Rome, Ravenna and Mainz prove. But the painting of Dura is the oldest example of this association and therefore of the highest importance.

II (Venetiis, 1852) c. 6 Bl. 177. Cf. A. Franz *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* I (Freiburg i. Br., 1909), p. 566.

[108] *I Peter* ii, 25.

Studies on the Notion of Society in St. Thomas Aquinas

II. Thomistic Social Philosophy and the Theology of Original Sin

I. TH. ESCHMANN O.P.

I. *SOCIO-PHILOSOPHICAL TRENDS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF ST. THOMAS' DOCTRINE ON ORIGINAL SIN*

THE outstanding text of St. Thomas' *Scriptum* dealing with the excommunication of a *universitas* maintains a significant silence about collective guilt.[1] A *universitas* will no doubt be guilty if each and every one of its members, without exception, actually co-operates in misusing the specific means offered to him by the corporate status of the community for the sake of committing a crime; his actual co-operation may take on a thousand different forms but it must be proven and proved juridically. If, on the other hand, we understand the notion of collective guilt in the widely accepted sense which was also known to the Middle Ages, this guilt will come about through a criminal action, not of all the community-members, but of a part of them which brings its guilt upon the whole in virtue of the fact that it stands and acts for, and so re-*presents*, the whole. Such a notion of collective guilt is absent, however, from the text of the *Scriptum* and, viewed in the light of the historical investigation which we undertook in the first part of these studies, this absence may safely be said to be significant; it is indeed an implicit rejection.

The question now is: did St. Thomas definitely and in all his later works keep to the position of his earlier commentary?

This question would be easy to answer were it not for the fact of Aquinas' theology of original sin. As we noted elsewhere,[2] this theology has often been understood to imply the admission of the possibility as well as the fact, at least in one given instance, of collective guilt. Does not St. Thomas in the *Quaestio Disputata De Malo* IV, 1 (henceforth to be designated under the siglum *DM*) draw the student's attention to the principle of representative action: *Quod princeps civitatis facit, dicitur civitas facere*? If, in this passage dealing with original sin, the author does not mean to present Adam as the *Princeps* of the vast *Human City*, nor to explain that sin as collective guilt, why, then, does he insist at all on the law of representation? Why does he even lead up to it by a careful exposition which, had original sin nothing to do with the *Civitas Humana*, would be, at best, an interesting but pointless explanation of a socio-philosophical doctrine?

Not few are the attempts which have been made to explain this difficult text, and also, if the expression be allowed, to explain it away;[3] and right at the beginning of this study let us make no secret of the fact that the following pages will have to be classified in the latter category. This obliges us to pay careful attention to the first class of explanations. It will not be amiss, therefore, to sketch their bare and essential outlines—we do not pretend in the least to retrace in detail the long and laborious history of the interpretation of *DM*.

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[1] *Mediaeval Studies* VIII (1946), pp. 1 ff.

[2] *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-7.

[3] See the authors quoted *infra*, p. 32.

What we should like to stress above all is the influence that current trends in socio-philosophical thinking have had on this interpretation.

Two attempts are outstanding in later Thomism, the one of older, the other of more recent vintage. Both take it for granted, at the outset, that any theological clarification of the problem of original sin, claiming St. Thomas' patronage, must begin by considering Adam as the "head" (*caput*) of mankind. Our first parent was not only the physical and historical beginning in human nature but moreover, and more especially, the "moral" and "juridical" Head of the Human City, the Body Corporate (*universitas* or *collegium, corpus*) of all mankind. This means, in other words, that, if and when Adam willed and acted in his public capacity, his will and action were our will and action, not individually, but collectively, not in so far as each of us is a person with his own will, but in so far as each of us is a man and a member of the Human Corporation; under this aspect, his will is included in the "common human will" (*voluntas communis humana*), the "will of all human nature" (*voluntas totius naturae humanae*), no matter whether he actually and personally consents or not. In both theories, the theological demonstration of the transmission of original sin is clear, simple and straightforward. In the first place and immediately original sin presents itself as collective guilt; in the second place and obliquely, *i.e.*, through the mediation of each man's membership in the Human City, this guilt also is attached to each person.[4]

Along with these traits, common to both the older and the newer theory, the former has a distinctive feature of its own. The Human Body Corporate is no natural fact based on natural law; rather it is of positive institution. The reasons for this position are partly of a socio-philosophical, or more especially juridical, partly of a theological nature. It is well known that the Romanist scholars of both Laws had a deep-rooted aversion to, and suspicion of, corporations.[5] They considered their formation to be a danger to public law and order. They strictly insisted on deriving the attribute and the many blessings of legal personality from the authority, either express or at least implied, of the sovereign. Following these Romanist traditions and convictions, the Thomist theologians of baroque Scholasticism[6] postulated an analogous decree of the Supreme Sovereign which often and rather ambiguously is called a covenant (*pactum*). By this decree, they say, the Human City is legally erected and in due form and procedure receives its lawful purpose in the context of the economy of man's salvation. With this emphasis on the historical fact of the grant of corporate status to Adam and all mankind, many considerable advantages are gained for the theology of original sin. To mention only this: the Supreme Sovereign is at the same time the omnipotent Lord over the human soul. Did not St. Augustine say that God is more decisively the Master over our wills than we are ourselves? It is easy to understand, then, that God, with sovereign and absolute authority and not asking our consent—we did not even exist as yet—transferred our wills to that of Adam, included them in his and so brought about that "general will" which is the central point in this type of the theology of man's Fall.[7]—At the term of their explanations, the Salmantines (Dominicus a s. Theresia) are satisfied to have drawn this whole doctrine from *DM*: *Desumpsimus totam hanc doctrinam ex D. Thoma, quaestione IV, De Malo, articulo 1.*[8]

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[4] R. Billuart, O. P., *Summa Sancti Thomae Hodiernis Academiarum Moribus Accomodata* II, ed. Lequette (Paris), p. 501 (first edition of the work Liège, 1746-1751): . . . Adamum fuisse a Deo constitutum caput non solum naturale, sed etiam morale omnium hominum quantum ad conservationem aut amissionem iustitiae originalis, ita ut ipse Adam et omnes eius posteri censeri debeant tanquam unum corpus, cuius ipse Adam sit caput, atque gerat personam omnium in eo in quo est caput, et voluntas ipsius in ratione capitis sit voluntas omnium posterorum, sicque quidquid vellet in ratione capitis, ipsi etiam vellent, non voluntate propria et personali, sed communi voluntate sui capitis.

[5] See Otto von Gierke, *Das Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* III (Berlin, 1881), p. 206 (the mediaeval glossators), p. 290 (the canonists), p. 368 (the legists). On later civilians and canonists see *op. cit.* IV (Berlin, 1913), pp. 46 and 79. The two §§ 14 and 15 of this volume (Engl. tr. by Ernest Barker, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society* I (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 35-91) are very useful reading in connection with the theology of original sin in baroque Scholasticism.

[6] All these theologians invoke Roman Law in confirmation of their theory. The usual quotations are the following: L. 12 § 1, *Dig.*, 26, 7; L. 10 § 5, *Dig.*, 28, 6 (Coll. Salm., *opus infra cit.*, p. 27 f.), or L 15, Dig., 4, 5 and L. 97, Dig., 35, 1 (Billuart, *op. cit.*, p. 505).

No theologian in more recent times has more profoundly expounded this theory or more thoroughly examined the elements which are absolutely necessary for its systematic completeness than Matthias Joseph Scheeben, whose *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*[9] is one of the most eminent theological works of the last hundred years. Scheeben vigorously insists that, if *DM* or any similar explanation is to make sense theologically, the *voluntas communis totius naturae* must (*a*) be taken morally, *i.e.*, as the principle of a moral community of all men around true moral responsibility,[10] and (*b*) it must also be set upon a positive divine law and institution establishing the Human Body Corporate by a unique act of sovereign authority and for a definite and limited purpose. Regarding the latter point the author observes that, if the argumentation is to be conclusive, it is impossible to construct this common will as a merely natural and, therefore, intrinsically evident fact. In the sense which is required in the theology of original sin, humanity is not of itself a Body Corporate. With this, however, it is perfectly compatible to urge that the divine grant of corporateness "is no arbitrary or artificial arrangement. It follows, in a certain manner, the very ways of nature, since by nature the persons whom it concerns stand to each other like the trunk and the branches of one tree, and like the head and the members of one body. By nature, they are united one with the other in such a way that naturally the action of one casts a certain shadow of honour or dishonour upon the other."[11]

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[7] Ad hoc autem, ut Adam esset caput nostrum morale et voluntates nostrae includerentur in eius voluntate quoad conservationem aut amissionem iustitiae originalis, . . . ex parte Dei fuit necessarium decretum, quo Deus statueret voluntatem Adae esse habendum pro voluntate nostra, quod est ipsum constituere caput morale nostrum . . . [Deus] hoc decretum [potuit] facere absque ulla iniustitia . . . quia cum sit supremus omnium Dominus et, ut dicit S. Augustinus, magis habeat in sua potestate voluntates nostras quam nos ipsi, sicut nos possumus in alium transferre voluntatem nostram, ita Deus iure suo potuit non requisito consensu nostro, cum tunc non essemus actu, transferre voluntates nostras in voluntatem Adae . . . Billuart, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

[8] Collegium Salmanticense, *Cursus Theologicus* VIII, 2: *De Vitiis et Peccatis* (*ed. nova*, Paris, 1877), p. 26 (first edition Salamanca, 1647). The most important fact in the history of *DM* is Capreolus' commentary on the *Sentences.* In the discussion of Durandus a S. Porciano's theory, this *Princeps Thomistarum* quotes *DM* at full length and concludes: Argumentum Durandi non militat contra nos. Hereby *DM* is given a very prominent place in regard to the other "parallel" texts of St. Thomas. But it is also put under a very curious light; for, does not Capreolus invite the reader to look in Durandus for an interpretation of *DM*? See *Defensiones Theologicae* IV (ed. Paban-Pègues, Tours, 1903), p. 341. The 2nd book of the *Defensiones* was written in 1426: M. Grabmann, "Johannes Capreolus, der *Princeps Thomistarum*, and seine Stellung in der Geschichte der Thomistenschule", *Divus Thomas* XXII (Freiburg i. d. S., 1944) p. 89.

[9] Vol. II (Freiburg i. B., 1878, 1880).

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 513: Die eine Gemeinschaft sittlicher Zurechnung einschliessende Solidarität . . . kann jedenfalls durch menschliches Gesetz ebensowenig wie durch irgendeine natürliche Gemeinschaft begründet werden. Das Gesetz, worauf sie beruht, kann nur unmittelbar von Gott selbst ausgehen, weil darin nicht bloss eine materielle Erweiterung, sondern eine formelle, die Art und Weise der sittlichen Verbindlichkeit selbst betreffende Modifikation des Sittengesetzes enthalten ist . . . [Nur Gott selbst kann den Vater] so zum Haupt seiner Kinder machen, dass er nicht bloss in rechtlicher, sondern auch in sittlicher Beziehung und mit sittlicher Bedeutung und Wirkung für sie handeln kann. — This most apt remark throws full light upon the theory of later Thomism. The divine decree which is its most essential part belongs indeed to that famous category of divine ordinations of which St. Thomas speaks in I-II, 94, 5 in 2^{a} and *ad* 2. The grant of corporateness to humanity is of the same nature as the commandment given to Abraham to slay his innocent son (*Gen.* xxii, 2) or the order issued to the Jews to borrow and purloin the vessels of the Egyptians (*Exod.* xii, 35). The question should be asked, whether this decree is not one of those which used to be arbitrarily multiplied in certain theological schools and to pop up like a *deus ex machina.*

Not all modern theologians seem to have inherited the discretion and caution characteristic of Scheeben and the scholastics of the older schools. A second theory, also regarding the interpretation of *DM*, has made its appearance in recent times.[12] No divine intervention is any longer felt to be needed for the constitution of the Human City; rather by natural fact and law are all men "incorporated in Adam", because, and in so far as, they are his offspring. Likewise is that "general will" in Adam to be taken as a fact which follows his natural position as the principle of human nature and which does not require any special appointment. Now, subsume under this major proposition the minor, *viz.*, that, again evidently, the action of the head is the action of all members, and the conclusion will follow with the greatest ease: all men are guilty in consequence of their chief's sinful action. This theory has perhaps one advantage over the former one; it takes account of the undeniable fact that St. Thomas never mentions any special divine decree in the context of original sin or original justice. With regard to its socio-philosophical background it is clear that, on the one hand, it is unhampered by any of those Romanist reminiscences which stuck so firmly to the minds of former scholastics, and, on the other hand, it shows certain traces of that powerful trend, in modern thought and life, toward collectivization and socialization. Does not this theory imply that man's innermost and strictly personal treasure, his very moral integrity, is a public and common property? The ease with which certain writers sometimes give way to this collectivist trend is a surprising feature in not a few recent Thomists.

The fact seems to be undeniable, however, that, as far as St. Thomas is concerned, all these theories are not built on sand. The many critics who reject their doctrinal substance do not perhaps pay enough attention to their foundation on the authority of Aquinas. There is no getting away from the fact that, to a certain extent, *DM* at least does lend some support to the idea of collective guilt, no matter whether we assume this guilt to be a general and natural law or a special arrangement applying to the unique case of original sin. One cannot dispose of the difficulty of this text by merely passing it over in silence or by belittling its importance.[13]

It is the purpose of the following study to examine *DM* and its position within the whole of St. Thomas' theology of original sin. Only by such a comparative study can there be any chance to clear up the problem of this text. At the same time the question of collective guilt which we stated above will find its authentic Thomistic answer.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 511: . . . der betreffende göttliche Beschluss schafft jene moralische korporative Gemeinschaft nicht künstlich und willkürlich zwischen beliebigen Personen, sondern zwischen solchen, welche schon von Natur sich wie Stamm und Zweig, Haupt und Glied verhalten und so innig untereinander verbunden sind, dass—schon von Natur—aus der Handlung der einen ein gewisser Schatten der Ehre oder der Unehre auf die der andern fällt.

[12] We have here in mind especially R. Bernard, O. P., *Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Somme Théologique, Le Péché* II (Paris, *Editions de la Revue des Jeunes*), p. 333: . . . à travers la succession des générations humaines et sous la distinction des personnes, il s'agit de découvrir qu'une communauté radicale unit toute la multitude des êtres humains en un grand corps unique, étroitement soudé à son chef. Dans ce grand corps un péché s'écoule ainsi que la nature, de la tête dans tous les membres. See *infra* p. 34.

[13] Cf. Card. Billot, *De Personali et Originali Peccato* (4th ed., Prato, 1910), pp. 145-152; Ed. Hugon, O. P., *Tractatus Dogmatici* II (10th ed., Paris 1935), p. 32 f.; moreover the authors quoted below, p. 32.

II. *THE TEXTS OF ST. THOMAS. CHRONOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS*

In six major and corresponding texts St. Thomas has treated the Pelagian problem which from the beginning to the end of his literary career he formulated thus: *utrum defectus in nos per originem veniens rationem culpae habere possit.* These texts are the following:

Scriptum super Libros Sententiarum, Lib. II, *dist.* 30, *q.* I, *a.* 2 (= *SS*);
Contra Gentiles, Lib. IV, c. 52 (= *CG*);
Quaestio Disputata De Malo IV, 1 (= *DM*);
Summa Theologiae, I-II, 81, 1 (= *ST*);
Expositio in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos c. 5, *lect.* 3 (= *ER*);
Compendium Theologiae c. 196 (*Opuscula,* ed. Mandonnet II, 135) (= *CT*).

There is no doubt about the chronological relations of *SS*, *CG*, *DM* and *ST*. Their sequence is as indicated in the above enumeration. Only the dating of *ER* and *CT* and their relative position in regard to the other works presents some problems.

Recently Dom Odon Lottin, O.S.B., suggested considering *ER* as a work more or less contemporaneous with *CG*, in any case earlier than *DM*. According to this eminent historian, there are two main reasons for this chronology.

First.[1] Together with the *Scriptum* and *CG*, *ER* still treats a problem in which St. Thomas later became disinterested. Stated in the terms of the *Scriptum*,[2] the problem is *utrum defectus quos sentimus sint nobis quasi poena pro peccato primi hominis.* This is, as Dom Lottin has clearly shown, the Bonaventurian problem, whether the miseries of humanity are an indication, *a posteriori* and in some way conclusive, of the existence of original sin. This same problem the Benedictine scholar finds still treated in *ER* under the heading: *videtur . . . quod mors non sit ex peccato, sed magis ex natura.*—It is true that St. Thomas became disinterested in the Bonaventurian question. Yet it seems that the last time he treated it was in *CG*, not in *ER*. For the question with which he deals in *ER* is not exactly the same as that in the former works. Nor, on the other hand, is this same question neglected in the later writings. It reappears in fact in all of them, though not within the discussion of original sin. Cf. *De Malo* V, 5: *utrum mors et huiusmodi defectus sint homini naturales*; *Summa*, I, 97, 1; *Compendium Theologiae*, c. 152. The difference of place which we observe between *ER* and these other works is probably due to a difference of plan and doctrinal organization.

Second.[3] Dom Lottin finds a chronologically valuable indication in the fact that in *ER* St. Thomas still makes use of the facts of hereditary disease, while in *ST* it is explicitly stated that in the question of original sin these facts explain nothing; for, the question is not how a defect or a disease might come down from our first parent, but how it is that sin and guilt descend, as it were, through the generations of men.—But let us ask: to what purpose does *ER* employ the idea of hereditary disease? Is it in order to assimilate hereditary disease and hereditary guilt and to construe the theological demonstration of the latter by pointing to the former? By no means! For, immediately after having made those few remarks St. Thomas states in *ER*: *Sed adhuc remanet dubitatio, quia defectus, qui ex vitiata origine trahuntur, non habent rationem culpae.* These words make it clear that the pathology in the preceding lines was in no way intended to prove the transmission of original guilt, but only to illustrate the transmission of natural defects. It seems impossible, therefore, on the basis of this point to assume an opposition between *ER* and *ST*.

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[1] "Le Péché Originel chez Albert le Grand, Bonaventure et Thomas d'Aquin", *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* (= *RTAM*) XII (1940), p. 306, note 74.

[2] 2 *Sent.*, 30, I, 1.

[3] *RTAM*, l. *cit.*, p. 310, note 84.

In my opinion, *ER* gives no indication which obliges us to date it close to *CG* and before *DM*.[4] Its literary condition does not contradict the assumption that it is a work written about the same time as *ST*. Whether it was composed before or after the *Prima Secundae* is another question quite irrelevant to our present purpose. It is enough here to distinguish three periods in the development of the Thomistic doctrine on our problem, *viz.*, (a) *SS*, (b) *CG* and *DM*, and (c) the other works mentioned above which, as will be shown later, form a distinct unity as against group (b).

The *Compendium Theologiae* is indeed a work belonging to the latest group in which the high point of the Thomistic theology of original sin is reached. About its chronology, which is not surely fixed in tradition, the opinion held by Msgr. Grabmann[5] and Father Synave is of considerable probability. The latter especially succeeded, through an interesting use of intrinsic evidence, in dating chapter 212 of this work (*Quod in Christo est unum tantum suppositum . . .*) after *Summa III*, 19 and the *Qu. Disp. De Unione Verbi Incarnati*,[6] and as for the whole work expressed his conclusion on its chronology in these words: *Pour des raisons personnelles que je n'ai pas pu encore rédiger, je pense que le Compendium est bien des toutes dernières années de la vie du saint, de 1272-1273.*[7] This also seems to be a quite probable date if we make chapter 196 on original sin the basis for our judgment. The chronology of the *Compendium* presents perhaps fewer difficulties if it is noted that this very fine and mature work is a compendium not only for *frater Reginaldus*, to whom it was dedicated, but also for *frater Thomas* himself. The author surveys in it the course of his own teaching. Here and there he does not hesitate, without of course ever sacrificing a truly doctrinal improvement, to re-incorporate in his teaching this or that older formula which he had in the meantime neglected.

In his masterly and very instructive studies on the mediaeval theology of original sin, Dom Lottin again objects to this date of *CT*.[8] He is inclined to prefer an earlier date, say, a little before *DM*, and for this reason: when in the *Scriptum* St. Thomas examines the old question inherited from St. Augustine, namely why only the specific sin of Adam, but no other sin either of the first or of any other parent is transmitted to the children, he teaches: this is so because human nature once corrupted by the first sin of the first man is not susceptible of further corruption, even as, what is once dead, cannot die again.

> 2 *Sent.*, 33, I, 1 *ad* 3: . . . In aliis autem hominibus invenitur natura iam corrupta. Unde illius corruptionis ulterius istud peccatum [scil. aliorum hominum] causa esse non potest, sicut quod semel mortuum est, iterum non occiditur.

Now this same idea, often stressed in the mediaeval schools ever since William of Auxerre, again appears in the *Compendium*.

> *Compendium*, c. 197: . . . unde peccata consequentia non inveniunt aliquid quod possint subtrahere a tota natura humana . . .

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[4] It seems also improbable that this *Expositio*, as Dom Lottin suggests *loc. cit.*, is a patchwork composed of the older *Reportatio* of Reginald of Piperno and some later insertions and corrections. We prefer Mandonnet's hypothesis that the *Reportatio* has been lost entirely.

[5] "Die Werke des hl. Thomas von Aquin", *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Philos. u. Theol. d. MA* XII, 1-2, p. 286.

[6] *Bulletin Thomiste* III (1926), pp. 16 ff.

[7] *Bulletin Thomiste* IV (1927), p. 126.

[8] *RTAM* XII, 310, n. 83.

Neither the *De Malo* nor the *Summa* brings this consideration into play. Is not this, Dom Lottin asks, a fact which may serve as a basis for a chronological judgment? It would not seem amiss, then, to place the *Compendium* before the *De Malo.*

Let us, however, consider the *basic* solution, given in all St. Thomas' works, of the Augustinian problem. It is persistently one and the same. From the beginning to the end, the discussion always turns around the difference between *peccatum naturae* and *peccatum personae*. The text from the *Scriptum* quoted above is taken, not from the corpus of the article, but from an answer to an *In Contrarium*. It thus contains only an accessory doctrinal element. Now, would not this element fit most perfectly into the doctrine of every Thomistic passage on the same problem without in the least changing or disturbing its doctrinal substance or even its structural lines? What explanation, then, should be given for its absence in the *De Malo* and the *Summa*, and its presence in the *Compendium*? Would it not seem that this fact is rather an indication of the relatively late date of the *Compendium*? For, in spite of its compendiousness this work still manages to be more complete. Moreover, it still manages to preserve in its proper place and setting, a tiny piece of doctrine which, to use Dom Lottin's words, was consecrated by a long tradition.

III. *ST. THOMAS' ANTI-PELAGIAN DEMONSTRATION*

As early as Cajetan,[1] commentators of St. Thomas recognized the peculiarity of *SS* within the above-named texts. At the time of the early commentary the Angelic Doctor was not as yet in possession of the key to the theological reasoning against the Pelagians concerning original sin. This key, he found when writing the *Contra Gentiles*. *CG*, and the other texts composed afterwards, show a remarkable uniformity in regard to the substance as well as the general structural lines of the doctrine. Let us first of all consider this substantial uniformity. It will then be easier to evaluate in its proper perspective one difference in a particular and less important point which, as shall be explained later, draws a dividing line between two groups, the one comprising *CG* and *DM*, the other the subsequent writings.

A great many theologians, studying Aquinas' argumentation, believed it to be a unilinear reasoning based on, and employing, univocal notions and, consequently, producing that kind of "clear" and "simple" knowledge which is proper to the method of unilinearity and univocation.[2] Considering the Master's true teaching nothing is more beside the point than this reduction to a univocal argument. The mystery of original sin, St. Thomas felt, is so deep that no theological demonstration can ever succeed in even approaching it unless it be conducted by the theological method *par excellence*, which is the method of analogy. To have introduced analogy into the theological explanation of original sin is St. Thomas' most proper and immortal merit. Scholars might, as much as they like or can, point out the sources of the Thomistic teaching, but in its most formal and essential aspect this teaching is St. Thomas' own. When in *ST*, after having shown the insufficiency of a great deal, if not all, of the contemporary theology of original sin, Aquinas proposes "another way" (*alia via*) to deal with the matter, he is in fact proposing the *regia via analogiae* which no one before him had ever thought of travelling.

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[1] *Commentaria in I-II, 81,1: S. Thomae Aqu. Opera, ed. Leonina* VII (Rome, 1892), p. 89. — Cajetan found that in his earlier work St. Thomas held the same opinion which he rejected in *ST* (*secunda opinio*). Perhaps a more fundamental difference between *SS* and the other writings lies in the different structure of the argumentation. A reasoning based on analogy appears for the first time in *CG*.

[2] Cf. G. B. Phelan, "St. Thomas and Analogy", *Aquinas Lectures* (1941), p. 42.

The essential and uniform demonstration in the writings after *SS* is an artful and complex tissue of several analogies all tightly knit together. The following analysis will make this clear.

1. The First and Preliminary Part of the Demonstration

(a) *The fundamental theological analogy.* The deepest theological roots of this reasoning are planted, as always, in the soil of revelation and tradition. There are, first, the Apostle's words, as the witness of revelation: *We were by nature children of wrath* (*Eph.* ii, 3), and, secondly the witness of tradition, the Augustinian definition of original sin worked out in the Pelagian controversy: it is the sin of nature, as opposed to the sin of the person. Yet St. Thomas at once turns these data into an analogy; and in this, most precisely, consists his "verification" of the Augustinian teaching and the proper and magnificent intuition of his genius: *Even as* (such is this analogy) *actual, personal sin is to person, so, in like manner, original sin is to nature.*

Let us point out this analogy, the very first step in the demonstration, by describing it schematically; the sign = means, not a mathematical equation, but the similitude of proportions constitutive of analogy (*analogia proportionalitatis propria*):

$$\frac{\text{peccatum originale}}{\text{natura}} = \frac{\text{peccatum actuale sive personale}}{\text{persona}}$$

The whole of St. Thomas' demonstration will be nothing but the gradual unfolding of this analogy. In *CT*, let us remark incidentally, this theological starting point is most sharply marked out: *Sed haec quaestio* (*viz.*, why original sin is sin, properly speaking) *de facili solvitur, si distinguatur inter personam et naturam.* Of course, this distinction is made here to show that *similis dissimilitudo* which is characteristic of analogy.

(b) *The fundamental philosophical analogy.* Comparing now nature and person philosophically, St. Thomas discovers that they might be brought into an anlogy of proportion, the point of which is unity in multiplicity. For, *even as the members or parts of a person are one, i.e., one person, so, likewise, the individual men descending from the first man are one, i.e., one nature, or rather one in their nature.* Schematically thus:

$$\frac{\text{plures homines}}{\text{una natura}} = \frac{\text{plura membra personae}}{\text{una persona}}$$

As we should expect of a man of such deep philosophical interest, St. Thomas at this point looks out for a philosophical support of this philosophical analogy. But let us for the moment disregard this side line and rather focus our attention on the essentials.

(c) *The first concluding analogy.* The following conclusion can easily be drawn from the foregoing: *Even as actual sin is to the members of one person, which are one in that person, so, in like manner, original sin is to the members of one human nature who, as Adam's offspring, are one in that nature.* Thus:

$$\frac{\text{peccatum originale}}{\text{singuli homines ab Adam derivati}} = \frac{\text{peccatum actuale}}{\text{singula membra unius personae}}$$

2. The Second and Formal Part of the Demonstration

(d) *The analogy of the major proposition.* This analogy is nothing but a further development of the foregoing conclusion of the preliminary part. It is this: *Even as the actual sin of a member of the person, v.g., the hand, stands to the first moving principle of the acting person, viz., the will, so, analogically speaking, the original sin in each and every member of human nature stands to the first moving principle of that nature (CT: in that nature), viz., the first parent.* Of all the texts, the *Quaestio Disputata De Malo* sets forth the most clearly and vigorously the *ratio analogata* which is the link of this *similis dissimilitudo. Ex una parte*, St. Thomas says *op. c.* IV, 2, [*fit*] *motio per naturalem originem, ex alia vero parte per imperium voluntatis.*

This major, then, may be schematically described thus:

$$\frac{\text{peccatum originale unius hominis}}{\text{principium in natura movens per generationem}} = \frac{\text{peccatum actuale unius membri}}{\text{principium personae agentis movens per imperium}}$$

(e) *The minor proposition* to be subsumed is as follows: *Now, the actual sin of the hand is a sin in the proper meaning of the term because, and in so far as, the hand is moved by the will.* Hence follows

(f) *the conclusion: Original sin in this or that man is a sin in the proper, but analogical, meaning of the term because, and in so far as, this man is moved by the first man, i.e., receives human nature, through generation, from the protoparent.*

In this way the data of Scripture and tradition are assembled and organized in an artful and conclusive theological demonstration: original sin is *peccatum originis* and *peccatum naturae*. And let us note, incidentally, that every trace of the Augustinian doctrine of concupiscence, which in its formal content was unacceptable to St. Thomas, is also carefully avoided.

The whole process might be resumed by saying that the analogical notion of sin is brought to the fore and applied to these two *analogata*: original and actual sin. Both are sin and guilt, properly speaking, but each one in its own fashion. In other and more technical words: the "mode of being sin" is in each case entirely different. The argumentation, therefore, reduces itself to the following *analogia proportionalitatis propria*:

$$\frac{\text{peccatum originale}}{\text{peccatum}} = \frac{\text{peccatum actuale}}{\text{peccatum}}$$

A further analogy, by way of corollary, is to be found in all the major texts: *Even as the actual sin of a member of the person depends on the will of the* *person, so, in like manner, the original sin in a member of nature depends on the will of (or in) that nature, i.e., on Adam's will.*

$$\frac{\text{peccatum originale}}{\text{voluntas in natura}} = \frac{\text{peccatum actuale}}{\text{voluntas personae}}$$

This means that even original sin might in some fashion be said to be a "voluntary" sin, although not with reference to a personal will, but to the will of the first parent. From the very last word, however, which St. Thomas has written on the problem, it seems that he did not insist much on this corollary.[3]

This is St. Thomas' doctrine as found in all his works except in *SS* where, as we said above, the key to the solution, namely analogy, is as yet hidden, as it were, within the texture of a demonstration of rather traditional appearance. To one who knows the history of theology it is manifest that nowhere are the essential data of this *vetus humani generis querela et interminata quaestio* (Abelard)[4] so artfully composed and so successfully organized as in St. Thomas. The two dangers which have always obsessed the theology of original sin are carefully avoided: on the one hand, anthropomorphism which dissolves and eliminates the mystery by making that sin one more case of hereditary disease or also of collective guilt, and, on the other hand, agnosticism which even more patently destroys the faith by destroying reason.[5]

In the above analysis we abstained from quoting large excerpts from the Thomistic texts. Let us, however, draw attention to two short passages in which Aquinas presents his teaching in a summary way. The one is taken from the *Summa*, the other from the *De Malo*. In view of our subsequent investigation it will be important to note that the doctrine in the *Quaestio Disputata* is substantially the same as that in the *Summa*.

> *Summa*, I-II, 81, 3: . . . supra (*i.e.*, in the text *ST*) dictum est . . . quod sic ex peccato primi parentis traducitur culpa originalis in posteros, sicut a voluntate animae per motionem membrorum traducitur peccatum actuale ad membra corporis.
>
> *De Malo* IV, 2: Dictum est supra (*i.e.*, in the text *DM*) quod peccatum originale est huius personae vel illius, prout consideratur ut pars quaedam multitudinis ab Adam derivatae, ac si esset quoddam membrum unius hominis. Dictum est etiam quod unius hominis peccantis est unum peccatum, secundum quod ad totum refertur et ad primum peccandi principium, licet executio peccati fiat per diversa membra. Sic ergo peccatum originale in isto homine vel in illo nihil est aliud quam id quod ad ipsum pervenit per originem ex peccato primi parentis: sicut peccatum in manu aut in oculo nihil aliud est quam id quod pervenit ad manum vel ad oculum ex motione primi principii peccantis quod est voluntas: licet ex una parte fiat motio per naturalem originem, ex alia vero parte per imperium voluntatis.

This latter text, however, reveals some interesting peculiarities of St. Thomas' teaching at the time of its composition, which our task is now to investigate in detail.

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[3] *III*, 84, 2 *ad* 3: De peccato vero originali poenitentia nec principaliter est . . . nec etiam proprie, quia peccatum originale non est nostra voluntate peractum, nisi forte (!) inquantum voluntas Adae reputatur nostra, secundum modum loquendi quo Apostolus dicit, *Rom.* v, 12: *in quo omnes peccaverunt.*

[4] *Exp. in Ep. ad Rom.*, c. 5. PL 178, 866A.

[5] See M. T.-L. Penido, *Le Rôle de l'Analogie en Théologie Dogmatique* (Paris, 1931), pp. 63 ff.

IV. *THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF ST. THOMAS*

The differences and discordances in St. Thomas' teaching concern only one point located precisely in the passages dealing with what we called *the fundamental philosophical analogy* in the anti-Pelagian argumentation. No doubt, the point of this analogy (*ratio analogata*) is unity, oneness: even as the members of a person are one in that person, so the members of human nature are one in that nature. But to what kind of unity is St. Thomas here referring?

A distinction is indeed to be made between the unity of a series of accidentally related causes (*causae per accidens*) and the unity of a series of essentially related causes (*causae per se*).[1]

Consider the former series. The first man begets a son, and this son again begets a son, and so on. As such, *i.e.*, in its very causality the second cause does not depend on the first cause, nor is the second causality included in the intention of the first cause: with regard to the first cause it is *praeter intentionem* and therefore, *per accidens*. The whole line is lacking in definiteness and form. It might indeed happen that the first son, in his turn, begets a son, but it might also not happen, and in any case the happening itself has nothing to do, *per se*, with the inception of the line. This line might also be cut off at some time, just as it might possibly run on indefinitely without either event being accountable to the first cause's causality.

The opposite is the case in a series of *causae per se*. St. Thomas' example[2] of such a series is an organism with its definiteness and, therefore, formal perfection, its settled order through the co-ordination and functioning together of its members. It is a series of causes in which nothing "happens" but everything is pre-ordained. One cause, in its very causality, depends on the other and all depend on one first cause whose intention embraces the place and function, the number and name of all.

The causal series *per accidens* is a unity in the material sense alone. In the example of the successive generation of men one specific nature is transmitted from one man to another, but this nature, considered within such a series, is no determining principle, *i.e.*, no form, limiting the number of the effects and organizing them into a closed whole.[3] All the members of the chain count for one, and whether there be one or two or an indefinite number, makes no difference.[4]

On the contrary, the causal series *per se* is a unity formally speaking. For, to have such a series, a definite and limited, *i.e.*, a formal multitude of members is required, each differing in its place and function from the other, and all united in tending to one end which gives to the whole its formal perfection.

Now, to come back to our question: which kind of unity is meant in the philosophical analogy of St. Thomas' demonstration? For the success of this analogy within its context, material unity would be entirely sufficient and, for definite reasons, we might also guess—our guess being of course dependent on Aquinas' final teaching on this matter—that it is this sort of unity which is meant. But the fact is, it seems to us, that St. Thomas has hesitated between the two kinds of unity. In *CG* as well as in *DM*, but especially in the latter work, the emphasis falls on an assumed formal unity of mankind, while in the three other works the accent is on their material unity. This is what stamps *CG* and *DM* as belonging to a group of texts with definite characteristics of their own.

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[1] Cf., among many other texts, *De verit.* 2, 10; *Metaph.* 5, 3; *Phys.* 2, 6; *De causis* 1; *I*, 13, 5 ad 1; *I*, 47, 3 ad 2; *Q.D. de Spirit. Creat.* 8.

[2] *III*, 73, 2 and *passim.*

[3] *Q.D. de Spirit. Creat.* 8: Manifestum est autem, quod in omnibus individuis unius speciei non est ordo nisi secundum accidens. Conveniunt enim in natura et differunt secundum principia individuantia et diversa accidentia, quae per accidens se habent ad naturam speciei. Quae autem specie differunt, ordinem habent per se et secundum essentialia principia.

[4] *De verit.* 2, 10; see text below p. 34.

Let us read the pertinent passages.

> *CG*: Non enim est inconveniens quod uno peccante peccatum in omnes dicimus per originem esse propagatum, quamvis unusquisque ex proprio actu laudetur vel vituperetur . . . Aliter enim est in his quae sunt unius individui, et aliter in his quae sunt totius naturae speciei. Nam *participatione speciei sunt plures homines velut unus homo*, ut Porphyrius dicit.[5] Peccatum igitur, quod ad aliquod individuum sive personam hominis pertinet, alteri non imputatur ad culpam nisi peccanti, quia personaliter unus ab alio divisus est. Si quod autem peccatum est quod ipsam naturam speciei respiciat, non est inconveniens, quod ex uno propagetur in alterum, sicut et natura speciei per unum aliis communicatur.

Reading this text and noting its distinction, emphatically stressed, between *unum individuum* and *tota naturae species*, one is reminded of the same distinction which occurs in the same work, and not infrequently, in a decidedly socio-philosophical context and meaning. For instance in the following text in which the organic nature and unity of human society is brought to light.

> *Contra Gentiles* III, 136: Considerandum enim est quod alia ratio est habenda in his quae ad necessitatem uniuscuiusque hominis pertinent, atque alia in his quae pertinent ad multitudinis necessitatem. In his enim quae ad uniuscuiusque necessitatem pertinent, oportet quod cuilibet provideatur . . . In his autem quae necessaria sunt multitudini . . . , oportet diversorum esse diversa officia.

In the following text Porphyry appears as an authority in social philosophy supporting the idea of the formal and organic unity of all mankind. The text is to be found in the *Quaestio Disputata De Opere Manuali Religiosorum*, held probably in 1256[6] and in our editions inserted in *Quodlibet VII*.

> *Quodlibet* VII, 17: Duplex est praeceptum legis naturae. Quoddam, quod ordinatur ad tollendum defectum unius singularis personae . . . ; aliud vero est quod ordinatur ad tollendum defectum totius speciei, sicut hoc quod dicitur *Gen.* i, 28: *Crescite et multiplicamini.* In hoc enim praecipitur actus generationis, quo natura salvatur et multiplicatur. Hoc enim interest inter haec duo genera praeceptorum, quia primum praeceptum legis naturae quilibet tenetur singulariter observare, sed ad secundum praeceptum non tenetur quilibet singulariter. In his enim quae pertinent ad speciem, omnes homines computandi sunt quasi unus homo: *participatione enim speciei plures homines sunt unus homo*, ut dicit Porphyrius . . .

And to be complete in this documentation taken from the earlier writings, let us also mention a passage of the third book of the commentary on the *Sentences* where again Porphyry is asked to support the idea of organic unity. This time the organism is the Mystical Body of Christ. The text is nearly contemporary with the one just quoted above.

> 3 *Sent.*, 18, 6, *sol.* 1: . . . actio Christi meritoria . . . erat potens supra totam naturam. Quod non poterat esse de aliqua operatione puri hominis, quia

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[5] *Isagoge*, translation by Boëthius, c. *De specie*, § Descendentibus igitur ad specialissima: PL 64, 111; ed. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* IV^1, 32, 6.

[6] P. Mandonnet, *Quaestiones Disputatae* I (Paris, 1925), *Introduction* p. 17.

> homo singularis est minus dignus quam natura communis: quia *divinius est bonum gentis quam bonum unius hominis.*[7] Et quia *omnes homines sunt unus homo in natura communi*, ut dicit Porphyrius, inde est quod meritum Christi, quod ad naturam se extendebat, etiam ad singulos se extendere poterat.

In later corresponding passages Porphyry is never again quoted in such a socio-philosophical context as in *Quodlib.* VII, 3 *Sent.* and *Contra Gentiles, locis citatis.* There is no doubt, then, that in the philosophical analogy, as constructed in *CG*, the *ratio analogata* is the formal and organic unity of all men. This means that, considering only Adam and the series of generations deriving from Adam, we are confronted with a society, a social organism, a Body Corporate, at least in the philosophical sense of the word.

It is most interesting now to examine the passage in *DM* exactly parallel to *CG*.

> *DM*: . . . simpliciter dicendum est quod peccatum traducitur per originem a primo parente in posteros. Ad cuius evidentiam considerandum est quod aliquis homo singularis dupliciter potest considerari: uno modo, secundum quod est quaedam persona singularis, alio modo, secundum quod est pars alicuius collegii. Et utroque modo ad eum potest aliquis actus pertinere. Pertinet enim ad eum, in quantum est singularis persona, ille actus, quem proprio arbitrio et per se ipsum facit. Sed in quantum est pars collegii, potest ad eum pertinere actus alienus (*ed. Marietti*: aliquis), quem per se ipsum non facit nec proprio arbitrio, sed qui fit a toto collegio, vel a pluribus de collegio, vel a principe collegii: sicut *illud quod princeps civitatis facit, dicitur civitas facere*, ut Philosophus dicit.[8] Huiusmodi enim collegium hominum reputatur quasi unus homo, ita quod diversi homines in diversis officiis constituti sunt quasi diversa membra unius corporis naturalis, ut Apostolus inducit de membris Ecclesiae.[9] Sic ergo tota multitudo hominum a primo parente humanam naturam accipientium quasi unum collegium vel potius sicut unum corpus unius hominis consideranda est. In qua quidem multitudine unusquisque homo, etiam ipse Adam, potest considerari vel quasi singularis persona, vel quasi aliquod membrum huius multitudinis, quae per naturalem originem derivatur ab uno.

It is not difficult to see what happened between *CG* and *DM*. St. Thomas evidently decided that, if the point of his philosophical analogy was to be formal unity, it was far better to abandon Porphyry's authority. The Porphyrian dictum does not indeed illustrate, rather it obscures this point, since "participation in one nature" makes a material, not a formal, unity of all men. In fact, from *DM* on, this authority is dismissed as a support of the organic idea.[10] In its stead our text has recourse to that example of formal unity in the multiplicity of men, which to a theologian is its prototype and the most eloquent illustration, *viz.*, the Body of Christ, the *collegium Ecclesiae.* Like *Ecclesia*, so also Humanity is, or may be considered to be, a *collegium.* This illustration, then, provides the author with the starting point of an important elucidation in corporative philosophy, to which we will have to return later. *DM* remains in principle faithful to the line of thought in *CG* and, still more, strengthens and clarifies the directives of the former work.

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[7] *Eth. Nik.* I, 1094b 8.

[8] See reference *infra* p. 44.

[9] *Rom.* xii, 4; I *Cor.* xii, 12.

[10] Cf. *II-II*, 152, 2 ad 1 and *ibid.* 187, 3 ad 1 (corresponding to *Quodl.* VII, 17 and *Contra Gentiles* III, 136); *III*, 19, 4 (corresponding to 3 *Sent.*, 18, 6, sol. 1). Porphyry is implicitly referred to in *De Unitate Intellectus*: Si quis autem dicat quod hic homo singularis est ipse intellectus, consequens est, quod hic homo singularis non sit alius ab illo homine singulari, et quod omnes homines sunt unus homo non quidem participatione speciei sed secundum unum individuum (*Opuscula*, ed. Mandonnet, I, p. 58.)

Some recent interpreters, who are skeptical about this text—which is in truth the trump-card of baroque Scholasticism—and who wish to absolve St. Thomas from any complicity with these later Thomists, insisted on the *vel potius* in the proposition: . . . *tota multitudo hominum . . . quasi unum collegium vel potius sicut unum corpus unius hominis consideranda est.* Hereby, Father Hugueny, O.P., says,[11] St. Thomas shows that he "prefers" the example of one man, one physical body, to that of a *collegium*, a moral or juridical body. Father J.-B. Kors, O.P., thinks[12] that Aquinas in this passage "corrects himself"; and according to Dom Lottin[13] we should understand that the Master "does not set great store" by the comparison to a *collegium*. It seems, however, hard to believe that this *vel potius* should express any of these attitudes. How, indeed, could what amounts to a confusion of the issue and of the reader be a correction? And do we not have in the autographs a thousand examples in which St. Thomas corrected himself by cancelling a word or a passage, not by the mere insertion of a *vel potius* which, if it was meant as an improvement, would be very ambiguous? Furthermore, a text in which Aquinas gives us to understand, on one and the same page, that he did not wish to be taken quite seriously in what he has been at pains to establish a few lines earlier, is so unique in all his writings that Dom Lottin's supposition would need more elaboration to be plausible. If I am not mistaken, this *vel potius* does nothing else but lay bare what was implicit in the corporative idea and in the term *collegium*. For, *collegium* is *corpus*, so much so that Roman Law[14] and the jurists[15] frequently, meaning *collegia*, speak of *corpora*, without any addition. St. Thomas simply explains his metaphor, and this is required by the logic of his demonstration, not by fear of, or displeasure with, his own words. There is no getting away from the fact that in *DM* the Angelic Doctor, knowing exactly what he did and meaning it, found formal unity in Humanity and proposed to consider all men as a social organism. Whether this fact authorizes later Thomists to present their theory as the authentic Thomistic doctrine on original sin, is another question—which is to be denied for other reasons. And chief among these is, as I said before and wish to repeat, that *DM*, notwithstanding its peculiarity, follows most exactly the general and essential lines of the Thomistic theology of original sin. After ali, let us not forget that we are dealing here with a special and minor point of this theology.

In the three remaining texts the reader will not fail no notice at once the difference in organization and literary composition.

> *ST*: . . . alia via procedendum est dicendo, quod omnes homines, qui nascuntur ex Adam, possunt considerari ut unus homo, in quantum conveniunt in natura quam a primo parente accipiunt. Secundum quod in civilibus omnes homines, qui sunt unius communitatis, reputantur quasi unus homo; sicut etiam Porphyrius dicit quod *participatione speciei plures homines sunt unus homo*. Sic igitur multi homines ex Adam derivati sunt tamquam multa membra unius corporis.
>
> *ER*: Est enim considerandum quod, sicut diversa corporis membra partes sunt personae unius hominis, ita omnes homines sunt partes et quasi quaedam

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[11] "Adam et le Péché Originel", *Revue Thomiste* XIX (Toulouse, 1911), pp. 68 f., note.

[12] *La Justice Primitive et le Péché Originel* (Paris, 1930), p. 154, note 1.

[13] *RTAM* XII (1940), p. 308.

[14] L. 30 pr., *Dig.*, 41, 3; L. 1, 7, Dig., 48, 18, and often elsewhere.

[15] See the definitions in Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* III, 192 ff., 247 ff.

> membra humanae naturae. Unde et Porphyrius dicit quod *participatione speciei plures homines sunt unus homo.*
> *CT*: Haec quaestio (*scil. whether the lack of original justice is a sin*) de facili solvitur, si distinguatur inter personam et naturam. Sicut enim in una persona multa sunt membra, ita in una humana natura multae sunt personae, ut *participatione speciei multi homines intelligantur* (? *intelliguntur*) *quasi unus homo*, ut Porphyrius dicit.

The simplicity, the economy and accuracy of expression in these texts are unmistakable signs of perfection. The novelty of *ST* is striking in that in the very first proposition the reader's attention is firmly focused on the real point of the fundamental philosophical analogy, namely unity in the multiplicity of all men descending from Adam and sharing the same specific nature. By the second proposition beginning with *Secundum quod*, examples are given which illustrate unity in multiplicity in the human realm. Their merely pedagogical value is clearly marked out. To be sure, the first example, in part, recalls *DM*. Yet in truth it is no longer the example of the former work. It is transformed to convey simply the idea of unity in multiplicity, no matter which specific kind of unity is meant. Its combination with the Porphyrian dictum makes this clear. The Porphyrian unity through participation in one nature, as understood by St. Thomas, merely reveals material unity, and the very combination of the two examples indicates that the point of comparison is not a qualified unity in a qualified multiplicity, but simply unity in multiplicity. Exactly what kind of unity is to be found in the chain of generations deriving from the first man, is another question in which the author manifestly is not interested here. That we are inclined to find the decision of such a problem in the present text and to conclude that the unity is a formal and organic unity, is a mistake of our own making, not at all provoked by this *litera*, although it was indeed provoked by both *CG* and *DM*. But the correct method of reading St. Thomas is not to consider several texts composed at different times as *loca parallela*, one interchangeable with, and absolutely equivalent to, another, but rather to read them in their chronological perspective and with the supposition that they could be distinct elements of a doctrinal evolution. Regarding the conclusion (*Sic igitur multi homines . . .*), it should be carefully noted that there is neither anything in the text nor in St. Thomas' general teaching which warrants the understanding of this proposition as a doctrinal statement. Doctrinally speaking, those "several (!) men born of Adam", as such, do not constitute an organism but merely a material unit, a point which we shall examine more thoroughly later on. The conclusion, then, of the above-quoted passage belongs to, and depends entirely upon, the imagery and pedagogical illustration of St. Thomas' argument.

The text *CT* bears all the marks of being the apex of that development which began in *CG*. In its simplicity of composition, in its completeness of doctrine and in the accurateness with which it brings home the important point, it is unmatched by any other text, even by *ST*. Although no objection can be raised against *ST*'s use of the example of a corporation, yet it seems that to fulfill St. Thomas' very last intention we would do better to pass it over in silence, if we had to give a brief and summary account of the definitively Thomistic doctrine. Its pedagogical value. the author of *CT* manifestly decides, is not very considerable. It might even give occasion to misunderstanding. In *CT*, then, Porphyry emerges as the authority scoring the final and victorious point. And it is, of course, not the original Platonic Porphyry. As always in St. Thomas, this Neo-Platonist is not allowed to produce his numerically one Platonic nature. He is made to authenticate only the specifically one nature: and this for definite reasons which shall be investigated later on. And what does Porphyry say? His affirmation, in

St. Thomas, is that in the indefinite chain of human generation there is nevertheless unity, merely material unity, of course, because, and inasmuch as, there is the one specific nature running through the whole line as far as it goes. It is a multitude of accidentally related causes, since

> *De Veritate* II, 10: Per accidens multitudo causarum invenitur, quando omnia quae multitudine continentur quasi loco unius ponuntur.

This is the true meaning of the proposition: *participatione speciei multi homines intelliguntur quasi unus homo*. The emphasis falls on *unus*, not on *homo*.

ER, too, is remarkable for the directness of its argumentation. It also shows that the author is quite aware of the danger of misinterpretation which menaced *CG* and *DM* and, therefore, belongs outside the group constituted by these two works. Yet the text does not seem to give any clue as to its exact location with regard to *ST* and *CT*.

The most eloquent apologist of *DM* in recent times is Father R. Bernard, O.P. In his very readable and persuasive commentary,[16] he emphatically insists on *la grande doctrine de l'incorporation au premier homme*. He urges that it is necessary to understand this incorporation in exactly the same sense as when we speak of our incorporation in Christ or of the incorporation in a Body Corporate, an organized society. *Tout le genre humain fait corps avec Adam*, and, *Le péché du chef est le péché des membres*:—these two assertions, Fr. Bernard would lead us to believe, formally constitute, as a major and a minor, St. Thomas' demonstration of original sin. It seems to us that they do not do so, not even in *CG* and *DM* which are just as far from presenting such a unilinear kind of argumentation as the other works are. Yet *CG* and *DM*, in a definite way, do warrant the assumption that all men descending from Adam are to be considered as *une seule et même société de membres pensants*, whatever, if this be true, the consequences are in regard to St. Thomas' notion of society—it will be necessary later on to discuss the intrinsic merits of this conception. For the moment, let us maintain that a serious and, we hope, not far-fetched objection may be raised against Fr. Bernard's views. This objection is based on the fact of a noticeable development in St. Thomas' thought regarding the problem of whether the idea of organic and formal unity may be applied to a series of causes consisting of the first man, the second, the third, and so on; for whatever else there be in "those who are born from Adam" beside the first man and the second and the third and so on, even Fr. Bernard is unable to say. And the earlier Scholastics, like Billuart, on whose authority he relies, were quite right, knowing as they did the formal emptiness of a mere chain of generations, in putting something else into it, *viz.*, The Covenant. By an edict of the Supreme Sovereign the material unit of mankind might have been transformed into a formal totality and the Body Corporate of Humanity erected. But already in the XVIth century Dominicus Soto[17] had stigmatized this Covenant as "an old wives' tale". Our objection, then, states that *DM* in the passage we quoted above, cannot be taken as a final and valid expression of the Angelic Doctor's thought.

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[16] *Le Péché* II (*S. Thomas d'Aquin, Somme Théologique, Editions de la Revue des Jeunes, Paris*, 1931), pp. 332-340.

[17] *De Natura et Gratia* (Venice, 1547), fol. 34r: Nec cogitandum est (ut quidam effingunt) pactum intercessisse inter Deum et Adam, ut cum primum peccasset, natura expoliaretur illis caelestibus donis, et ita nomine totius generis humani consensum praebuisse, atque hac causa totum genus, eo peccante, peccasse. Est enim fabula. — In spite of this very pertinent remark Dominicus Soto does not, in his subsequent explanations, re-produce the genuine Thomistic doctrine.

V. *"ADAM HABUIT RATIONEM CAUSAE UNIVERSALIS"*

Is there any additional evidence for the fact, established in the preceding chapter, of a development in the Thomistic doctrine against the Pelagian negation of original sin? It seems to us that there is. We might point, for instance, to the notion of *peccatum quodammodo commune*. *DM* is the only text among the six which designates original sin as a kind of collective guilt.[1] We might furthermore call attention to the fact that *CG* and *DM* are the only texts which stress rather emphatically and repeatedly the notion of *peccatum totius naturae* instead of *peccatum naturae*, an expression manifestly preferred by St. Thomas in his later writings.[2] But there is one other notion of very special interest in this connection. This is the definition of the first man as universal cause (*causa universalis*) of the human race and, consequently also, of its corruption.

The 18th *In contrarium* in *DM* sets forth the following objection against the thesis of the article, *viz.*, that original sin is transmitted to all the descendants of Adam:

> *DM*: . . . causa particularis non inducit effectum universalem. Sed peccatum Adae fuit quoddam particulare. Non ergo potuit inficere totam humanam naturam aliquo peccato.

Without hesitation St. Thomas answers by nullifying the minor of this argument.

> *DM*: Ad decimumoctavum: Dicendum quod Adam, in quantum fuit principium humanae naturae, habuit rationem causae universalis. Et ita per eius actum corrupta est tota humana natura, quae ab eo propagatur.

The *Contra Gentiles*, as far as I can see, is the only other work to characterize Adam's sin as a universal cause. This fact again shows the kinship of the *Contra Gentiles* and the *De Malo* in the teaching on original sin.

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[1] *Commune peccatum* and *peccatum commune totius naturae* also occur in *III*, 1, 4 in 3^a (cf. *ad* 3) and *III*, 14, 4. The *corpus* of *III*, 1, 4 is noteworthy for the understanding of these terms: . . . Alio modo dicitur aliquid maius extensive, sicut dicitur maior albedo quae est in maiori superficie. Et hoc modo peccatum originale, per quod totum genus humanum inficitur, est maius quolibet peccato actuali, quod est proprium singularis personae. Cf. *II-II*, 163, 3 *ad* 3, text quoted *infra* p. 38. The *Scriptum* also speaks of *communis corruptio*. 3 *Sent.*, 20, 2 ad 4: . . . quamvis natura non sit corrupta nec reparatione indigens nisi secundum quod est in persona, tamen aliqua corruptio debetur naturae, non secundum quod est determinata in hac persona, sed secundum hoc quod est in omnibus illis qui per vitiatam originem ab Adam naturam humanam accipiunt. Unde pro ista *communi corruptione* non potest unus solus satisfacere nec etiam simul omnes, quia natura etiam excedit omnes illos qui naturam humanam habent, cum ad plures se extendere possit. — Cf. the notion of *peccatum commune* in *II-II*, 58, 5 ad 3.

[2] *DM* is especially rich in its socio-philosophical vocabulary. It uses the expressions: principium totius naturae humanae, tota humana natura, peccatum totius naturae, peccatum commune totius humanae naturae, pars quaedam multitudinis ab Adam derivatae (art. 2). These terms are avoided in the later works. The following phrase in *CT* is significant in this regard: Per hunc igitur modum defectus originalis iustitiae est peccatum naturae, in quantum derivatur ex inordinata voluntate primi principii in natura humana, scilicet primi parentis: et sic est voluntarium habito respectu ad naturam, voluntate scilicet primi principii naturae . . . Compare also the following two exactly corresponding propositions in *DM* and *ST*, by which the difference between these works can be most clearly seen. *DM*: Si ergo consideratur iste defectus . . . secundum illud quod homo est quaedam persona singularis, sic huiusmodi defectus non potest habere rationem culpae . . . Sed si consideratur iste homo sicut quoddam *membrum totius humanae naturae a primo parente propagatae*, ac si omnes homines essent unus homo, sic rationem culpae habet . . . Ita huiusmodi defectus non dicitur esse peccatum personale, sed *peccatum totius naturae*. — *ST*: Et sicut peccatum actuale quod per membrum aliquod committitur, non est peccatum illius membri, nisi in quantum illud membrum est aliquid *ipsius hominis* (*DM*: *totius hominis*) propter quod vocatur peccatum humanum, ita peccatum originale non est peccatum huius personae, nisi in quantum *haec persona recipit naturam a primo parente*. Unde et vocatur *peccatum naturae*.

> *Contra Gentiles* IV, 55 (*Ed. Leon. man.*, p. 520b): Mors . . . Christi est quaedam universalis causa salutis, sicut peccatum primi hominis fuit quasi universalis causa damnationis.

What does St. Thomas mean by universal cause?[3]

In Thomistic philosophy the abstract notion of *causa universalis* contains three elements. *First*, the transcendence of the universal agent. This agent is placed outside, as it were, and above the species or order of causes and effects which it comprises and produces. Hence it is a cause in a way which is different from, and superior to the way in which causality is found within that species or order. In other words, compared to these immanent causes, the universal cause is such analogically speaking. The *second* essential element of the universal cause is its priority in regard to the particular and univocal causes within the order or species. This priority concerns nature and perfection rather than time. The universal agent is *primum in genere*. *Thirdly*, the universal cause is that cause on which depends an *ordo per se*, not an *ordo per accidens*, of causes and effects. Universal cause and particular causes, therefore, stand to each other as *causa principalis* and *causa instrumentalis*.

This abstract notion of universal causality finds its application and its proper, though analogical, verification in several fields. In metaphysics it applies to God, the first universal cause of being. But, *suo modo*, it also has its place in physics as well as in moral philosophy, especially in that part of it, which is social philosophy.

With regard to Thomistic physics, we should note only the one constant use of this notion which directly concerns our problem and is most helpful in clarifying the text of *DM*.[4] According to Aristotelian and Arabian[5] physics the universal, the first and analogical cause of generation is the sun, the fountain of all natural life; every active cause within the sublunar world is but a particular, second and univocal cause of that which it generates. For, the individual of a nature is what it is by its nature. Hence, if we declared a human individual (be he even the first of all in history) to be the first cause of human nature, we would at the same time affirm this individual to be the cause of himself.[6] This affirmation would be absurd, since it runs counter to the elementary principle of causality: whatever is caused, is caused by another. It is impossible, therefore, that Adam be such a "super-man", *i.e.*, a human individual and, at the same time, the transcendent universal cause, in a physical sense, of humanity itself. In *DM ad* 18, St. Thomas most certainly did not mean to make this statement. This would have been a lapsus which it is impossible to assume in Aquinas, even according to the most rigourous rules of interpretation.

The true meaning of *habere rationem causae universalis* must be that which emerges in the light of social philosophy. In fact, St. Thomas freely and frequently makes use of the notion of universal cause in a socio-philosophical context. The head of a community, *v.g.*, the king in his kingdom, is the "universal cause" of government in his realm: *Rex est universalis causa regiminis in regno.*[7] For, *mutatis mutandis*, *i.e.*, analogically speaking, all the essential notes of universal causality fit into the old and clear-cut notion St. Thomas had of a "superior" and of governance.[8] And did not the first man, in the *corpus articuli* of *DM*, appear as a *princeps civitatis*?

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[3] Cf. *Metaph.* 5, 3; *Phys.* 2, 6; *I*, 13, 5 *ad* 1 *et alibi.*

[4] This doctrine is of course well-known in *De Malo.* See *ibid.* IV, 3; Causa autem est duplex, scilicet instrumentalis et principalis. In principali quidem causa est aliquid secundum similitudinem formae, vel eiusdem speciei, sit sit causa univoca: puta cum homo generat hominem vel ignis ignem, vel secundum aliquam excellentiorem formam, si sit agens non univocum: sicut sol generat hominem . . .

[5] 2 *Sent.*, 18, II, 1: [Est] duplex agens secundum Avicennam (*Philosophia Prima*, tr. VI, c. 3: *Opera*, ed. Venice 1508, fol. 92va), unum quod habet causalitatem respectu totius speciei . . . , aliud autem est causa respectu unius individui tantum.

[6] *Contra Gentiles* II, 21: Quidquid est causatum secundum aliquam naturam, non potest esse prima causa illius naturae, sed secunda et instrumentalis. Sortes enim, quia habet suae humanitatis causam, non potest esse prima humanitatis causa: quia, cum humanitas sua sit ab aliquo causata, sequeretur quod esset sui ipsius causa, cum sit id quod est per humanitatem. Cf. *I*, 45, 1 *ad* 1, *et alibi.*

The response *ad* 18 in *DM* is a very revealing text. It shows how consistent St. Thomas was and how deeply a position, once taken even in a minor point of the argumentation, spreads over his whole thought and makes itself felt at a rather unexpected moment. For there is no doubt that, in regard to this doctrine of the *causa universalis*, *CG* and *DM* are unique among all of St. Thomas' works.

Let us choose a few of the more characteristic texts from the wealth of documentation available in this matter.

The *Scriptum* contains an important declaration as to how we are to understand the fact that Adam is *principium humanae naturae* (*CT*, by the way, significantly uses the expression: *principium in humana natura*):

> 2 *Sent.*, 33, I, 1 *ad* 5: . . . principium alicuius naturae potest accipi dupliciter. Vel secundum quod natura consideratur absolute secundum rationem speciei: et hoc modo Adam non fuit principium naturae humanae nisi per accidens, nec sic etiam totam naturam humanam infecit, quia si aliquis de limo terrae iterum formaretur, originalem maculam non haberet. Aut prout habet esse natura communis in individuis: et hoc modo quodlibet generans est quodam modo naturae principium in genito. Et secundum hunc modum ille homo, ex quo omnes homines geniti sunt, naturae humanae principium dicitur esse.

Thus Adam is nothing but an historical beginning. He is simply the one who started the series of human generations. The fact that at one time he was the only man—a fact much stressed in XIIIth century theology—does not make him a sort of super-man in a physical, transcendental sense. No attempt is here made to promote the first man to the dignity of a *causa universalis* or to make the line of generations into an *ordo causarum per se.*

The *lectio* on original sin in the *Expositio ad Romanos* (*ER*) presents no occasion to discuss our problem. Later on, however, when dealing with *Rom.* v, 15 ff., St. Thomas sets up and follows out a minute comparison between Christ's grace and Adam's sin.[9] Undoubtedly the *gratia capitalis* is a universal cause in the proper and physical as well as moral signification of the term. The *Expositio*, however, completely—and intentionally, of course—refrains from comparing the universality of Christ's grace with a supposed universality of Adam's sin.

No word, either in the *Prima* or the *Prima Secundae*, even alludes to the possibility of Adam being *causa universalis* at least in the light of social philosophy. In the very detailed account, in the *Prima Pars*, of Adam's physiological, phychological and moral constitution,[10] we learn how the first man had "*dominion over the fish*

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[7] *Contra Gentiles* II, 15, § Secundum ordinem effectuum.

[8] A most eloquent and historically interesting text in support of this statement is *Expos. s. Libr. De Causis, lect. 3* (*Opusc.*, ed. Mandonnet I, p. 208): Secundum hoc igitur dicitur "anima nobilis", i.e., divina anima caelestis corporis (*this refers to the text of the De Causis*) secundum opinionem Platonicorum, qui posuerunt caelum animatum. Haec enim anima secundum eos habet aliquam influentiam universalem super res per motum, et ex hoc divina dicitur eo modo loquendi, quo etiam apud homines qui universalem curam reipublicae habent Divini dicuntur. — A universal cause has the similitude of its effect in a more eminent way (*De Malo*, see above, note 4). In the relation of *praelatio* this is verified by what St. Thomas calls *gradus superioritatis*, cf. *Exp. s. Dionys. De Divinis Nominibus* XII (*Opusc.*, ed. Mandonnet II, 630); *De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis*, c. 23, *op. cit.*, IV, 251: Ubicumque est ordo vel superioritas aliqua, ibi est aliquis gradus.

[9] *Exp. Ep. ad Rom.* 5, 5.

[10] *Summa Theol.* I, 90-102.

of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and the cattle, and all the earth, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (*Gen.* i, 26). But that he also was made king, albeit in a definite matter and for a special effect, over all men to come, and that thus all men were morally and juridically incorporated in a vast Human City—this we are never told or given to understand.

Two texts of the later part of the *Summa* are noteworthy. In the *Secunda Secundae*, Aquinas asks the question: was Adam's sin the greatest of all? It appears to be such, he remarks in the objections, since it was the first sin: and "the first in every genus is the greatest, as is said in the *Metaphysics*". The answer is this:

> *II-II*, 163, 3 *ad* 3: . . . in his quae sunt per se ordinata oportet id quod est primum esse maximum. Talis autem ordo non attenditur in peccatis, sed unum per accidens sequitur post aliud. Unde non sequitur, quod primum peccatum sit maximum.

This decision is not only silent about the assumption of *DM* ad 18, but also incompatible with it. The original sins are as many as there are men, individuals in human nature, born of Adam. The number is indefinite. The sequence of these sins is *per accidens.*

The *Tertia* at one point resumes the comparison of the *Expositio ad Romanos* between the grace of Christ and the sin of Adam. Is the latter *peccatum capitale* (*le péché du chef*: R. Bernard), just as the former is *gratia capitalis*? It could be called such, of course, if Adam were a universal cause of the human race and had, as such, caused the corruption of human nature. In *III*, 19, 4 *ad* 1, as in all corresponding texts, St. Thomas carefully avoids establishing an analogy between Christ and Adam in that both were cause as well as *caput.* In the Angelic Doctor's theology Adam is never called *caput*, as will be shown later on.

The *Compendium*, finally, with a well-pondered and polished statement, leads us to the peak of St. Thomas' doctrine.

> *Compendium Theologiae*, c. 198: Quamvis autem peccatum primi parentis totam humanam naturam infecerit, non tamen potuit per eius poenitentiam vel quodcumque eius meritum tota natura reparari. Manifestum est enim, quod poenitentia Adae vel quodcumque aliud eius meritum fuit actus singularis personae. Actus autem alicuius individui non potest in totam naturam speciei. Causae enim quae possunt in totam speciem sunt causae aequivocae et non univocae. Sol enim est causa generationis in tota specie humana, sed homo est causa generationis huius hominis. Singulare ergo meritum Adae vel cuiuscumque puri hominis sufficiens esse non poterat ad totam naturam reintegrandam. Quod autem per actum singularem primi hominis tota natura est vitiata, per accidens est consecutum, in quantum eo privato innocentiae statu, per ipsum in alios derivari non potuit.

This last proposition should not perhaps be read as a direct criticism and rebuke of the thesis held in *DM ad* 18. For it does not discuss the question whether in the light of social philosophy the first man could not pass as a universal cause. The socio-philosophical point of view, however, is on the whole clearly abandoned in *CT*: and therefore St. Thomas' silence here is significant. It is an indirect criticism and an implicit retractation of *DM ad* 18.

What is definitely Thomistic doctrine is clear. It is a theology of Adam and the Fall on the basis of the Biblical account, not of speculation and imagination. Adam was the first man, as Sacred Scripture teaches. This means that in him the line of human generation has its beginning; and after him it runs through, and branches out into, an indefinite number of men (indefinite: inasmuch as we consider only the protoparent and his vast offspring.) This line is one in virtue of the one specific nature passed on from father to son. Yet Adam, as again Holy Writ testifies, corrupted human nature, *i.e.*, his own nature, the nature in himself. He was deprived of the state of innocence which is an accident of nature, *i.e.*, of his own nature, of the nature in himself. Now, since "the begotten is of the same species as the begetter",[11] Adam could not but pass on nature as it was in him, together with that privation and corruption which in his descendants proves to be a sin, analogically but properly speaking. He passed it on to his son, who in turn passed it on to his son, and so on, since one can give only what one has. In this way the corruption and all its consequences extended to all men, *i.e.*, to all those to whom human nature was and is and will be passed on by way of natural generation. It spread to the "whole" of human nature, which "whole" merely expresses the numerical extension of all men, and nothing more.[12] Where, may I ask, is there any trace of *la grande vision d'une société de membres pensants*? Still it must be granted that this vision, or something like it, did at some time pass through St. Thomas' mind; and perhaps it did slightly more than just pass through his mind. Surely, to deny this would not be a correct and faithful interpretation of the texts. But since Aquinas was bent more on simple truth, capable of proof, than on visions, however grandiose but devoid of foundation—did he not also refuse to be taken in by a certain grandiose vision in the discussion of the motive of Incarnation?—he resisted the temptation and reversed the trend of his thought. From playing (if I may say so) with the idea that Adam was a superman, he turned back to considering him just as a man, the first of all, yet essentially nothing but a human individual. Mankind, then, as deriving from the protoparent, is only the first man who is an immanent and historical, not a transcendent and metaphysical beginning, and, after him, the second begotten by the first, and the third begotten by the second, and so on and so forth. The anti-Pelagian discussion will be successful only if it keeps to these facts granted by Holy Scripture and substantiated by philosophy.

VI. *PLATONISM IN THE THEOLOGY OF ORIGINAL SIN. THE SOURCES OF DE MALO IV, 1*

Historically speaking *CG* and *DM* are linked with the attempt, manifest in the schools of the XIIIth century, to remove from the theology of original sin certain Platonic traces which were attached to a tradition stemming from St. Anselm of Canterbury. The *causa universalis* is a successor of the *homo universalis* in that former theology. St. Albert as well as Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventure on the Franciscan side, each in his own way, had already set themselves to the task of eliminating, by careful correction, the mistake of this early and curious Platonism. The author of *DM*, then, continued and polished his predecessors' solution by recurring to contemporary juridical science. Let me explain this summary statement in detail.

In his enlightening studies on the mediaeval doctrine of original sin Dom Lottin[1] showed that it was the revival of the Anselmian teaching, almost completely forgotten during the XIIth century, which in great part characterized the theological efforts of Scholasticism in the first half of the XIIIth century. But the writings of St. Anselm were not the only ones to be exploited in the wake of this renascence, as Dom Lottin himself has aptly observed. St. Albert, whose works in so many cases are an extremely helpful *Who's Who* in regard to mediaeval doctrinal currents, draws attention to another noteworthy name, that of Odo, Bishop of Cambrai,[2] who died in 1113. Odo had written the first mediaeval scholarly monograph on original sin, the *De Peccato Originali*. According to all the evidence this work depends doctrinally on St. Anselm of Canterbury. In the XIIIth century it was destined to give rise to a most surprising and, at that time, most novel theory.

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[11] *Metaphysics*, Zeta 8, 1033b 30.

[12] The *De Malo* expresses this very aptly: . . . talis corruptio naturae derivatur ad omnes, sicut si aqua corrumperetur in fonte, corruptio deveniret ad totum rivum derivatum ex fonte (*IV*, 6 *ad* 9). The text *Quodlib.* XII, 32 has the same meaning: Peccatum originale est peccatum naturae et non attingit personam nisi inquantum est in tali natura. Tota autem humana natura est sicut unus homo.

[1] "Le Traité du Péché Originel chez les Premiers Maîtres Franciscains de Paris", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* XVIII, 1941, pp. 26 ff., pp. 43 ff.

Taking his inspiration from Platonic philosophy and partly also from certain Greek ecclesiastical writers,[3] Odo of Cambrai had found a very clear-cut solution to the vexing problem: why did all men sin in Adam? Human nature, he supposes, is the numerically one and invariable Platonic form and idea. Instead, however, of finding the place of this idea in a Platonic heaven, he located it in paradise. Adam, then, is human nature in the very substantial and realistic Platonic sense. He is *homo species*, substantially identical with all further copies of the original. When Adam sinned there was no other man to be found anywhere. In him, therefore, the person sinned in such a way that at the same time the total human substance, *i.e.*, that Platonic metaphysical reality, was sinfully vitiated.

> Odo of Cambrai, *De peccato originali* II:[4] Est ergo personae substantia peccato vitiata, et inficit peccatum substantiam, quae nusquam est extra peccatricem personam. Substantia vero una et eadem est utriusque personae, communis ipsis et specialis. In peccatricibus ergo personis est infecta peccato natura specialis, quae non est alibi quam in ipsis. In anima Adam ergo et in anima Evae, quae personaliter peccaverunt, infecta est peccato tota natura humanae animae.

Does not St. Anselm himself, as it were, take a peep at the reader from behind these lines? At least Odo's opinion, that in paradise human nature was nowhere else than in the first couple, is of Anselmian origin.

> St. Anselm, *De conceptu virginali*, 2:[5] . . . tota natura humana in illis erat, et extra illos de illa nihil erat.
>
> And again *ibid.*, 23:[6] Persona enim erat, quod dicebatur Adam; natura quod homo. Fecit igitur persona peccatricem naturam, quia cum Adam peccavit, homo peccavit.

However, whether St. Anselm would agree with the whole of Odo's Platonic Realism is a disputed question,[7] but of no importance to our present investigation.

In a word, then, Odo's theory is that of the real, substantial identity of Adam and all men.

This idea had a considerable influence upon some of the early XIIIth century Masters who, however, took care at once to tone down its all too bright Platonic colouring. Suffice it to quote some more revealing texts from Dom Lottin's collection. The author of the following passage edited from Paris *Nat. Lat.* 15272 and 16406 is a Franciscan Master whom P. Glorieux, "without perhaps too much foundation" (Lottin),[8] identified as Alexander of Hales.

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[2] St. Albert, 2 *Sent.*, 30, 2; text quoted *infra*, p. 42.

[3] See especially St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio*, 16, PG 44, 185C. St. Gregory's "universal man" was not, however, Adam but the man who is mentioned "when Scripture says that God created man: the very indefiniteness of the word *man* indicates that a universal human being is meant". — *Idem, De communibus notionibus*, PG 45, 180 D, 181 C. Cf. R. Arnou, "Platonisme des Pères", *DTC* XII, 2, c. 2346 f.—For Scotus Eriugena see A. Gaudel, "Péché Originel", *DTC* XII, 1, c. 433.

[4] PL 160, 1081 D.

[5] PL 158, 434.

[6] PL 158, 456.

[7] See J.-B. Kors, O.P., *La Justice Primitive et le Péché Originel* (Paris, 1930), p. 30, n. 1.

> (Alexander of Hales), *De Peccato Originali:*[9] . . . secundum quod dicit Anselmus, non solum peccavit ipse [Adam] in quantum erat singularis persona, sed in quantum in eo erat universalis natura cuiuslibet hominis.
>
> *Et infra:* Ad illud quod obicitur quod secundum legem temporalem pro peccato patris non punitur filius in anima, sed in temporalibus . . . dicendum est et secundum Augustinum et secundum Anselmum quod non puniuntur posteri proprie pro peccato Adae sed pro proprio peccato, cum non peccaverit Adam solum secundum quod erat singularis persona, sed secundum quod natura cuiuslibet hominis erat in eo . . . Unde peccatum originale non solum est voluntarium ratione voluntatis personalis Adae, sed ratione voluntatis communis quae fuit in Adam recedendo a iustitia naturali.[10]
>
> *Et infra:* . . . potest esse praeceptum datum vel singulari personae in quantum singularis est, vel in quantum in ipsa singulari persona est natura communis cuiuslibet posteri, ut non solum obligetur vel adstringatur illo praecepto persona illa singularis sed etiam omnes posteri in quantum natura communis cuiuslibet illorum est in illa singulari persona. Et ideo . . . potest esse corruptio in quolibet postero propter corruptionem naturae communis quae per illud peccatum corrupta est secundum quod respiciebat posteros.

The *Summa Theologiae* attributed to Alexander of Hales adds to this the following interesting details.

> (Alexander of Hales), *Summa Theologiae:*[11] Quod autem inobedientia non fuerit tantum personalis in Adam, patet per hoc quod dicit Augustinus super illud *Ad Rom.* v, 19: *Sicut per inobedientiam unius hominis* etc; facit enim vim in hoc quod dicit *unius hominis*, i.e., hominis totius in uno. Sicut enim Christus, si fuisset homo et non caput hominis, habuisset obedientiam personalem tantum nec redundaret eius obedientia in alios quantum ad effectum, sed, quia fuit caput, extendit se eius obedientia quantum ad effectum in omnes quorum erat caput, ita inobedientia Adae, prout in eo erat tota natura humana, redundavit in omnes qui seminaliter ab ipso sunt geniti.

As may be expected, St. Albert did not overlook this novel theory. He knows its long-forgotten true author. He also wishes to satisfy himself as to its true value. Its Platonism arouses his suspicion. He therefore supplies an ingenious interpretation by which he endeavours to bring this daring novelty back to the fold. What he calls *via praehabita* in the following text is the *via magistralis*, the old and proven method of Augustinian theologians in the matter of original sin.

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[8] *loc. cit.*, p. 26.

[9] Texts edited by Lottin, *loc. cit.*, p. 45, ll. 59-61; p. 46, ll. 91-100; p. 47, ll. 8-17.

[10] Compare the following answers of St. Thomas to the same or a similar objection: *SS ad* 1: peccatum originale, cum non sit vitium personae ut persona est, sed quasi per accidens, in quantum persona habet talem naturam, ideo non oportet quod sit in potestate huiusmodi personae hunc defectum habere vel non habere, sed sufficit quod sit in potestate alicuius *qui est natura illa*: quia ex hoc quod *habens aliquam naturam* peccavit, natura infecta est, et per consequens inficitur in omnibus illis qui ab illo naturam trahunt. Et ideo potest dici culpa naturae, cum aliquis *in natura illa* subsistens per voluntatem defectum istum in *totam naturam* causaverit. — *DM* ad 19: . . . peccatum primi hominis est quodammodo *peccatum commune totius humanae naturae* . . . Et ideo cum aliquis punitur pro peccato primi parentis, *non punitur pro peccato alterius, sed pro peccato suo.* — *ST ad* 1: . . . filius dicitur non portare peccatum patris, quia *non punitur pro peccato patris, nisi sit particeps culpae.* Et sic est in proposito: derivatur enim *per originem* culpa a patre in filium, *sicut* et peccatum actuale per imitationem. — St. Thomas started out with a position which is very much like that of Alexander of Hales. In *ST*, however, he has clearly reached a doctrine of his own.

[11] *Ed.* Quaracchi III, 243.

> St. Albert, 2 *Sent.*, 30, 2:[12] Alia via solvendi est cuiusdam Domini Ebdoms (*read* Odonis), Episcopi Cameracensis, qui ponit quod natura communis participat in persona in agendo in corpore. Sequitur enim: si hic homo peccat, quod homo peccat; et si hic homo peccato corrumpitur, quod homo peccato corrumpitur, eo quod natura communis secundum esse non est nisi in isto, praecipue in Adam, antequam derivaretur in alios. Ergo in ipso natura tota et omnis corrupta fuit. Sed universali correspondet particulare. Ergo naturae corruptae in communi oportet respondere quodlibet particulare corruptum per actum generationis ex illo, in quo ipsa corrupta est.—Et hoc redit in idem cum via praehabita, licet sint alia verba et postea iterum idem modus solvendi.

Elsewhere St. Albert says in the same conciliatory vein:

> St. Albert, *De Peccato Originali:*[13] Ita per omnem modum, cum Adam non esset tantum homo particularis, sed homo universalis, in quo sicut in primo propagante active et sicut in principio materiali erat tota natura humana, nunc facta in eo ab aliquo principio eiusdem generis, ipso corrupto, cum esset quasi prima rectitudo regulans totam propagationem, errante regula necesse fuit in tota propagatione corruptionem illius rectitudinis [*word lacking*: *descendere*?]: hanc autem dico originale.

It will be carefully noted that St. Albert's *homo universalis* is not now such by predication, but by effective causality. The Platonic Man, a universal form, has become a universal cause. No doubt this transformation is a very radical one, and St. Albert brings it about with admirable Aristotelian thoroughness. Yet the *causa universalis* is a correction of, and a substitute for, the *homo universalis*, as the above texts clearly indicate when viewed in the light of history. The former therefore depends on the latter, historically speaking. The historian of Thomism will be grateful to St. Albert to have revealed the historical nexus between Platonism and the peculiar theory in *DM*. Although the term *causa universalis* is not mentioned by the German Master, yet the idea is quite clearly implied in his use of the word *homo universalis*. The notion of *prima rectitudo regulans totam propagationem* also points to a causality of universal range and power. For, according to Aristotle, it is the *primum in genere*, *i.e.*, the universal cause which is the "rule and measure" of that genus or order.

St. Albert's contribution to the story which we are trying to reconstruct lies in this thorough-going transformation as it appears in his notion of *homo universalis*. Despite the term there is no longer any connotation of a formal, substantial identity between Adam and all men. Rather a causal similitude, as that between cause and effect, is assumed to explain the relation between the protoparent and his offspring. On the basis of this interpretation, Albert can indeed declare that the novel theory is reducible to the *via magistralis*, *i.e.*, the Augustinian explanation.

St. Bonaventure in his turn took an important step further in the correction of the early Platonist theology. Odo of Cambrai's argumentation appears in the *fundamenta*[14] of the Franciscan Doctor's teaching, yet in the shape given it by the Dominican Master. The transmission of original sin cannot be fully realized if no account is taken of that "indivision, in Adam, between nature and person" so significantly stressed by St. Anselm: *Tota natura [erat] in Adam, quando peccavit.* St. Bonaventure, however, resolutely turns away from the term *homo universalis* which, in fact, he never uses. Instead all emphasis falls now, as it did in St. Albert, on what the Seraphic Doctor calls *totius humanae naturae principium.* But the originality of his teaching comes out when he adds two important details in his description of Adam's position and rôle. Adam is, *first,* the trunk (*stipes*) of the whole human family-tree. Humanity is a family, *i.e.*, a society, and even a city. For, according to the well-known patriarchal outlook[15] of many mediaeval and especially Franciscan Masters there is no specific distinction between a family and a city. And, furthermore, in the *second* place, the obligation of preserving original justice was imposed on Adam, not as an individual, but as the founder and patriarch of the whole human family. He accepted this obligation for all of us. Therefore, in him we all accepted the same obligation and, failing to honour it, we are in sin; for sin consists in the culpable negligence of a rightful duty.

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[12] *Ed.* Borgnet 27, 500.

[13] *Vat. Lat.* 781, f. 28^{vb}, text edited by Lottin, *RTAM* XII, 1940, pp. 277 f.

[14] 2 *Sent.*, 30, I, 2, *fund.* 3; ed. Quaracchi II, 718a.

> St. Bonaventure, 2 *Sent.*, 30, I, 2:[16] Potuit autem Adam totam naturam corrumpere et culpabilem facere suo peccato triplici conditione concurrente. Prima est, quia non tantum erat humanae naturae individuum, sed totius humanae naturae principium. Secunda est, quia non tantum fuit sibi datum mandatum sicut singulari personae, sed tanquam stipiti totius humanae naturae . . . Tertia, quia Adam innocentiam et immortalitatem susceperat pro se et sua tota posteritate.
>
> *Id., ibid.*, 33, I, 1:[17] Ad hoc igitur, quod aliquis possit peccatum ex patre contrahere, necesse est, quod in illo possit ad aliquid obligari, et possit eo bono, ad quod obligatur, in ipso privari, et quod possit etiam maculari. Ad aliquid enim tota natura humana et omnes eius posteri in illo obligati fuerunt, videlicet ad habendam rectitudinem iustitiae sive non concupiscendum.

To be sure, a certain part of this doctrine is due to some suggestions made by earlier Franciscans.[18] But St. Bonaventure's original contribution to the discussion consists in stressing the idea of collective obligation and responsibility. Hereby the Seraphic Doctor transformed that substantial identity between Adam and all men, as held by Odo of Cambrai, into a juridical representation. It is not as though Adam *were* all nature, but Adam *stands for* all nature. And this idea of juridical representation is modelled in St. Bonaventure after the fashion of feudal, patriarchal Law. With this explanation, of course, all the essential elements of an anti-Pelagian demonstration based on the fact of representation are furnished. Not St. Thomas, but St. Bonaventure is the founder of that theory which in later times was to have such an immense vogue.[19]

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[15] The best illustration of this Patriarchalism are St. Bonaventure's elucidations in 2 *Sent.*, 44, a. II; see especially q. 2: *utrum potestas praesidendi sit in homine secundum institutionem naturae vel secundum punitionem culpae* (ed. Quaracchi II, 1007 ff.) Only two powers are natural, *viz.*, the patriarchal powers of the father and those of the husband. Coërcive power which is special to the state of fallen nature is also essentially a patriarchal authority. In the parallel text (2 *Sent.*, 44, I, 3) St. Thomas, on the contrary, takes care to discuss the question under the point of view, not of domestic, but of genuine political power which is specified by the common good. Without as yet knowing the Aristotelian Politics (I, 1252a 7; cf. *II-II*, 58, 7, *ad* 2) Aquinas is thus aware that there is something else besides the "house" and its extension. Cf. also (Alexander of Hales), *Summa Theologica*, ed. Quaracchi II, pp. 777 ff., especially p. 779a: . . . *parenti sive praelato.*

[16] Ed. Quaracchi II, pp. 719 ff.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 783.

[18] See the text of (Alexander of Hales) quoted above p. 41.

[19] Out of his vast and admirable knowledge of the history of theology M. J.

Little is perhaps needed to be added to the Bonaventurian solution. It might, however, be given a slightly different and perhaps more polished shape. This is done by St. Thomas, the author of *DM*. And he was able to do so because he knew more about representation, since he was acquainted with Roman Law and Romanist Jurisprudence.

When Aquinas insists in *DM* that we should understand the principle of representative action to be an Aristotelian dictum, we should not be misled. Elsewhere he introduces the same principle as an "authority" of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite.[20] Whatever be the Dionysian source, the saying is no Aristotelian quotation. Rather it is a conclusion based on a sentence of the *Nicomachean Ethics*:[21] "With man it is just as it is with the city and with every composite: the part that rules is the whole". From this, St. Thomas clearly says in his commentary, the principle of representative action follows as a conclusion.[22]

In itself, this conclusion is overtly a juristic tenet. For definite reasons St. Thomas did not want to identify it as such. For, to him it seemed "unfit and ridiculous that a professor of sacred doctrine should invoke those glosses of the jurists as authorities and discuss them".[23] The mediaeval students of theology knew what that meant.

In the specific case of our passage in *DM*, however, that "despicable crowd of the jurists" may rightly claim paternity, if not authority. The Roman Law had established and repeatedly urged the *Regula Iuris*:

> L. 160, § 1, *Dig.*, De R. I.: Refertur ad universos quod publice fit per maiorem partem.
>
> L. 19, *Dig.*, 50, 1: Quod maior pars curiae efficit, pro eo habetur, ac si omnes egerint.

And the usual mediaeval expression of this rule is the following formulated by Hugolinus:

Scheeben observes that the Scotists (in whose ancestry St. Bonaventure also figures) adhered to this theory more completely than the Thomists: *Handbuch der kath. Dogmatik* II, 1 (Freiburg i. B., 1878), p. 509 f. No wonder! A Thomist is supposed to know all of St. Thomas. How, then, can he avoid being aware that *DM* is not the Master's last word?

[20] 4 *Sent.*, 45, II, 1, *sol.* 3 (utrum suffragia per peccatores facta mortuis prosint): . . . operatio peccatoris suffragia facientis . . . inquantum est [operatio] alterius . . . dupliciter contingit. Uno modo, in quantum peccator suffragia faciens gerit personam totius Ecclesiae . . . Et quia *ille intelligitur facere cuius nomine vel vice fit*, ut patet per Dionysium, inde est *etc.* — Also *II-II*, 64, 3 ad 1 (with reference to *Exod.* xxxii, 27: *Thus saith the Lord: Put ye everyman his sword upon his thigh . . . and slay everyman his brother and his companion*): *Ille aliquid facit, cuius auctoritate fit*, ut patet per Dionysium. — The reference is probably to *De Caelesti Hierarchia* 13, 4: PG 3, 305 C: When the earthly hierarch performs sacred actions through his ministers and priests, he is understood to perform them himself. — *Quodlib.* XII, 23, *ad* 1 should be read along with these statements: maiores omnia faciunt auctoritate et favore populi: et sic populus in favendo maioribus fuit in culpa. — Mediaeval jurists often explain the position even of the *rector* or the *rectores universitatis* through a commission given to them by all (Gierke, *Genossenschaftsrecht* III, 223 ff.) According to this the majority and the *princeps* in *DM* would also appear as some sort of commissioned agents; the *totum collegium* would be the principal. See *infra*, note 27.

[21] IX, 8, 1168b 31.

[22] 9, 9, ed. Pirotta n. 1869: "Civitas maxime videtur esse quod est principalissimum in ea" (Aristoteles). *Unde* illud quod faciunt rectores civitatis dicitur tota civitas facere. — The Aristotelian word is often quoted by St. Thomas, with or without the juristic conclusion, for instance: 2 *Sent.*, 18, II, 1, *ad* 1; *De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis* 13 (*Opusc.* ed. Mandonnet IV, p. 223); *Exp. Ad Rom.* VII, 3 (ed. Marietti p. 98b); *I-II*, 29, 4 c.; *II-II*, 25, 7; *Lect. in Psalm.* X, n. 4 (ed. Vivès XVIII, 283). Of special interest is the text of the *Scriptum* l. c.: . . . locutio illa [animae quae egressae sunt de femore Iacob] est synecdochia: ponitur enim anima pro toto homine. Et hic modus loquendi consuetus est in Sacra Scriptura et apud philosophos. Unde Philosophus dicit quod totus homo dicitur intellectus, per modum quo etiam tota civitas dicitur rector civitatis.

[23] *Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu* c. 13: *Opusc.*, ed. Mandonnet IV, p. 308.

> Hugolinus, in *Dissensiones Dominorum:*[24] Nam quod universitas vel maior pars vel illi qui a maiore parte universitatis electi sunt, faciunt, perinde est ac si tota universitas faceret.

Representative actions are also attributed by the Glossators to *universitatis praesides*, or to those *qui regunt universitatem.* From the wealth of texts available let us choose

> Pillius, *Summa Cod.*, 10, 38, 11:[25] Municipes scire intelliguntur quod sciunt hi quibus cura municipii commissa est: nam et universis redditur, quod pro voto omnium eorum primatibus indulgetur.[26]

St. Thomas accepted these or other similar sayings of the jurists by offering to them—in return, as it were—a bit of advice on how to systematize these data; a thing which the professors of Law in spite of their tremendous efforts did not achieve. You should oppose, Aquinas seems to say, first, the whole and the part, and, second, distinguish between the material and the formal part.[27]

St. Thomas' contribution, then, to the history of our problem, seems to be rather modest. Neither is the decisive turning from the universal form to the universal cause his, nor the turning from the substantial identity to the juridical representation. All the author of *DM* does is to modify and modernize, from his knowledge of Roman Law, the rather antiquated notions of St. Bonaventure's Patriarchalism. And let it be noted again that even in *DM* St. Thomas did not in any way present the idea of juridical representation as a basis of his theological argumentation, but only as a pedagogical device to facilitate the understanding of one minor point in his otherwise completely different demonstration —different, because it is not unilinear, but analogical. This point was of only secondary interest and later St. Thomas abandoned it even to the limited extent in which it was incorporated in the demonstration of *DM*. In the later writings there is no more than the mere name of Porphyry reminding the knowing reader that once upon a time the ghost of Platonism had stalked through the records of the theology of original sin.

* * *

We have so far considered *DM* in the light of its so-called parallel, or better, doctrinally corresponding passages. The question will now be asked: how does this text stand in regard to St. Thomas general teaching?

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[24] Text quoted by Gierke, *Genossenschaftsrecht* III, p. 222, n. 110.

[25] Text *ibid.*, p. 223, n. 113.

[26] Cf. L. 6, pr., *Cod.* 2, 8.

[27] Because of this division we take the words *plures de collegio* to mean *the majority.* — According to Father De Rooy, O. P., the problem of *Organschaft* versus *Stellvertretung*, a problem stated by *Gierke* and other, especially German, jurists, might be solved with our text in *DM*. See the author's "La Société des Nations", in *Studia Anselmiana* VII-VIII (Rome, 1938), p. 257, n. 96: "Nous préférons la théorie de la 'représentation' et du 'mandat' à celle de l'organe. La première se fonde sur une fiction, la seconde se base sur l'analogie entre la personne morale et physique. La première semble plus conforme à la conception de s. Thomas, comme semble insinuer ce texte: . . . illud quod princeps facit, DICITUR *(capitals by the author)* civitas facere." — Let us observe (*a*) that the word *dicitur* seems to refer to a current dictum rather than to a mere product of rhetorics; (*b*) that in the Middle Ages only the principle of the majority was based on a fiction (Gierke, *op. cit.* III, 220, 322 ff.) while the fact that the superior stands and acts for the whole was never considered to be a merely fictitious device; and (*c*) that St. Thomas did not elaborate any theory on the point in question. Some texts (cf. note 20 above) seem to suggest that a mandate of some sort has been authorized by the community. The texts in note 22, in which the superior is the *pars principalis* in the whole like the intellect in man, rather imply an organic conception such as is compatible with Thomistic philosophy. It seems questionable whether the Gierkean problem itself makes any sense on the basis of Thomism.

Two doctrines are implied in the introductory remarks of the *corpus articuli* in *DM*, viz., first the organic and social unity of mankind under Adam, the first father, and, second, the possibility of collective responsibility. Our investigation must proceed, then, in these two directions. The next question, therefore, will be: does Thomism warrant the notion of a Human Society or City in the manner suggested by *DM*?

VII. *CIVITAS HUMANA*

There is no need to dwell further on the abstract distinction between a formal order, *per se*, and a material multitude, *per accidens*, of causes and effects. In Thomism it is patent that, considering only Adam and the multitude of human individuals deriving from him through generation, we are confronted with nothing but a material and of itself indefinite number of human beings.[1]

But St. Thomas has other and more concrete ways to show that the series of human generations and the true and universal human community are specifically different and should not be confused one with the other. We have only to follow him in a few of these ways and two things will be clear. *First*, except for the allusions in *CG* and *DM*, Aquinas never thought of declaring humanity to be a community under the *primum principium in natura humana* (*CT*); and, *second*, whenever he considers all men as forming a community—which, of course, they do—the reasons for this assertion are other than those recognizable in a chain of generations. The very Thomistic notion of community or society is not verifiable in the unity of all men sharing the same nature.

In point of fact, St. Thomas allows the titles *princeps* and *caput* of all men to be applied only to God and Christ. Apart from this Aquinas also permits a certain use of these appellations with regard to Satan and all his adherents. Never is Adam called *princeps* or *caput* of all humanity.

All men, the *Prima Secundae* affirms, are united in a definite "human community or republic under God", a community ruled by divine law.

> *Summa, I-II,* 100, 5: . . . sicut praecepta legis hummanae ordinant hominem ad quandam communitatem humanam, ita praecepta legis divinae ordinant hominem ad quandam communitatem seu republicam hominum sub Deo.

The *Princeps* of this republic is God, the fountain-head of beatitude and the Supreme Legislator.

> *De perfectione vitae spiritualis*, c. 13 (*Opusc. ed.* Mandonnet, IV, p. 224): . . . omnes homines, in quantum naturaliter in beatitudinem tendunt, habent quandam generalem convenientiam in ordine ad Deum sicut ad summum omnium principem et beatitudinis fontem ac totius iustitiae legislatorem.

A most enlightening lesson on this universal human republic under God is contained in St. Thomas' teaching on the end of all things and of human life.[2] Why shall things come to an end? As long as the human individuals are taken only as such, there appears to be no reason whatever why there should ever be an end, why human nature should ever stop reproducing its kind in more and more individuals; and this all the more so since, according to ancient cosmogony, the first physical and analogical cause of generations and corruptions in this sublunar world, the *motus caeli*, has in itself no principle of deficiency and destruction. But taken as dependent on God's governance and providence in the human community, the indefinite line of human generations changes at once into a definite, limited and intelligible reality. For, as *Princeps* of the human republic, God acts with a plan implying, as does every plan, definiteness and circumscription. Human individuals are numbered: there will be as many as are preordained to enter God's Eternal Kingdom. And "just as a builder thinks out the definite measurements of a house and also the definite number of rooms which he wishes to make in the house and definite measurements of the walls and the roof", so the Builder of the Universe pre-ordains the number and destiny of its chief principal parts, *i.e.*, the elect, "*in whose regard all things work together unto good.*" All things, therefore, will come to an end when the number of the elect is completed. Such is St. Thomas' concrete doctrine on the universal human community. There is, accordingly, no such community to be made up only of human individuals in one nature, and nothing else. The republic of all men has as its constitutive elements divine law on the one hand, and divine election on the other. It does not emerge in the light of philosophy but in that of theology. Philosophy might reach a general and rather vague friendship of all men towards all men by reason of their common nature:

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[1] Generatio secundum naturam in infinitum possibilis est hoc modo quod homo ex homine generatur: 3 *Sent.*, 4, 2, s.c. 3°. Natura . . . infinitatem quandam habet in quantum in ea possunt supposita in infinitum multiplicari: *ibid.*, 20, 2.

[2] *Q. D. De Potentia* 5, 5; *Contra Gentiles* 4, 83, § Haec autem non difficile (*ed. Leon. man.* p. 553b); *I*, 23, 7.

> *De perfectione vitae spiritualis*, c. 14 (*ed. cit.*, IV, 225): Quia enim omnes homines conveniunt in natura speciei, omnis homo est naturaliter omni homini amicus. Et hoc maxime ostenditur in hoc, quod alium errantem in via dirigit et a casu sublevat et alios huiusmodi dilectionis effectus impendit.

But it is a long way—if there be any way—from this friendship, based on similitude, to the republic of all men under God, based on co-operation toward one end.

Since St. Thomas' theology is no uprooted and unhistorical speculation but a doctrine explaining and closely following the theological sources, the name *caput omnium hominum*, in its turn, is never given to Adam to whom no "authority" had ever ventured to attribute it.[3] Nor did Aquinas ever teach, in due form and directness, that all men are *incorporated* in Adam. When, in *CT*, in the context of the demonstration of original sin he uses the words, *quasi quaedam membra eius* [*i.e., Adae*], as a description of all men, this expression belongs, not to the theological doctrine of the passage, but to its imagery and pedagogical illustration. If the term had any direct doctrinal bearing, we should find, as I said above, this "important doctrine of our incorporation into the first man" treated in the very part of the *Summa* where it would belong, *i.e.*, *I*, qq. 90 to 102. We do not find anything even resembling such a treatise. Not Adam but Christ is the head of all men, and all men are incorporated into Christ, not into Adam.[4]

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[3] See also the characteristic text of Alexander of Hales quoted above p. 41. — St. Thomas says *III*, 8, 6 *ad* 1: dicitur rex caput regni sui. But even when in *DM* he seems to compare Adam to a king, he never calls him a *caput*. So also are the words *corpus*, *incorporari*, etc., never used in regard to Adam and humanity. — We are neglecting here another use of the word *caput*: vir [est] caput mulieris: 4 *Sent.*, 35, I, 4 *ad* 1.

[4] *III*, 8, 2: . . . Unde tota Christi humanitas, secundum scilicet animam et corpus, influit in homines et quantum ad animam et quantum ad corpus; sed principaliter quantum ad animam, secundario quantum ad corpus. *Ibid.*, art. 3: . . . dicendum est quod accipiendo generaliter secundum totum tempus mundi, Christus est caput omnium hominum, sed secundum diversos gradus. Primo enim et principaliter est caput eorum qui actu uniuntur sibi per gloriam. Secundo eorum qui actu uniuntur sibi per caritatem. Tertio eorum qui actu uniuntur sibi per fidem. Quarto vero eorum qui sibi uniuntur solum potentia nondum reducta ad actum, quae tamen est ad actum reducenda secundum divinam praedestinationem. Quinto vero eorum qui in potentia sunt sibi uniti quae numquam reducetur ad actum, sicut homines in hoc mundo viventes qui non sunt praedestinati; qui tamen ex hoc saeculo recedentes totaliter desinunt esse membra

The universal human corporation is again a theological, not a philosophical tenet.[5] It affirms the Mystical Body Corporate with its Head, Christ. The following text makes it evident that St. Thomas refuses to be diverted into a thesis which would make Adam the head of mankind.

> *Summa*, *III*, 19, 4: Videtur quod Christus aliis mereri non potuerit. Dicitur enim *Ezech.* xviii, 20: *Anima quae peccaverit ipsa morietur.* Ergo pari ratione anima quae meretur ipsa remunerabitur. Non ergo est possibile quod Christus aliis meruerit . . . Respondeo. Dicendum quod . . . in Christo non solum fuit gratia sicut in quodam homine singulari, sed sicut in capite totius Ecclesiae, cui omnes uniuntur sicut capiti membra, ex quibus constituitur una mystica persona. Et exinde est quod meritum Christi se extendit ad alios, in quantum sunt membra eius, sicut etiam in uno homine actio capitis aliqualiter pertinet ad omnia membra eius, quia non solum sibi sentit, sed omnibus membris.—Ad primum ergo. Dicendum quod peccatum singularis personae non nocet nisi sibi ipsi. Sed peccatum Adae, qui constitutus est a Deo principium totius naturae, ad alios per carnis propagationem derivatur. Et similiter meritum Christi, qui est a Deo constitutus caput omnium hominum quantum ad gratiam, se extendit ad omnia eius membra.

The precision and caution of this text are remarkable. In opposition to *caput omnium hominum quantum ad gratiam* St. Thomas does not use *caput totius naturae* but *principium totius naturae*; and this in spite of the fact that in common language every principle may be termed "head", just as the source is the head of the river and the first sentence the head of the book.[6] And the point of analogy in the comparison between Christ and Adam is not the *ratio capitis* but more generally the *ratio principii*. Human generations supply the material for the social and mystical organism of all men under Christ but men as such do not constitute any social organism.

Revelation and tradition also allow Satan to be called *princeps* and *rex* and the similitude of *caput* and *corpus* to be extended to him and his followers. He is the *prince of this world* (*Joh.* xii, 31) and the *king over all the sons of pride*

Christi, quia iam nec sunt in potentia ut Christo uniantur. Cf. 3 *Sent.*, 13, II, 2, 2, s.c.: Christus satisfecit pro tota natura humana. Sed omnes homines communicant in natura humana. Ergo Christus omnibus influit, et ita videtur quod ipse sit caput omnium. In this text, Aquinas (*a*) indicates the exact location of Adam and all humanity with regard to the Corpus Ecclesiae; (they stand to each other like Matrimony and the Eucharist); and (*b*) suggests the reason why Adam should not be called *caput*. For, the formal point of the analogy of the head is that "the power and movement of the other members, together with the direction of them in their acts, is from the head; . . . hence the ruler is called the head of the people" (*III*, 8, 1). Note 3 *Sent.*, 13, II, 1 ad 5: . . . cum dicimus Christum esse principium membrorum Ecclesiae, non intendimus quantum ad esse naturale, secundum quod sunt homines, sed quantum ad fidem et caritatem, per quam membra Ecclesiae uniuntur. — The articles in *III*, 8 are fundamental reading in mediaeval and Thomistic politics.

[5] In a few texts, St. Thomas speaks of several communities the last of which is "the whole world". 4 *Sent.*, 24, III, 2, *sol.* 3: . . . communitas unius provinciae includit communitatem civitatis (on "province" and "city" see c. 2, C. 6, q. 3), et communitas regni communitatem unius provinciae, et communitas totius mundi includit communitatem unius regni. *De Potentia* 5, 6 *ad* 3: Homo naturaliter non solum de seipso sollicitatur, sed etiam de statu communitatis, cuius est pars, sicut vel domus vel civitatis aut etiam totius orbis. — Manifestly, St. Thomas speaks here after the manner of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14, 7: Post civitatem vel urbem sequitur orbis terrae, in quo tertium gradum ponunt societatis humanae, incipientes a domo, atque inde ad urbem, deinde ad orbem progrediendo venientes. If, therefore, *communitas totius mundi* and *totus orbis* should designate a "natural" community, this would only be the Roman Empire which, by a characteristic synecdoche, the Stoics called "the whole world".

[6] 3 *Sent.*, 13, II, 1: . . . omne principium dicitur caput, sicut fons dicitur caput fluminum, et sicut dicitur caput libri vel caput viae.

(*Job* xli, 25). And when the Book of *Job* (xli, 6 ff) describes Leviathan as a body —*His body is like molten shields shut close up with scales pressing upon one another; one is joined to another; they stick together that they cannot be sundered* —St. Thomas points to the traditional exegesis which compared the devil to a head and his followers to a body.

> *Exp. in Job* 41, 1: Comparatur autem diabolus ad homines malos sicut caput ad corpus: unde peccatores qui alios in malitia defendunt, sunt quasi scuta corporis diaboli.[7]

Yet the devil's headship is usurpation:

> *Lect. in Ioan.* 12, 3: . . . diabolus dicitur princeps mundi huius non naturali dominio, sed usurpatione, in quantum homines mundani, contempto vero Domino, se sibi subdiderunt . . . Est ergo princeps mundi huius, inquantum in mundanis hominibus principatur, ut Augustinus dicit, qui toto orbe terrarum diffusi sunt.

And the *Civitas Terrena* of St. Augustine cannot pretend to be a true corporation:

> *Exp. in Job*, 1. c.: . . . subdit (*the author of the book*): *Compactum squamis sese prementibus*; per quod designatur multitudo malorum. Et perversa eorum concordia in malo ostenditur consequenter cum subditur: *Una uni coniungitur*, quia scilicet sicut in corpore alicuius piscis non quaelibet squama coniungitur cuilibet, sed una uni per ordinem, ita etiam in multitudine malorum non omnes omnibus socialiter concordant, sed quidam quibusdam.

There is, thus, in St. Thomas no other universal social organism in mankind than the Republic of all men under God which, speaking more concretely, is the Mystical Body of Christ. This same conclusion can also be stated by saying that there is no other universal social organism in mankind than *Ecclesia*.[8] For in St. Thomas *Ecclesia* still has its mediaeval and comprehensive signification: it is a social organism comprising, in itself, all humanity and all human activity which it does not destroy but elevates, even as grace elevates nature.[9] And it is quite worthy of note that only after theologians had lost the mediaeval fulness of the notion of *Ecclesia* could the idea of *Adam Caput* enter their minds. In other words, there is, it seems, a close relationship between modern treatises on the Church and modern treatises on Original Sin. The conception of a universal human community under Adam is not a mediaeval conception.

With all this St. Thomas' true idea of community or society comes to the fore. The decisive fact of society is not human nature but the "tendency to beatitude", as it is said in a text quoted above. The basis of human society is not common natural origin but common spiritual destiny. Society is not merely a fact of nature; no mere similitude in nature or in some natural qualities would suffice to make a society of those who bear this likeness. Society is not a relation, or a complex of relations, arising from what St. Thomas calls *similitudo in forma* or

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[7] Cf. *III*, 8, 7.

[8] 3 *Sent.*, 29, 6: Quarta communicatio est divina, secundum quam omnes (!) homines communicant in uno corpore Ecclesiae, vel actu vel potentia. The other communications are the following: Est enim communicatio alia quidem naturalis, secundum quod in naturali origine aliqui communicant: et in ista communicatione fundatur amicitia patris et filii et aliorum consanguineorum. Alia vero communicatio est oeconomica, secundum quam homines sibi in domesticis officiis communicant. Alia vero communicatio est politica, secundum quam homines ad concives suos communicant.

[9] Cf. *supra*, note 4. It is on the basis of the doctrine of the *gratia capitalis* that St. Thomas can affirm in 2 *Sent.*, 44, *Exp. Text.*, *ad* 4: papa . . . utriusque potestatis apicem tenet, scilicet spiritualis et saecularis, hoc illo disponente qui est sacerdos et rex.

similitudo quasi in forma which is the foundation of love and friendship;[10] rather it is an order to be constituted by practical reason[11] and whose foundation is co-operation toward a common end and good.[12] Far from being a fact given in nature itself, society is a thing to be constituted by spirit and person. Not even the family—in the narrower sense of man, wife and children as well as in the wider sense of kindred and kinsfolk—is knitted together, formally speaking, by the mere fact of common blood but by the spiritual exigencies of common life.[13]

Still less would there be any Thomistic sense in affirming a social order or organism to grow around sin. For, sin is a principle of disorganization,[14] not of organization, and the predominant feature of even the tightest robber-gang, be it large or small, is not that all are with all (*non omnes omnibus socialiter concordant*) but that all are against all. No solidarity or continuity of men and history can ever be construed either with human nature or with the defect of nature which the protoparent left to us and which Aquinas, with all desirable exactness of expression, denies to be a *primum in genere*, the first principle of an order.[15] Men are not bound in solidarity with respect to original guilt and sin.[16] The continuity of history is to be found, as it were, on the other side of sin. Men join together in society for the sake of the *vita virtuosa*[17] and of the struggle against sin and all its consequences.

VIII. *COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY*

DM affirms that a (common) action, however it may come about (*fit*), whether through the whole community or (in its place and name) the majority or the president, might pertain (*potest pertinere*) to each member qua member. The meaning of several details of this difficult statement might be doubtful,[1] but its main idea and intention are clear: to me as a member of a community might belong an *actus alienus*, that is, one of which I am not the agent cause and for which, therefore, personally I am not responsible. We have seen that St. Thomas abandoned this position as he held it in the argumentation of *DM*, since in a context in which no community can be pointed out it is neither conclusive nor even illustrative. But let us now suppose that there is a community and discuss the statement of *DM* on the more general level of social philosophy. How, in the light of Aquinas' evident teaching elsewhere, does the assertion stand that the act of another (be this other even the well-known *alter in communi*[2]) may "pertain" to me? As a matter of fact, St. Thomas not infrequently discusses the conditions and limits of what he also calls the *continuity*[3] of the actions of one person to another, or again their *value*[4] for another. The material for investigating this problem is to be found mainly in the theological discussions on Satisfaction[5] and Indulgences[6] (*utrum unus pro alio satisfacere possit*), on Suffrages[7] (*utrum unus pro alio mereri possit*) and especially on the much debated question, *utrum unus pro alio puniri possit.*[8] To be brief, let us in a few summary statements point out the main conclusions of these treatises.

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[10] I-II, 27, 3.

[11] Cf. *Exp. in Politica*, pr.: . . . eorum quae humana ratione constitui possunt.

[12] *Contra Impugnantes Dei Cultum et Religionem* c. 3 (*Opuscula* ed. Mandonnet IV, p. 25); 2 *Sent.*, 6, I, 4 *ad* 2: . . . ad aliquid unum efficiendum concordant; 4 *Sent.*, 27, I, 1, *sol.* 1: . . . ordinantur ad aliquod unum. According to *II-II*, 25, 3 social life in general is *communicatio in vita rationali.*

[13] See the definition of matrimony in 4 *Sent.*, 41, I, 1, sol. 3: quaedam societas in communem vitam. *Ibid.*, 42, I, 1, s.c. 2°: in matrimonio coniunctio animarum est principalior quam coniunctio corporum. See also the opposition between *propinquitas sanguinis* and *societas rationis* in *Quaest. Disp. De caritate*, 7, s.c.

[14] St. Albert says, 4 *Sent.*, 45, 1: ed. Borgnet 30, 608: . . . peccata non habent unum principium nec unam formam . . . ; sed opera bona habent et formam communem et principium commune, per quae omnes boni sunt unum corpus charitate connexum, sed non mali. Cf. St. Thomas, *De Malo* 4, 6 in 19^{a}: Sicut bonum est diffusivum, ita malum est constrictivum.

[15] *II-II*, 163, 3 ad 3.

[16] When St. Thomas discusses the question of the "unity" of this sin (*I-II*, 82, 2), he concludes that it is, like nature, *unum specie et proportione, diversum numero.* The unity of order, which seems to be implied somehow in the notion of *peccatum commune*, is not mentioned in this connection and would be difficult to explain.

[17] *De Regimine Principum* I, 14.

[1] See above, p. 45, note 27.

[2] *II-II*, 58, 5.

[3] 4 *Sent.*, 18, II, *sol.* 1 *ad* 2: potest actio unius alteri *continuari* . . . ; *et alibi.*

The very first principle in this matter, as established by St. Thomas, is this: under no condition is the act of another mine as to its subjective moral character according to which an action is morally praiseworthy or deserving of moral blame (*habet rationem laudabilis vel culpabilis*[9]). Hence culpability is, *per se*, incommunicable. It is either personal, or it does not exist. Collective guilt is a contradiction in terms.

> 4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 2, 3 *ad* 1: Unus non disponitur per actum alterius.
> *Ibid.*, *corp.*: . . . quia ex ieiunio unius caro alterius non domatur, nec ex actibus unius alius bene agere consuevit, nisi secundum accidens.
> 4 *Sent.*, 45, II, 1, 1: Unusquisque ex suo actu disponitur, et non ex alieno: et dico dispositionem dignitatis ad praemium.
> *Ibid.*, *ad* 3: . . . laus non datur alicui nisi secundum ordinem eius ad actum. Unde laus est ad aliquid, ut dicitur in I *Eth.* Et quia ex opere alterius nullus efficitur vel ostenditur bene dispositus vel male ad aliquid, inde est quod nullus laudatur ex operibus alterius nisi per accidens, secundum quod et ipse est aliquo modo illorum operum causa, auxilium vel consilium praebendo, vel inducendo, vel quocumque alio modo.

Consequently, human actions are also incommunicable as to the essential spiritual reward and the essential spiritual punishment due to them. One man cannot merit for another the state of eternal beatitude.

> 4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 2, 3 *ad* 1: . . . praemium essentiale redditur secundum dispositionem hominis, quia secundum capacitatem videntium erit plenitudo visionis divinae. Et ideo, sicut unus non disponitur per actum alterius, ita unus alteri non meretur praemium essentiale, nisi meritum eius habeat efficaciam infinitam, sicut Christi, cuius merito solo pueri baptizati ad vitam aeternam perveniunt.

Essential spiritual punishment is "that which follows a sin *per se* and which belongs to the soul, such as loss of grace, the pangs of conscience, and so on, in this life, and, in the next life, eternal damnation".[10] One man cannot make another liable to this punishment which brings to its full measure and weight the very idea of punitive justice (*poena secundum rationem poenae*).

> *Summa, I-II*, 87, 8: . . . in bonis animae nullus patitur detrimentum sine culpa propria. Et propter hoc etiam talibus poenis . . . unus non punitur pro alio . . . Unde et huius causam Dominus assignans dicit *Ezech.* xviii, 4: *Omnes animae meae sunt.*
> *Summa, II-II*, 108, 4, *ad* 1: Unus homo poena spirituali numquam punitur pro peccato alterius, quia poena spiritualis pertinet ad animam, secundum quam quilibet est liber sui.

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[4] 4. *Sent.*, 45, II, 1, 1 (*Quodlib.* 2, 14): actus noster *valere* potest . . . St. Thomas' vocabulary is rich in this regard: actus unus efficitur alterius (4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 2, 3 *ad* 1); potest actio [unius] in alium hominem *transire* . . . (3 *Sent.*, 19, 1, *sol.* 1); opera unius alteri *computantur* . . . (4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 4, *sol.* 1); merita *communicantur* (4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 5, *sol.* 1) etc.

[5] 4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 2, q. 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, art. 3.

[7] 4 *Sent.*, 45, II, 1.

[8] *I-II*, 87, 8; *II-II*, 108, 4; and the parallel texts as indicated in the editions.

[9] *I-II*, 21, 2 and 3.

[10] 2 *Sent.*, 33, I, 2.

The foregoing conclusions might indeed also be formulated by saying that no human action is communicable as to all that in which each man is *sui iuris:*[11] the agent and manager of his person (*personam suam gerit*).[12] These statements delineate a fundamental part of Thomistic personalism and mark out most exactly the Thomistic personalist barrier against socialization. The human soul, and all that belongs to it, are not negotiable in any market.

Communicability in human acts begins when the innermost confines of personality are crossed. One person can stand for another in meriting an "accidental" reward over and above the essential status in sanctity and beatitude.

> 4 *Sent.*, 45, II, 1, 1: . . . quantum ad aliquid quod est consequens vel accessorium ad statum beatitudinis, opus unius potest valere alteri . . . per modum meriti. Quod quidem dupliciter contingit. Vel propter communicantiam in radice operis quae est caritas. Et ideo omnes qui invicem in caritate connectuntur aliquod emolumentum ex mutuis operibus reportant . . . ; et inde est quod articulus fidei ponitur Sanctorum Communio. Alio modo ex intentione facientis, qui aliqua opera specialiter ad hoc facit, ut aliis prosint. Unde ista opera quodammodo efficiuntur eorum, pro quibus fiunt, quasi eis a faciente collata. Unde possunt eis valere vel ad implendam satisfactionem, vel ad aliquid huiusmodi, quod statum non mutat.[13]

Whether and how an innocent person, by reason of another's guilt, may be made liable to punishment (which of course can never be *poena secundum rationem poenae*) is an old and hard theological and philosophical problem which arose from the well-known discordance between *Exod.* xx, 5 (*I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children*) and *Ezech.* xviii, 14 (*The soul that sinneth, it shall die*). St. Thomas' final solution is found in the *Secunda Secundae*, in a most remarkable article whose doctrinal strength is drawn from St. Augustine,[14] but whose material is entirely due to Gratian; this article of the *Summa*, worked out with the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* on the writer's desk, is one of the many fine examples, in St. Thomas, of careful and intelligent research.[15]

Since the problem is theological in its origin and its terms, the solution is also in the first place a theological solution. It does not establish a rule for human judges but tries to lift the veil somewhat from the hidden ways of God. God might impose whatever temporal punishment He chooses upon the innocent for the guilty, so that in these cases—the cases enumerated in Holy Scripture[16]—there occurs a certain communication of human acts in regard to this kind of penal liability. Yet "punishment" means here *poena secundum rationem medicinae.*

> *Summa, II-II*, 108, 4 *ad* 1: Poena autem temporali quandoque unus punitur pro peccato alterius, triplici ratione. *Primo* quidem, quia unus homo

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[11] 4 *Sent.*, 36, I, 3, s.c. 1°; *et alibi.*

[12] The expression, *unus homo gerit personam suam,* is found in 4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 1, in 1ª. Again in 4 *Sent.*, 46, II, 2, *sol.* 2 *ad* 3: Quantum ad animam quilibet gerit personam propriam.

[13] Neither the *Communio Sanctum* nor the *magnum forum de misericordia Dei* (4 *Sent.*, 20, I, 3) have any parallel in the natural, political order.

[14] *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 6, 8, *Super Iosue* vii, 1; PL 34, 778. This text is also used in the *Summa Theologica* attributed to Alexander of Hales: P. I, ed. Quaracchi I, 395 f., and by St. Thomas 4 Sent., 46, II, 2, *sol.* 2 *ad* 3.

[15] The first part of the article is a reproduction, in systematized form, of Gratian's discussions, only once are the Decretals of Gregory IX referred to. The following identifications are made on the basis of the page (1986a) and lines of the Ottawa edition. 1986a 6-13 = c. 11, C. I, q. 4, *dict. Grat.* III P. § 11; 13-18 = *ibid.*, II P. § 4, 5; 23-25 = cc. 3, 4, X, *De cler. aegrot. v. debil.*, III, 6; 25-27 = c. 25, C. 25, q. 2, *et dict. ibid.*, pr.; 29-37 = c. 11, C. I, q. 4, *dict.* III P. § 10; 37-40 = *ibid.*, II P. § 1; 47-50 = c. 12 C. 1, q. 4.

[16] See the first objection in this article.

> temporaliter est res alterius, et ita in poenam eius etiam ipse punitur: sicut filii secundum corpus sunt quaedam res patris et servi quaedam res dominorum. *Alio modo*, in quantum peccatum unius derivatur in alterum: vel per imitationem, sicut filii imitantur peccata parentum et servi peccata dominorum ut audacius peccent; vel per modum meriti, sicut peccata subditorum merentur peccatorem praelatum[17] secundum illud *Iob* xxxiv, 30: *Qui regnare facit hominem hypocritum propter peccata populi*: unde et pro peccato David populum numerantis populus Israel punitus est, ut habetur ii *Reg.* ultimo; sive etiam per aliqualem consensum vel dissimulationem, sicut etiam interdum boni simul puniuntur temporaliter cum malis, quia eorum peccata non redarguerunt, ut Augustinus dicit in I *De Civitate Dei.*[18] *Tertio* ad commendandum unitatem humanae societatis, ex qua unus debet pro alio sollicitus esse ne peccet; et ad detestationem peccati, dum poena unius redundat in omnes, quasi omnes essent unum corpus, ut Augustinus dicit de peccato Acham.[19]

In other words, Holy Scripture teaches that God sometimes visits temporal punishment upon the guilty along with the innocent. In these divine decrees the theologian will discover something of the hidden ways of either God's justice, which is tempered with mercy, or of His wisdom. It is divine justice, and only divine justice, that temporal punishment be inflicted upon the guilty fathers in their innocent children who are "a belonging of the father" and, as it were, part of his own body.[20] It is divine justice, furthermore, and only divine justice, that any sort of co-partnership in sinful actions be vindicated, even if it were only that very subtle connivance and acquiescence upon which God alone may pronounce judgment. But some decrees, related in Holy Scripture, are no longer reducible to divine justice, rather they belong to the divine wisdom in conducting men to their salvation by awakening their solicitude for one another and by arousing their salutary fear of sin. At this point, St. Thomas calls upon a celebrated passage of St. Augustine and in accord with this authority confesses his belief in that hidden solidarity of men (*societas humana*), that "sympathy" συμπαθῆ πάντα πᾶσιν[21]—which makes human beings dependent upon each other as if they were one body.[22]

A note concerning human justice is added to this theological solution. Let no human judge dare be hypocritical enough to play the rôle of God. The innocent are absolutely protected against *punishment secundum rationem poenae*, for this punishment is ordained to guilt.[23] In human justice, moreover, the innocent are also to be protected against that punishment, *secundum rationem medicinae*, which it is the privilege of the inscrutable divine providence to impose.

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[17] St. Gregory, *Moralium Lib.* 25, 16: PL 76, 344B, quoted in 2 *Sent.*, 33, I, 2 *ad* 5.

[18] *Cap.* 9: PL 41, 21.

[19] Simul etiam ostenditur quantum connexa sit in populi societate ipsa universitas, ut non in seipsis singuli, sed et tamquam partes in toto extimentur. Per unius igitur peccatum mortemque paucorum admonitus est populus universus tamquam in corpore universo quaerere quod admissum est. Simul etiam significatum est quantum mali fieret, si universa illa congregatio peccasset, quando ne unus quidem ita potuit iudicari, ut ab eo possent ceteri esse securi; text (cf. supra note 14) according to CSEL XXVIII, 3, 3, p. 425.

[20] Cf. the Aristotelian texts quoted in *II-II*, 57, 4. St. Thomas' doctrine in *II-II*, 108, 4 is at this point noticeably different from his earlier teaching where he supposed in some places that the people, as well, are a "belonging of the king": populus est res regis et punitur populus, ut in poena eius rex puniatur (2 *Sent.*, 33, I, 2 *ad* 5. See also I-II, 87 8: . . . nihil prohibet talibus poenis aliquem puniri pro peccato alterius, vel a Deo vel ab homine, utpote filios pro patribus et subditos (!) pro dominis, in quantum sunt quaedam res eorum. In the *Secunda Secundae* St. Thomas eliminated this last vestige of Patriarchalism. Cf. *Mediaeval Studies* VIII (1946), p. 22, note 78.

[21] Proclus, *The Elements of Theology*, *prop.* 140; ed. E. R. Dodds (Oxford, 1933), p. 124, l. 15. Cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *De Divinis Nominibus* 9, 6; PG 3, 914C.

[22] Compare the entirely different interpretation of this whole passage, which we quoted in *Mediaeval Studies* VIII (1946), p. 7, note 23.

[23] 3 *Sent.*, 20, 1, 3 s.c. 2°: culpa per poenam ordinatur.

> *Summa, loc. cit., ad* 2: . . . sicut Augustinus dicit,[24] iudicium humanum debet imitari divinum iudicium in manifestis Dei iudiciis, quibus homines spiritualiter damnat pro proprio peccato. Occulta vero Dei iudicia, quibus temporaliter aliquos punit absque culpa, non potest humanum iudicium imitari, quia homo non potest comprehendere horum iudiciorum rationes, ut sciat quid expediat unicuique. Et ideo numquam secundum humanum iudicium aliquis debet puniri sine culpa poena flagelli, ut occidatur vel mutiletur vel verberetur.

In certain cases only, and in cases defined in Law and based on evident reason, human justice may extend civil, but never criminal, punishment to the innocent. And it is characteristic of this *poena damni*[25] that it does not touch the person either in his spiritual and moral or in his corporal integrity, but only adjudges damages or restricts advantages in external goods.

> *Summa, ibid.*: Poena autem damni punitur aliquis etiam secundum humanum iudicium, etiam sine culpa, sed non sine causa.[26] Et hoc tripliciter. Uno modo ex hoc quod aliquis ineptus redditur sine sua culpa ad aliquod bonum habendum vel consequendum: sicut propter vitium leprae aliquis removetur ab administratione ecclesiae,[27] et propter bigamiam vel iudicium sanguinis aliquis impeditur a sacris ordinibus.[28] Secundo, quia bonum in quo damnificatur non est proprium bonum, sed commune: sicut quod aliqua ecclesia habeat episcopatum, pertinet ad bonum totius civitatis, non autem ad bonum clericorum tantum.[29] Tertio, quia bonum unius dependet ex bono alterius: sicut in crimine laesae maiestatis filius amittit haereditatem pro peccato parentis.[30]

The careful and exhaustive position of the problem, made for the first time in St. Thomas' writings with a complete account of Gratian's doctrine, leaves no doubt that this passage of the *Summa* is addressed not only to the theologians but also, and especially, to the jurists. It contains St. Thomas' decision in a contemporary juridical discussion. One has only to recall Innocent IV's *Apparatus*[31] to recognize at once the juridical background, hidden as it always is in anonymity, of this remarkable article of a theological *Summa*.

Those mediaeval jurists who, like Bartholomew of Brescia,[32] would seem to cling to a sort of restricted but truly moral collective responsibility, are here clearly rebuked. Criminal law is absolutely dependent upon personal culpability. On the other hand, however, St. Thomas also rejects that restrictive theory of collective civil liability which we have met in the gloss *Consiliaros*.[33] According to Gierke,[34] Johannes Bassianus, at the end of the XIIth century, was the first to teach that the rule: *si maior pars universitatis consensit, perinde est ac si*

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[24] Loc. *cit.* in note 14, *supra*.

[25] The distinction between *poena flagelli* and *poena damni* is also to be found in St. Gregory, *Epistolae* XI, *Ep.* 64, 4 (PL 77, 1187) = c. 11, *pr.*, C. 12, q. 2: Necesse est ut quidam damnis, quidam verberibus . . . corrigantur.

[26] Cf. *Reg.* Iur. 23, in VI°, 12. The formula "sine culpa, sed non sine causa" is not, however, an invention of St. Thomas, introduced into Canon Law from the *Secunda Secundae*, as Sylvius seems to suppose in his commentary on *II-II*, 108, 4 (*Commentaria*, vol. III, Antwerp, 1714, p. 722). It is older than Aquinas and can be found, for instance, in Abelard, *Ethica* 14, PL 178, 654D.

[27] cc. 3, 4, X, 3, 6, *De cler. aegrot. v. debil.*

[28] cc. 5, 9, X, 3, 50, *ne cler. v. mon. saec. neg. se immisceant.*

[29] c. 25, C. 25, q. 2; and *dictum ibid.*, *pr.*

[30] c. 22, C. 6, q. 1 = L. 5, *Cod.*, 9, 8.

[31] See *Mediaeval Studies* VIII (1946), pp. 29 ff.

[32] *Mediaeval Studies, loc. cit.*, p. 26.

[33] *Mediaeval Studies, loc. cit.*, p. 31, lines 108-110.

[34] *Genossenschaftsrecht* III, 222, n. 108. See the full text of Bassianus' gloss in *Glossa*

omnes consensissent, has only a limited field of application. It is valid in the matter of elections; furthermore, *in iis quae singulorum provident utilitatibus*; and also when obligations are laid directly upon the collective property of a community. Yet, according to this mediaeval jurist, the rule completely fails to have play, *ut aliquis conveniatur singulariter*, and also, *ut aliquid detrahatur patrimonio singulorum*. As Machiavelli was to say in the same vein: men easily forget the death of their fathers but never any inroads into their patrimony.[35] Bassianus concludes: *nam si millesies consentiat maior pars quod ego alicui tenear, non per hoc tenebor*. It is this kind of excessively Roman and intransigently individualistic opinion which meets with Aquinas' clear disapproval.

In St. Thomas' final doctrine the only "continuation of acts" which he admits is, on the one hand, and in theology alone, the participation, by the innocent, in certain penal effects in consequence of the act of another, and, on the other hand, according to human law, the participation, by the innocent, in certain civil liabilities. This is St. Thomas' teaching. Whatever be, therefore, the meaning of the similitude of the Body Corporate (or also that of the Moral Person), it certainly does not allow us to declare one man culpable and liable to criminal punishment because another sinned, however close and "organic" the relation between these two may be. It will also be observed that this doctrine of the *Secunda Secundae*, at least in its clarity and vigour, is outstanding in comparison with the other and earlier texts of Aquinas.[36]

If our interpretation is correct, it is clear, from all the foregoing, exactly where the obscurity of *CG* as well as *DM* lies, and why their doctrine, on the precise point on which we have insisted, had to be set aright in the later corresponding texts. Both passages, but more especially *DM* doubtlessly read, and in fact they have been read for centuries, as though they meant to derive culpability to the members of a community by virtue of the law of representative action which in itself, it should again be noted, seemed to the older Scholastics so little capable of solving the problem of original sin that it had to be strengthened by a most special divine decree; yet this decree (they called it *Decretum Alligativum Omnium Voluntatum cum Voluntate Adae*), what else could it be but the supreme authorization of a gigantic sale of souls? This whole theory is not only absent from, but clearly contradicted by, St. Thomas' teaching. Of all the meanings which the word *pertinere* used in *DM* might possibly have, the very one which the context of this article suggested to not a few interpreters and on which even to-day a far-reaching theory of Moral Responsibility is based, is inadmissible in authentic Thomism. That the sinful action of one man, whoever it be, "belongs" to another who did not take any part in it, can only have two reasonable meanings: (*a*) before God, both the guilty and the innocent are sometimes involved in temporal punishment, and (*b*) before the human judge, the innocent, in certain cases defined by just law, might incur a civil liability concerning their possessions. Either meaning, of course, would be irrelevant and inconclusive in the context of *DM*, if St. Thomas' anti-Pelagian demonstration was, what these interpreters believed it to be, a unilinear and univocal reasoning.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that in his final teaching Aquinas did not admit the possibility of collective guilt.

Ordinaria, L. 2, *Cod.*, 8, 53, s.v. *Consuetudinis*.

[35] *Il Principe*, c. 17.

[36] See above, note 20. More important, however, than these patriarchal reminiscences in the earlier works is the fact that even in *I-II*, 87, 7, St. Thomas makes no distinction between *poena flagelli* and *poena damni*. So he writes *loco cit.*: . . . detrimenta corporalium rerum vel etiam ipsius corporis sunt quaedam poenales medicinae ordinatae ad salutem animae (cf. St. Augustine, text referred to above, note 14). Unde nihil prohibet talibus poenis (!) aliquem puniri pro peccato alterius, vel a Deo vel ab homine (!).

Ein *Tractatus de Universalibus* und andere logische Inedita aus dem 12. Jahrhundert im *Cod. lat.* 2486 der Nationalbibliothek in Wien

MARTIN GRABMANN

I. *UNEDIERTE LOGISCHE TRAKTATE AUS DEM 12. JAHRHUNDERT*

DIE handschriftliche Erforschung der Scholastik hat, seit Kardinal Franz Ehrle seinen unvergesslichen Artikel: *Das Studium der Handschriften der mittelalterlichen Scholastik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schule des hl. Bonaventura* (1883) geschrieben hat, ganz gewaltige Massen ungedruckten philosophischen und theologischen Materials zu Tage gefördert, deren Edition und Verarbeitung das geschichtliche Antlitz der mittelalterlichen Spekulation umgestaltet hat. Auffallend ist, dass über die Universalienlehre der Frühscholastik[1] seit V. Cousin verhältnismässig wenig ungedrucktes Material bekannt geworden ist. Ueber den Nominalismus des Roscelin besitzen wir nur seinen Brief an Abaelard und Berichte seiner Gegner Anselm von Canterbury und Abaelard. Ebenso sind wir über den extremen Realismus des Wilhelm von Champeaux und dessen Wandlungen auf den Bericht Abaelards in seiner *Historia calamitatum* angewiesen. Seine philosophischen Schriften sind noch nicht aufgefunden, während doch das theologische Schrifttum dieses Begründers der Viktorinerschule und des Anselm von Laon und ihrer Schulen in weitem Umfang entdeckt, ediert und untersucht worden ist. Auch von Walter von Mortagne, den Johannes von Salisbury als Vertreter der sogenannten Statuslehre in der Universalienkontroverse anführt, haben wir als sicher echte Schriften nur einen Trinitätstraktat, einen Ehetraktat und zehn ebenfalls theologische Briefe.

V. Cousin hat zwei Traktate über die Universalienlehre: *De generibus et speciebus* ediert und beide Abaelard zugeteilt.[2] Die erstere Schrift, welche die sogenannte Collectiotheorie in der Universalienlehre vertritt, wird man dem Gauslenus (Joscelin), Bischof von Poitiers, zuschreiben können, während die zweite Schrift wahrscheinlich von Abaelard stammt. Die wertvollste Quelle zur Geschichte der Universalienlehre des 12. Jahrhunderts ist und bleibt wohl auch der Bericht des Johannes von Salisbury in seinem *Metalogicus* II, c. 12-20, in welchem die verschiedenen Richtungen angeführt und kritisiert werden. Da er nur wenige Namen nennt, ist es schwer möglich, die Vertreter der einzelnen Strömungen zu identifizieren. Wir besitzen gerade aus der logischen Literatur des 12. Jahrhunderts einerseits anonyme Traktate und Kommentare zu logischen Schriften des Aristoteles und des Boethius, und anderseits begegnen uns auch viele Namen von Philosophen, über deren Schrifttum wir nichts Sicheres wissen.

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[1] Zur Universalienlehre der Frühscholastik siehe: M. De Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale* I, 143-157. Derselbe, "Le problème des universaux dans son évolution historique du IX^e^ au XIII^e^ siècle", *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* (1896), 205-213. J. H. Loewe, *Der Kampf zwischen Realismus und Nominalismus im Mittelalter, sein Ursprung und sein Verlauf* (Prag, 1876). J. Reiners, *Der aristotelische Realismus in der Frühscholastik* (Bonn. 1907). Derselbe, *Der Nominalismus in der Frühscholastik* (Münster, 1910). G. Lefèvre, *Les variations de Guillaume de Champeaux et la question des Universaux. Etude suivie de documents originaux* (Lille, 1898). H. Dehove, *Qui praecipue fuerint labente XII saeculo ante introductam Arabum philosophiam temperati Realismi antecessores* (Insulis, 1908).

[2] V. Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard* (Paris, 1836). Derselbe, *Petri Abaelardi Opera,* 2 vol. (Paris, 1849-1859).

B. Geyer[3] macht auf *Cod.* Orléans 266 (222) aufmerksam, in welchem zahlreiche *magistri* des 12. Jahrhunderts mit ihren *opiniones* mit Namen angeführt werden. Auf den angegebenen Materialien beruhen die Darstellungen der Universalienlehre bei H. Ritter, W. Kaulich, A. Stöckl, J. E. Erdmann, B. Hauréau, J. H. Löwe u. a. Eine Erweiterung des Quellenmaterials bezüglich Roscelins und des Nominalismus bedeutet der von G. Morin aufgefundene Brief des Walter von Honnecourt an Roscelin.[4] B. Hauréau, der ja die Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Philosophie hauptsächlich unter dem Gesichtswinkel des Universalienstreites betrachtet, hat im Cod. *lat.* 17813 der Pariser *Bibliothèque Nationale* nicht weniger als vier Textstücke zur Universalienlehre entdeckt.[5] Er verleiht seiner Genugtuung über diesen Fund also Ausdruck:

> Tous les autres monuments de cette grande controverse sont-ils donc perdus? De nouvelles et longues recherches nous en avaient fait jadis découvrir un de plus, mais un seul, et voici le hasard vient aujourd'hui de nous en offrir quatre, réunis dans le même volume. La satisfaction, que nous cause cette bonne fortune, est très vive. Cependant, si vive qu'elle soit, les futurs historiens de la philosophie ne jugeront pas qu'elle est trop, ces quatre monuments étant, les uns et les autres, d'une importance qui sera bientôt reconnue.

Das erste Stück ist ein anonymer Kommentar zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius, der nominalistisch eingestellt ist. Hauréau bringt den auf die Universalienlehre bezüglichen Text. Das zweite Stück ist ein Traktat über die *genera et species,* der über die verschiedenen Theorien Aufschluss gibt. Hauréau hat diesen ganzen Traktat, dessen Verfasser sich nach der Kritik des Nominalismus zu der sogenannten Indifferenzlehre bekennt, ganz ediert. Er hält es für wahrscheinlich, dass Walter von Mortagne der Verfasser ist. M. De Wulf redet von einer *hypothèse de M. Hauréau.* Das dritte Stück ist die *sententia de universalibus secundum magistrum R.* Dieser nominalistisch gehaltene Traktat ist nach Hauréau einem Schüler entweder des Roscelin oder des Raimbert von Lille zuzuteilen. Das vierte Stück ist ein ausführlicher, auch nominalistisch eingestellter Kommentar zu den Kategorien.

Die jedenfalls bedeutendste Erweiterung des Quellenmaterials für die Geschichte des frühscholastischen Universalienstreites sind ohne Zweifel die beiden Kommentare Abaelards zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius. Schon die *Histoire littéraire de la France* XXX, p. 130, berichtet davon, dass in der *Biblioteca Ambrosiana* in Mailand sich Kommentare Abaelards zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius, zu den *Categoriae* und zu *Perihermeneias* befinden. A. Rosmini-Serbati hat neuerdings auf diese Werke hingewiesen[6] und die Auslegung der *Isagoge*, aus der er auch Texte veröffentlicht hat, für sehr wertvoll in Hinsicht auf das Universalienproblem gehalten. Diese Hinweise waren aber ganz in Vergessenheit geraten. Ich habe, ohne davon etwas zu wissen, im Jahre 1910 im *Cod. M.* 63 *sup.* der Ambrosiana diese Kommentare Abaelards zur *Isagoge*, den *Categoriae* und *Perihermeneias* neu entdeckt. Im Jahre 1937 entdeckte ich im *Cod. Ms. lat. fol.* 624 der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (fol. 97^{r}-142^{r}) ein zweites Exemplar von Abaelards Kommentar zu *Perihermeneias* (anonym), das auch den in der Mailänder Handschrift fehlenden Schlussteil enthält. B. Geyer hat dazu noch eine zweite Auslegung der *Isagoge* durch Abaelard in *Cod.* 6 der

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[3] B. Geyer, *Peter Abaelards philosophische Schriften* (Münster, 1919 ff.)

[4] G. Morin, O.S.B., *Revue Bénédictine* XXII (1905), 172-175.

[5] B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* V (Paris, 1892), 290-338.

[6] Antonio Rosmini, *Aristotele esposto ed esaminato a cura di Carlo Cavoglione* (Torino, 1930), 20.

Stadtbibliothek von Lunel entdeckt. Er hat auch von all diesen Aristoteleskommentaren des *Peripateticus Palatinus* eine mustergültige Textedition mit Einleitung und Untersuchungen veranstaltet. Für die Universalienlehre kommen zunächst die beiden Kommentare zur *Isagoge*, die mit *Ingredientibus nobis logicam pauca de proprietate eius praelibantes* beginnenden *Glossae secundum magistrum Petrum Abelardum super Porphyrium* der Ambrosiana und die mit *Nostrorum petitioni sociorum satisfacientes* beginnenden *Glossulae magistri Petri Baelardi super Porphyrium* der Stadtbibliothek von Lunel in Betracht. B. Geyer hat auch aufgrund dieser neuen handschriftlichen Texte die Stellung Abaelards in der Universalienlehre, über die vorher die verschiedensten Ansichten herrschten, in neues Licht gestellt.[7] Die Universalienlehre Abaelards ist eine Synthese von nominalistischen, realistischen und konzeptualistischen Anschauungen, ohne Zweifel das bedeutendste System, das bis zur Zeit der Hochscholastik in der Universalienlehre erdacht worden ist. In wesentlichen Punkten zeigt sich die Universalienlehre Abaelards als eine Vorstufe des gemässigten Realismus der Hochscholastik. Eine ausführliche Darstellung der Universalienlehre Abaelards im Rahmen der Problematik des 12. Jahrhunderts ist eine lohnende und nicht leichte Zukunftsaufgabe.

Ich habe auch bei meinen Untersuchungen über ungedruckte logische Schriften des 12. Jahrhunderts,[8] die ich in deutschen Bibliotheken feststellen konnte, auf bisher unbekannte Texte zur Universalienlehre, die ich selber nicht untersucht habe, hingewiesen. Ich bin sehr häufig auf den Namen *M.P.*, auf Zitate aus Abaelard, und auf andere Namen—ich erwähne *M. A.*, worunter *magister Albericus*, ein Lehrer des Johannes von Salisbury zu verstehen ist, und *magister Guilelmus*—gestossen. Ich sehe in diesen Zitaten, die oft im Zusammenhang lebhaftester Diskussionen stehen, einen Beweis dafür, dass Peter Abaelard überaus anregend auf dem Gebiete der Dialektik gewirkt und auch hier eine noch wenig bekannte Schule gehabt hat. Es sind diese Zitate auch für die Identifizierung anonymer logischer Traktate und Kommentare nicht ohne Wert. Ich konnte aus der Zeit von Abaelard bis Wilhelm von Shyreswood, dessen *Introductiones in logicam* ich ediert habe, nicht weniger als neun Kompendien der Dialektik und eine Menge von Kommentaren zu logischen Schriften des Aristoteles und Boethius in Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken feststellen. Ich beschränke mich hier auf kurze Hinweise auf Texte, die in unmittelbarer Beziehung zum Universalienproblem stehen. In *Clm* 14458 begegnet uns von fol. 28^r bis 44^v ein noch dem 12. Jahrhundert angehöriges Lehrbuch der *Dialectica*, in welchem, fol. 31^v-33^r, von den Universalien gehandelt wird. Von fol. 83^r-93^r der gleichen Handschrift erstreckt sich ein anonymer unvollendet gebliebener Isagogekommentar des 12. Jahrhunderts. Ein gleichfalls anonymer Isagogekommentar steht in *Clm* 14779 (s. XII) fol. 31^r-43^v. Diese Porphyriusauslegung stimmt vielfach mit der von V. Cousin aus *Cod. lat.* 13368 der *Bibliothèque Nationale* edierten Porphyriusglosse Abaelards überein. *Clm* 4652 enhält von fol. 65^r bis 68^v einen Traktat *De universalibus*, der von jüngerer Hand irrigerweise als *Sophismata in artibus* bezeichnet ist. Dass dieser Traktat dem 12. Jahrhundert angehört, beweist ein Zitat aus Magister Adam, worunter wir Adam Parvipontanus verstehen dürfen, den sein Schüler Johannes von Salisbury als *acutissimi virum ingenii*[9] feiert. Ein Fragment eines Isagogekommentars tritt uns in *Clm* 29185 (s. XII) entgegen, welcher Hinweise auf Magister Albericus und auf Magister Wilelmus de Salbris darbietet. Die aus der Bibliothek von St. Viktor stammende Berliner Handschrift *Ms. lat. fol. 624*, die eine Fülle von Kommentaren zu den logischen Schriften des Aristoteles und Boethius darbietet und ohne Zweifel einen der wertvollsten und inhaltsreichsten Codices der scholastischen Logik repräsentiert, bietet uns von fol. 73ᵛ bis 76ʳ eine Erklärung zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius, die besonders durch die teilweise recht ausführlichen und lebendigen Auseinandersetzungen mit Logikern des 12. Jahrhunderts bemerkenswert ist. Fortwährend tritt *M. p.* auf, unter dem wir Peter Abaelard, wie die wörtlichen Zitate aus seinem Isagogekommentar bezeugen, verstehen müssen. Unter dem *M. a.*, der als Gegner Abaelards erscheint, ist der schon genannte Magister Albericus zu verstehen. Im *Codex O. 5* der Stadtbücherei zu Erfurt (s. XII) ist eine Bearbeitung der Isagogekommentare des Boethius für Unterrichtszwecke überliefert und einem *M. W.* zugeeignet: *Glose super Porphyrium a magistro W. collecte.* Im alten, von P. Lehmann edierten Katalog der Amplonianischen Handschriftensammlung von Amplonius Ratinck und dann auch in dem beschreibenden Verzeichis dieser Handschriftensammlung von W. Schum ist dieser *Magister W.* mit Wilhelmus Altissiodorensis gleichgesetzt.[10] Das ist natürlich unrichtig, da dieser Kommentar dem 12. Jahrhundert angehört. *W.* könnte für *Walterus* stehen. Sollte aber *Wilhelmus* gemeint sein, so würde man natürlich diesen Isagogekommentar nicht ohne weiteres dem Wilhelm von Champeaux zuweisen dürfen, da es ja offenbar mehrere Logiker mit dem Namen Wilhelmus im 12. Jahrhundert gegeben hat. Ein *Wilhelmus de Salbris* ist uns soeben begegnet. Im *Cod.* 56.22 *Aug.* der Herzog-August-Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel (s. XII), der zwei Kompendien der Dialektik und einen dialektischen Traktat mit Zitaten aus Abaelard, Albericus und andern Logikern des 12. Jahrhunderts enthält, ist auf fol. 158ᵛ ein *M. Guilelmus* zitiert. *Cod. Lat 2499* der Wiener Nationalbibliothek (s. XII) bietet uns *Introductiones dialectice* des *Wilhelmus* dar. *Cod. 833* (s. XII) der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen enthält, ebenfalls unter dem Namen *Wilhelmus*, Quästionen zu logischen Textbüchern der *Logica Vetus*, and erster Stelle, pag. 4-8, einen Kommentar zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius.

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[7] B. Geyer, "Die Stellung Abaelards in der Universalienfrage nach neuen handschriftlichen Texten", in *Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie; Festausgabe zum 60. Geburtstag Clemens Baeumker gewidmet* (Münster, 1913), 101-128.

[8] Martin Grabmann, "Bearbeitungen und Auslegungen der aristotelischen Logik aus der Zeit von Peter Abaelard bis Peter Hispanus. Mitteilungen aus Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken", in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937, Phil. hist. Klasse Nr.* 5 (Berlin, 1937). Derselbe, "Kommentare zur aristotelischen Logik aus dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert im *Ms. lat. fol.* 624 der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Ein Beitrag zur Abaelardforschung", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938, Phil. hist. Klasse* Nr. 15, 18 (Berlin, 1938).

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Eine bisher noch nicht näher untersuchte Handschrift mit wertvollen Inedita aus der Logik und Sprachlogik des 12. Jahrhunderts ist *Cod. Lat 2486* der Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Ich gebe eine kurze Beschreibung der für unsere Untersuchung in Betracht kommenden Stücke und schliesse daran die Edition des am Anfang des Codex stehenden Traktats über die Universalien. Zuerst bringe ich die Beschreibung der Handschrift im gedruckten Handschriftenkatalog:

2486 (Salisb. s. XIII. 76. 4. 1).
(1) 1a-6b: Collectanea grammatica. Incip.: "Sunt quidam qui nomina hec . . ." Expl.: "accidens in subiecto."

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[9] Joannis Saresberiensis, Episcopi Carnotensis, *Metalogicon Libri IIII. Recognovit Clemens C. I. Webb* (Oxonii, 1929), p. 81 (*lib.* II, *cap.* X).

[10] Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Akademie in München* II (Die Bistümer Mainz und Erfurt, München, 1928), 17. W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriftensammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), 672.

(2) 7ab: Arithmetica. Incip.: "Circa hanc artem . . ." Expl.: "extendebatur."
(3) 8ab: Versus de Terentio, Iuvenali, Persio.
(4) 9a-14b: Excursus in partes bibliorum. Incip.: "Ieronimus in sermone . . ." Expl.: "ipse sedere."
(5) 15a: Explicatio nonnullorum passuum Horatii. Incip.: "Olim truncus eram . . ." Expl.: "reprehendo et hoc est nempe."
(6) 15a-16b: Continuatio excursuum sub (4).
(7) 17a-36b: Grammatica latina. Incip.: "Tocius eloquencie principium . . ." Expl.: "per composicionem."
(8) 37a-44b: Logica. Incip.: "De quocunque per totum et partes . . ." Expl.: "appetet celestia."
(9) 45a-60b: Cursus philosophicus. Incip.: "Quoniam liber iste introductorius est ad predicamenta Aristotelis . . ." Expl.: "bona est et necessaria."
(10) 61a-68b: Pars grammaticae latinae. Incip.: "Omnia verba prime coniugacionis . . ." Expl.: "adverbium comparandi."
(11) 69a-76b: Scholia in Persium. Incip.: "Habuit quoque Persius amicos . . ." Expl.: "fictum et triste."
Tegumento adhaeret fragmentum operis Ciceronis *De amicitia*.

Die Datierung der Handschrift "s. XIII" trifft nicht auf alle Stücke des Codex zu, da gerade die für uns in Betracht kommenden Stücke grösstenteils noch dem 12. Jahrhundert angehören. Auch sind diese Stücke nicht richtig erkannt und beschrieben. Was als *Collectanea grammatica* bezeichnet wird, fol. 1a-6b, zerfällt in zwei Teile. Der erste Teil, fol. 1^r-4^r, trägt keine Ueberschrift. Es ist ein *Tractatus de universalibus*, derselbe, den ich weiter unten veröffentliche. Man lese nur den Einleitungssatz, unten S. 65, um sich davon zu überzeugen, dass es sich nicht um Grammatikalisches, sondern um die philosophische Universalienlehre handelt. Dem Schriftcharakter nach entstammt dieses Stück dem 12. Jahrhundert.

Hieran reihen sich, mit dem Vorhergehenden nicht mehr im Zusammenhang stehend, logische Fragen an, deren erste also beginnt: *Dici de subiecto tribus modis dicitur.* Diese Fragen reichen bis fol. 7^r.

Das siebente Stück, (7), fol. 17a-36b, ist auch mit der Bezeichnung *Grammatica latina* nicht in seiner Eigenart erkannt und bestimmt. Wir haben hier einen unvollendeten Kommentar zu den *Institutiones grammaticales* des Priscianus vor uns. Ich bringe ein grösseres Stück aus der Einleitung:

> Tocius eloquentie principium dicitur grammatica, in qua tocius literatorie professionis consistunt cunabula. Tres enim facultates sunt, quarum prima est grammatica, secunda dialectica, tercia rhetorica, quia inter septem artes liberales tripartita facultas nobis occurrit. Unde quid sit unicuique proprium videamus. Primae facultatis proprium est docere dictiones apte coniungere ad intelligentiam preparandam. Secunde facultatis proprium est docere per inimicitias verborum disserere adversarium cogendo prebere assensum ad aliquod propositum sive velit sive nolit et contra omnes deceptiones cautelam adhibendo. Tercie facultatis proprium est docere tam verba quam sententias exornare et apposite ad persuadendum dicere, ut omnino animo persuadeat, ut velit vel nolit aliquid. Et quia de prima facultate videlicet arte grammatica tractaturi sumus, videndum est, quod tam in huius quam aliarum artium principio duplex habenda est consideracio scilicet extrinseca sive intrinseca. Extrinseca consideracio est compendiosa introductio ad artem intrinsecam. Intrinseca consideracio est collectio preceptorum ad aliquid docendum vel faciendum. Et hec est ars extrinseca, illa vero intrinseca. Sed in hac prima facultate videndum est, quid sit illa ars, que eius materia,

> quod officium, quis finis, quod eius genus, que partes, que species, quis opifex, quod instrumentum et unde dicatur ars grammatica.

Alle diese Gesichtspunkte werden in der Einleitung behandelt. Ich greife nur ein paar heraus. Bei der Erörterung des *genus* ist eine kurze Einteilung der Wissenschaften angebracht.

> Quod genus huius sciencie sit, videndum est. Ergo breviter talis facienda est divisio scienciarum: alia eloquencia, alia sapiencia vel philosophia. Sapiencie vel philosophie due sunt partes: theorica et practica. Theorice tres sunt partes: mathematica, physica et theologya. Practice tres sunt partes: ethica, politica, economica. Eloquencie sunt tres. He sunt partes: grammatica, dialectica, rhetorica.

Beim *instrumentum* (fol. 17ᵛ) ist bemerkt:

> Instrumentum cuiusque artis est, quo ipsa ars exercetur, ut instrumentum est dialectica disputatio. Ergo instrumentum huius artis est grammatica disputatio.

Im weiteren Verlauf der Einleitung kommt dann unser Anonymus auf das zu erklärende Textbuch zu sprechen, auf die *Institutio grammatica* des Priscianus.

> Circa librum hec sunt consideranda: auctoris intentio, utilitas operis, modus tractandi, causa operis, quos imitetur et titulus.

Ich bringe den Text der drei letzten Punkte:

> Causa operis fuit Iulianus apostata discipulus Theotisti, qui dubitans de accusativo et ablativo singulari et genitivo et ablativo plurali tercie declinacionis et de preteritis perfectis et plusquamperfectis tercie et quarte coniugacionis rogavit Priscinnum, ut hoc opus sibi componeret; vel causa fuit communis utilitas. Imitatus est Apollonium et Herodianum, quia [sicut] illi antiquorum grecorum in arte grammatica vicia correxerunt, sic iste antiquorum latinorum vicia emendavit. Titulus est: Prisciani Cesariensis Constantinopolitani ars grammatica incipit. Dicunt quidam, quod Cesarie fecit hunc librum, alii Constantinopoli, sed nos nescimus nec scire curamus.

Dieser anonyme Kommentar zu Priscianus stammt aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, wie dies auch der Schriftcharakter dieses Stückes des Wiener Codex bezeugt. Das ganze Werk trägt dialektisches Gepräge, ist im Stil der *disputatio grammatica* gearbeitet, ist dadurch von ganz anderer Art als die älteren Kommentare zur Grammatik des Priscianus, wie etwa der von Remigius von Auxerre. Fortwährend begegnen uns Wendungen wie *Hic queritur, modo queritur, sed si obiciatur, opponitur, si opponitur, hic opponitur, solutio, questio, sic solvitur, ita fallacia* usw. Ich habe in dem Stück, das ich in Photokopien besitze, Zitate aus Aristoteles, Boethius und Macrobius feststellen können. Es ist die aristotelisch-boethianische Logik auf grammatikalische Fragen angewendet. Dieser Priscian-kommentar ist sprachlogisch ausgerichtet. Damit kommt ihm philosophiegeschichtlich eine ganz besondere Bedeutung zu. Bisher kannter wir aus dem 12. Jahrhundert nur einen einzigen sprachlogischen Prisciankommentar, nämlich denjenigen des Petrus Helye, der um die Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts entstand und in einer stattlichen Anzahl von Handschriften überliefert ist. Durch die bahnbrechenden Forschungen von Ch. Thurot und G. Wallerand[11] über die mittelalterliche Grammatik und Sprachlogik ist Petrus Helye, der Professor in Paris gewesen ist, als Schöpfer der scholastischen Sprachlogik, der spekulativen Grammatik, in seiner grossen Bedeutung auch für die spätere Entwicklung erkannt und ins Licht gestellt. Was Abaelard für die Dialektik, Petrus Lombardus für die Theologie, das war Petrus Helye für die Grammatik. Wie Averroes für Aristoteles, so wird in der Folgezeit Petrus Helye in Bezug auf Priscianus als der Commentator schlechthin zitiert. Nun haben wir in diesem anonymen unvollendeten Wiener Kommentar ein zweites Exemplar und Beispiel einer sprachlogischen Auslegung Priscians aus der Frühscholastik. Eine Vergleichung beider Kommentare, die jetzt nicht möglich ist, wird die Bedeutung dieses Stückes der Wiener Handschrift erhellen können. Aus dem 13. Jahrhundert besitzen wir eine Reihe solcher sprachlogischen Kommentare zur Grammatik des Priscianus, die aus Vorlesungen an der Pariser Artistenfakultät hervorgegangen sind. Ich habe sie in meiner Münchener Akademieabhandlung über *Thomas von Erfurt und die Sprachlogik des mittelalterlichen Aristotelismus* zusammengestellt.[12]

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[11] Ch. Thurot, *Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des*

Für die Geschichte der Logik des 12. Jahrhunderts ist auch das in der Wiener Handschrift unmittelbar daran sich reihende Stück (fol. 37^r-44^v), das im gedruckten Katalog als *Logica* bezeichnet ist, recht bedeutsam. Bei näherer Untersuchung konnte ich zwei Teile feststellen, zuerst (fol. 37^r-38^r) einzelne logische Quästionen, und dann (fol. 38^r-44^v) ein unvollendetes Kompendium der Logik oder Dialektik. Die logischen Fragen beziehen sich auf die Topik. Man braucht nicht anzunehmen, dass die aristotelische Topik benutzt ist. Es genügt auch die boethianische Schrift *De differentiis topicis.* Diese Fragen haben den *locus a toto*, den *locus a pari* und den *locus ab oppositis* zum Inhalt. In syllogistischer Form sind Schwierigkeiten erhoben, die dann gelöst werden. Eine sehr lebhafte Diskussion tritt uns in diesen Fragen entgegen, in denen der dialektische Schulbetrieb des 12. Jahrhunderts sich deutlich widerspiegelt. Dass all dies unmittelbar aus dem Schulbetrieb hervorgeht, ist aus Wendungen wie: *magister dicit, magister concedit* ersichtlich.

An die topischen Quästionen reihen sich, fol. 38^r-38^v, auch noch Fragen über den Syllogismus: *Queritur de syllogismo, si sit oratio, de veritate et falsitate syllogismi*, usw. Ich bringe den Anfang der ersten topischen *Questio.*

> De quocunque predicatur totum et partes eius sub disiunctione. Ad hoc opponitur: Socrates et brunellus [=asinus] sunt animalia: ergo rationalia vel irrationalia. Sed non sunt rationalia nec irrationalia; ergo falsa est predicta.—Respondeo: Si hoc negetur, quod hic non predicatur totum, cum dico: Socrates et brunellus sunt animalia, ergo rationalia vel irrationalia: quod sic solvitur. Quod si omnia que est in propositione syllogismi, accipiatur dividue, ita quod referatur ad singulas collectiones, falsa est propositio. Quod si accipiatur hoc modo: omnia animalia preter que nulla sunt vel hec vel illa, vera est propositio et verum possumus colligere syllogismum.

Viel wichtiger ist der zweite Teil, das Kompendium der Logik oder Dialektik. Dasselbe beginnt auf fol. 38^v also:

> De duobus in logica agitur, scilicet de vocibus et rebus. Sed quia doctrina

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doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale et autres bibliothèques XXI, 2 (Paris, 1868). G. Wallerand, *Les oeuvres de Siger de Courtres. Etude critique et textes inédits. Les Philosophes Belges* VIII (Louvain, 1913).

[12] Martin Grabmann, "Thomas von Erfurt und die Sprachlogik des mittelalterlichen Aristotelismus", *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1943, *Philos.-hist. Abteilung*, Nr. 2 (München, 1943), 70-76.

> vocum prior est doctrina rerum, ideo primum de vocibus agamus. Sed quia vox super se habet sonum quasi genus superius, ideo de sono, quid ipse sit, dicemus.

Es wird der Reihe nach von *sonus, vox, nomen, verbum, oratio* und besonders von der *propositio* und ihren verschiedenen Unterabteilungen gehandelt. Wir haben es hier mit einem unvollendeten Kompendium der Logik oder Dialektik aus dem 12. Jahrhundert zu tun. Auch dem Schriftcharakter nach stammt dieser Teil des Codex aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Es reiht sich diese Logik an die neun verschiedenen Logiklehrbücher aus der Zeit von Peter Abaelard bis Wilhelm von Shyreswood an, die ich festgestellt und in meiner oben zitierten Berliner Akademieabhandlung von 1937 beschrieben habe. Dieses Dialektikkompendium gewinnt eine besondere Bedeutung auch durch die vielen Hinweise auf Philosophen des 12. Jahrhunderts, die freilich meist nur mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben genannt werden. Ich führe diese Hinweise, ohne vollständig zu sein, an.

> fol. 39^v: ad hoc quidam waldicelli opponunt; sed non salvanda auctoritate Aristotelis et Boethii . . . M. P. et quidam alii concedunt . . . M. A. de cathegoricis et hypotheticis communiter . . . M. Willelmus in hac consequentia . . .
> fol. 40^v: Sicut iam dictum est, non recipit hoc medium M. P.; dicit istam esse unam . . .
> fol. 42^r: M. P. dicit quod homo non est albus . . . M. A. dicit quod medium non valet . . . M. noster dicit . . .
> fol. 41^v: M. noster dicit . . .

Unter *M. P.* ist jedenfalls *Magister Petrus Abelardus* zu verstehen. Unter *M. A.* wird *Magister Albericus,* ein Lehrer des Johannes von Salisbury, gemeint sein. Den *M. Willelmus* werden wir bei der Häufigkeit dieses Namens nicht gut identifizieren können. Bei *waldicelli* handelt es sich un einen Namen, der mir bisher noch nirgends begegnet ist. Es lässt sich schwer sagen, ob ein einzelner Philosoph Waldicellus gemeint ist oder ob es sich um Anhänger eines Philosophen Waldicellus handelt, wie man auch von *Porretani* redet. Auch der *Magister noster* lässt sich nicht bestimmen.

Für uns kommt noch das neunte Stück (9) der Handschrift (fol. 45^r-60^v) in Betracht. Auch dieses Stück ist im gedruckten Katalog nicht erkannt und ganz unrichtig mit *Cursus philosophiae* bestimmt. Das Initium lautet:

> Quoniam liber iste introductorius est ad predicamenta Aristotelis, que primo legenda sunt inter libros ab Aristotele compositos, dialectice exercitium suscipientibus primo legendus est quasi quedam porta et quidam ingressus in loycam. Quare de ea hoc loco pauca predicenda sunt, scilicet de ortu eius et progressu et genere et partibus et fine.

Dieser einleitende Satz reicht schon hin, um sofort dieses Stück als einen Kommentar zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius erkennen zu lassen. Der Ausdruck *liber introductorius ad predicamenta* ist ja die lateinische Uebersetzung von *Isagoge.* In der ausführlichen Einleitung, die vorangestellt ist und in sehr klarer und inhaltsvoller Weise über die Logik im allgemeinen handelt, ist auf fol. 45^v ausdrücklich der Titel des Buches, das kommentiert wird, angegeben:

> Incipiunt Ysagoge Porphyrii ad predicamenta Aristotelis, id est introductiones, quia interpretatur introductio. Ex titulo ergo habemus, quod liber iste introductorius est. Grece autem appositus est hac ratione titulus, ut ex ipsa inscripitione, quoniam liber iste de greco translatus est, sciretur et ita magis authenticus redderetur.

Schon in der Einleitung ist im allgemeinen über die Universalienlehre gehandelt, die dann bei der Erörterung der *quinque voces*: *genus, species, differentia, proprium, accidens* im einzelnen dargelegt wird. Ich bringe hier weder Texte noch eine Untersuchung über die Universalienlehre dieses anonymen eingehenden Isagogekommentars. Derselbe ist jedenfalls für die Universalienlehre des späteren 12. Jahrhunderts von erheblicher Bedeutung. Unser Anonymus kennt das ganze aristotelische Organon, wie aus folgenden Worten der Einleitung ersichtlich ist:

> Et ideo librum eius scientie inveniendi et iudicandi subponi testamur; non enim in illam partem tendimus, ut quosdam libros dialectice dicamus tantum subponi huic, quosdam illi tantum et nullos utrique, sed dicimus, quod quedam subponuntur inventioni ut topica, quedam tantum iudicio ut analytica Aristotelis, quedam utrique ut predicamenta, quibus mediantibus et iste et periermenie et elenci.

Auch die logischen Schriften des Boethius werden angeführt. Dem Schriftcharakter nach ist dieses Stück des Codex wohl schon dem frühen 13. Jahrhundert zuzuteilen. Indessen gehört dieser Kommentar inhaltlich gesehen noch ins 12. Jahrhundert. Ein deutlicher Beweis hierfür sind die Zitate aus Peter Abaelard:

> fol. 50^{v}: negat M. P.
> fol. 51^{r}: M. P. dicit . . . His determinatis querit M. P. . . . Non enim Magistro P. consentiendum est, qui dicit . . .

Ich kann diesen Isagogekommentar erst näher untersuchen, wenn ich den ganzen Text in Photokopien zur Verfügung habe.

Um nach dieser Beschreibung der Wiener Handschrift wieder auf den *Tractatus de universalibus*, der an der Spitze des Codex steht, zurückzukommen, so gebe ich hier bloss die Edition des Textes, ohne auf eine inhaltliche Analyse einzugehen. Dieser Traktat wendet sich gegen den Nominalismus und sucht denselben als unaristotelisch zu erweisen. Er sucht einen gewissen Mittelweg zwischen Nominalismus und extremem Realismus, bleibt aber doch auf dem Boden des extremen Realismus stehen. Ausführlich und klar werden die verschiedenen Aussageweisen erörtert: *rem de re predicari, terminum de termino predicari, terminum de re predicari, genus predicari de specie et speciem de individuo*. Der Traktat ist nicht ganz vollendet in der Handschrift überliefert.

Der Verfasser lässt sich nicht feststellen. Er hat auch einen *Tractatus de specie* geschrieben, auf welchen er ausdrücklich verweist: *Sed de hoc in tractatu de specie diximus*. Ein besonderes geschichtliches Interesse kommt diesem Universalientraktat dadurch zu, dass die Bezeichnungen *maneria* oder *maneries* darin häufig für *genus* und *species* gebraucht werden. Johannes von Salisbury übt Kritik an einem Zeitgenossen, der in der Universalienlehre sich dieses Wortes bedient:[13]

> Est aliquis qui confugit ad subsidium nove lingue, quia Latine peritiam non satis habet; nunc enim cum genus audit uel species, res quidem dicit intelligendas uniuersales, nunc rerum *maneries* interpretatur. Hoc autem nomen in quo auctorum inuenerit uel hanc distinctionem, incertum habeo, nisi forte in glosematibus, aut modernorum linguis doctorum.

Es legt sich uns nahe, in unserm Anonymus diesen *aliquis* zu sehen, der *genus* und *species* als *res universales* und als *rerum maneries* bezeichnet. Jedenfalls zählt zu den nicht wenigen irrigen Behauptungen in C. Prantls *Geschichte der*

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[13] *Op. cit.*, S. 95.

Logik im Abendland der Satz.¹ "Eine Abzweigung des Nominalismus war gewiss die Annahme betreffs der *maneries.*"

Ich stelle den Text zur Verfügung, damit spätere Untersuchungen die Verfasserfrage und die Stellung dieses Traktates in der Entwicklung der Universalienlehre der Frühscholastik beleuchten können. Zugleich soll damit die Textgrundlage für die Darstellung der Universalienlehre des 12. Jahrhunderts erweitert werden.

II TRACTATUS DE UNIVERSALIBUS (COD. LAT. 2486 DER WIENER NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, FOL. 1'-4')

Sunt quidam qui nomina hec, scilicet genus, speciem, differentiam, proprium et accidens nomina tantum nominum, non rerum dicunt, et solis vocabulis genera et species esse et universalitatem et predicationem conferunt. Alii vero omnia hec solis rebus attribuunt dicentes, quod sole res sunt genera et species, et quia sunt universalia et quod de pluribus predicantur. Videndum est ergo, sive his sive illis et in quibus sive nec his nec illis nec aliquibus sit consentiendum, et postea quid nos de generibus et speciebus teneamus exponendum. Sed quoniam hii et illi multis suam partem protegunt auctoritatibus, utrobique auctoritates sunt adducende in medium ut, quid ex illis habeant, cognoscamus, et ex eisdem nostre parti subveniamus.

Qui enim sola nomina et terminos genera et species esse et illa sola predicari et universalia esse adstruunt, primo auctoritate Aristotelis utuntur. Dicit enim Aristoteles in *Predicamentis*:² Secundarum substantiarum species est magis substantia quam genus. Propinquior est enim prime substantie. Si quis enim assignet primam substantiam, convenientius assignabit proferens speciem quam genus. Idem in eodem: Merito post principales substantias sola aliorum genera et species secunde dicuntur substantie. Hec enim sola, eorum que predicantur, indicant primas substantias. Unde patet, quod genera et species sint nomina, quia nominum est tantum proferre substantiam, scilicet, indicare. Idem in eodem: Omnis quidem substantia videtur hoc aliquid significare et in primis substantiis indubitabile verum est, quoniam hoc aliquid significant. Postea etiam addit: Genus et species determinant qualitatem circa substantiam; quondam enim quale substantiam significant. Hoc autem de rebus dici non potest, quia sola nomina significare habent et determinare qualitates circa substantias. Et ita Aristoteles videtur velle, quod prime et secunde substantie et genus et species sunt nomina et non res. Deinde quod vocabula universalia sunt et predicantur, testatur summus Boethius, qui dicit in *Topicis*³ quoniam nomen de nomine predicatur et nomen de oratione, et ita terminus de termino. Idem in *Divisionibus* dicit,⁴ quod vocabulum commune predicatur de pluribus. Ab Aristotele in *Predicamentis* hoc habent:⁵ Dicit enim, quod eorum, que predicantur de subiecto, et nomen et ratio predicatur de subiecto. His et aliis multis auctoritatibus nomina esse genera et species et alia universalia probare contendunt.

Sed contra eos ex parte eorum qui rebus solis hoc assignant, infinite stant auctoritates multo manifestiores. Dicit enim Porphyrius in prima parte sui operis, cum de generibus et speciebus et ceteris sit tractaturus:⁶ Speculatione altiorum rerum, quod minime diceret, si ea nomina esse intelligeret. Item questionem de generibus et speciebus, quam ponit, aperte refellit (fol. 1') genera et species esse nomina. Si enim genera et species essent nomina, insanum esset

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¹ C. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande* II (neue Ausgabe, Leipzig, 1927), 125.

² Aristoteles, *Categoriae*, c. 5, 2 b 7.

³ Boethius, *De Differentiis Topicis* I, PL 64, 1175B.

⁴ Boethius, *Liber de Divisione*: PL 64, 886B.

⁵ Aristoteles, *Categoriae*, c. 5, 2 a 9.

⁶ Boethius, *Commentaria in Porphyrium a se Translatum*, I, PL 64, 77A.

querere, utrum subsisterent, etc., et utrum subsistentia essent corporalia, etc., que sciuntur. Item in eodem idem reclamat, ubi assignat similitudinem, quam habet phylosophicum genus ad collectionem et principium. Etenim principium quoddam est huiusmodi genus earum, que sub se sunt specierum, quod de vocibus vel vocabulis nequaquam dici potest. Alibi etiam plane ostendit, quod genera et species res sint, ubi dicit: Rebus ex materia et forma constantibus vel ad similitudinem proportionemque constitutionem habentibus, etc. Unde patet, genera et species esse res ad similitudinem materie et forme se habentes, quod de vocabulis minime legi potest. Item quod res universales sint, in *Predicamentis* Aristoteles comprobat, qui postquam dixit: Eorum, que dicuntur, etc., subiunxit: Eorum, que sunt, alia dicuntur de subiecto et sunt in subiecto ut scientia de subiecto dicitur grammatica, in subiecto vero est in anima. Item, quod res universales sint, eiusdem auctoritate in *Periermeniis* confirmatur. Cum enim de terminis retractasset propositionum et opus esset diffinire, quid esset universale, transtulit se ad res dicens: Rerum hec sint quinque universalia, alia singularia. Et cum diffiniret universale sic:[6] Universale est, quod est aptum natum predicari de pluribus, ne hoc intelligeretur de nominibus, statim disgrediens a terminis dedit diffinitionem illam, que minime terminis convenit, quia termini non sint nati predicari de pluribus nec naturaliter predicantur de pluribus, sed ex sola institutione. Item in *Divisionibus* dicit Boethius:[7] Rerum alie sunt superiores, alie inferiores, alie medie, quod probat res esse universales. Idem etiam dicit quod genus est materia specierum, species vero sunt quasi quedam ex genere procreationes; quod item nominibus non convenit. Idem in eodem: Si que res alteris fuerit genus, talem illud infra se continebit. Idem in *Ypoteticis sillogismis*,[8] ubi assignat differentiam inter ypotheticam et cathegoricam propositionem, dicit predicativam propositionem rem, quam subicit, nomen rei predicate suscipere. Ex quo manifestum est, quoniam res et predicatur et subicitur. Ex hiis ergo auctoritatibus et aliis infinitis, quas enumerare longum est, constat, quod genera et species sint universalia et quod sint res et quod predicantur de pluribus.

Quoniam ergo iste illos et ille istos defendunt auctoritates, nos medium tenentes concedimus, quod res quedam et quod termini quidam sunt universales et quod res et termini predicantur. Sed notandum, quod licet dicamus, quod terminus sit universalis, non tamen concedimus, quod sit universale. Cum enim dicitur, quod terminus est universalis, sensus est: Est communis pluribus. Sed cum dicitur: Terminus est universale, sensus est: aptum natum predicari de pluribus, quod minime termino convenit, quia sole res hoc habent, et ideo sola universalia sunt. Item concedimus, quod res de re predicatur, ut in *Predicamentis* habemus. Manifestum est ex hiis, que dicta sunt, quoniam eorum, que dicuntur de subiecto, et nomen et ratio predicatur de subiecto ut nomen hominis de aliquo homine. Unde constat, quod nomen de re predicatur. Hoc idem Boethius innuit, ubi dicit rem subiectam suscipere nomen rei predicate. Sed cum terminus universalis et de re et de terminis habeat predicari, posset tamen universalis terminus esse, etsi nunquam (fol. 2^r) predicaretur de re ut falsum et opinabile termini sunt universales, nec unquam predicantur de aliqua re, quia rem aliquam nunquam subiectam. Quid autem sit rem de re predicari, vel terminum de termino, vel terminum de re, inferius exponetur.

Quamvis ergo et res et terminos universales esse dicamus, tamen in hoc res terminis preponderant, quod de rebus solum verum est, quod sunt genera et species. Hoc enim ratio probat et auctoritas. Non enim invenitur alicubi: Nomen est genus quemadmodum invenimus, si qua res alterius fuerit genus. Et vere dicimus hec nomina, scilicet genus, species, differentia, proprium, accidens non esse nomina nominum, sed rerum, nisi quandoque hoc nomen species improprie accipiatur, ut cum dicimus: Nomen est species vocis. Unde non licet simpliciter dici: Nomen est species.

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[6] Aristoteles, *Perihermeneias*, c. 7, 17 a 38.

[7] Boethius, *Liber de Divisione*; PL 64, 885D.

[8] Boethius, *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis*, I; PL 64, 832A-C.

Sed ad hoc quod dicimus, ista nomina rerum tantum esse, obiciuntur auctoritates Aristotelis, que predicate sunt. Sed nichil expedit. Quod enim dictum est ibi: Convenientius assignabis proferens speciem quam genus, hoc dicitur ad nomina debere referri. Sed nichil impedit. Sicut enim Tullius in *Rhetoricis*[9] dicit: Aliqua res turpes et indignas honore quod est proferendo eas demonstrare, ita Aristoteles dicit proferre genus et speciem, id est, proferendo demonstrare eam. Item quod obicitur: Omnis substantia videtur hoc aliquid significare, etc., nichil obicit. Sicut enim in primo loco dicitur: Omnis substanta videtur hoc aliquid significare, impropria est locutio et translatio facta, ut ipsi etiam concedunt, quia hoc nomen substantia, quod est nomen proprium rerum, translative ibi accipitur ad significandam vocem. Similiter ibidem continue voces iste, scilicet prima substantia et secunda substantia, genus et species, que sunt propria nomina rerum, translative accipiuntur, ut per eas de ipsis nominibus agatur. Quod enim dictum est: Genera et species determinant qualitatem, sic intelligendum est, id est, generalia nomina et specialia; nec est incongruum nec mirum, si translatio ibi facta sit. Sic enim ubique in auctoribus fit, ut quod cum modo de rebus, modo de vocibus agatur, multotiens que proprie nomina sunt terminorum ponuntur in designatione rerum, et econverso. Et maxime hoc contingit in logica, ubi rerum doctrina permixta est doctrine nominum, ut hic per nomina rerum agitur per nomen termini. Boethius in *Topicis*[10] de re agit, ubi dicit: Argumentum dicitur a termino questionis, quod est dicere: a re significata a termino questionis, et ita per nomen terminus, quod est proprie nomen terminorum, rem significavit.

His ita expositis, ad propositum revertentes, quid sit terminum de termino predicari, vel terminum de re, dicamus. Predicari ergo terminum de termino est terminum apponi alii termino, vel per se, vel in vi verbi substantivi temporis presentis, ad veram enuntiationem faciendam. Per se apponuntur ut legit, currit, vel legit librum, et alia huiusmodi, ut Socrates legit, vel Socrates legit librum. Hec ideo per se apponi dicuntur, quia nichil interpositum est, per quod subiecto termino possit adjungi. Vi verbi substantivi temporis presentis, apponuntur singula nomina aliis, ut Socrates est homo, etc. Vi verbi temporis presentis, ideo dicimus, quia si apponatur verbum preteriti vel futuri temporis, ut senex fuit puer, vel album erit nigrum, vel bonum malum, non potest dici, quod terminus hic "puer" predicetur de termino "senex" vi verbi erit, quia sic habemus, quod contrarium de contrario predicaretur. Dicitur ergo hoc totum, scilicet fuit puer vel erit album predicari, (fol. 2^{v}) et in similibus similia. Ad veram enuntiationem faciendam adjungitur, quia licet aliquis terminus in falsa propositione alii apponatur, ut homo est lapis, non tamen de eo predicatur.

Predicari terminum de re dicimus esse ostendere in enuntiationibus rem esse subiectam termino illi. In qua sententia adhuc soli sumus, quia auctoritas et ratio ad hoc nos cogit. Auctoritas enim Aristotelis terminum de re predicari ostendit, ubi dicit: Eorum, que de subiecto dicuntur, necesse est et nomen et rationem predicari de re. Nisi enim vellet nomen predicari de re, nunquam sic diceret. Idem etiam Boethius assignat, cum dicit rem subiectam suscipere nomen rei predicate. Quod etiam fit, cum verbum predicatur, ut Socrates legit, id est, vi enuntiationis ostenditur, quia persona subiecta est illi verbo.

Nunc videndum est quid sit rem de re predicare. Sed notandum, quod cum dicitur, quod res de re predicatur, intelligendum est, quod aliqua res de aliqua re predicatur, quia si diceretur hoc ipsum, scilicet rem predicari de re simpliciter, falsum esset, quia cum dicitur: hoc est res, non predicatur ibi res aliqua nisi nomen hoc tantum ac res, quia istius nominis nulla res est significativa. Predicari ergo dicitur res aliqua de re, cum demonstratur res de re ut animal de homine, id est, cum veraciter ostenditur, quod res talis est talis vel talis simpliciter, ut cum dicitur: homo est rationalis, vel albus, vel aliquid tale.

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[9] Cicero, *De Inventione Rhetorica*, I, 55. 64, 1188A.

[10] Boethius, *De Differentiis Topicis*, 2; PL

Ostenso communiter, quid sit rem de re predicari, videndum est, quid rem de pluribus predicari, quod item per partes ostendendum est. Sed ut commodior fiat doctrina et apertior, sciendum est, quod universalium alia plures res subiectas habent, ut animal homo; alia plures res subiectas non habent, quia pauca sunt, ut phenix, sol, mundus et huiusmodi. Quod Aristoteles percipiens non dicit: universale est, quod predicatur, sed quod est aptum natum predicari de pluribus, quod omnibus eque convenit. Dicitur ergo res de pluribus predicari, cum potest ostendi veraciter de pluribus, sive in eodem tempore sive in diversis, quod unumquodque eorum res talis vel talis sit. Et ita, quid sit rem de re predicari, vel rem de pluribus predicari, comuniter exposuimus. Esset ergo consequens, ut idem per partes ostenderemus. Sed quia res esse genera et species fatemur, ideo prius, que res determinate genera et species debeant dici, videamus.

Dicimus ergo maneries rerum esse genera et species, ut hec maneria substantiarum, que est animal, est genus; et sicut dicimus, quod hec maneria animal, in qua est homo, species est, et sic in aliis. Et ita habemus ibi, ubi tractat de X primis vocibus X prima rerum genera significantibus decem manerias rerum, quia qualitas est quedam maneria rerum, et quantitas alia maneria, et ita de singulis aliorum. Quod autem manerie rerum genera et species debeant dici, Aristoteles in *Predicamentis* insinuat, ubi dicit:[11] Tertia species qualitatis est passibilis qualitas et passio. Hoc enim patens est et omnes consentiunt, quod de quadam maneria qualitatis hoc dicunt etiam illi, qui nominum tenent sententiam, plane concedunt, quod quedam res maneria qualitatis est; sed que res hec sit, sive universalis, sive singularis, vel dicere non audent vel nesciunt. Sed notandum, quod cum genera et species sint manerie rerum, non tamen quelibet manerie rerum sunt genera et species nisi ille solum, que secundum naturam consistunt. Sunt enim quedam manerie rerum domus et tunica et cappa; non tamen genera et species sunt. Sicut autem dicimus, (fol. 3^v) quod homo est quedam maneria rerum et similiter animal, sic quod res existens in subiecto est quoddam genus rerum, vel quedam maneria rerum, secundum aliam partitionem attendimus, et item secundum aliam divisionem res predicata de subiecta quedam manerie rerum sunt genera inquid predicabilia, ut cum queritur, quid est genus vel species, convenienter potest responderi: res predicata de subiecto. Hac enim ratione diverse rerum partitiones ab auctoribus per diversa genera facta sunt, ut ad questionem de unaquaque re, quid sit, factam, cum constans sit eam esse, respondere possint.

Sed cum manerias rerum genera et species esse dicamus, quid sit dicere: genus predicari de specie vel speciem de individuo, et quid sit genus predicari de pluribus, ut appareat, per partes queritur, quid sit rem de re vel rem de pluribus predicari; quod supra promisimus. Et dicunt quidam, quod genus de specie predicari est genus ostendere inesse illi rei, quod teneri non potest, quia nequaquam dici potest de specie vera locutione: hoc est genus. Et hoc idem in specie et in aliis universalibus dicunt. Sed item hoc teneri non potest, quia sic nunquam universale predicaretur de pluribus, quia non est universale aliquod, quod de pluribus habeat dici sic, ut de unoquoque eorum dicatur: hoc est illud universale. Dicimus igitur, quod genus de specie predicatur simpliciter, ita, scilicet, quod non ostendatur determinate de aliqua re et obsolute ut: quidam homo est animal, vel de omni ut: omnis homo est animal. In istis propositionibus genus predicatur de specie, quia ostenditur, quod res talis maneriei, que est homo, sit illius maneriei, que est animal. De individuis vero predicatur genus vel species ut: Socrates est animal vel homo.

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[11] Aristoteles, *Categoriae*, c. 8, 9 a 28.

De pluribus vero genus predicari est plura esse, quorum unumquodque ostendatur esse de illa manerie rerum, que genus dicitur, et simpliciter ostendatur esse sub illa manerie, habens hanc proprietatem vel illam, ut si diceretur: hoc est album, non predicatur genus, quia non simpliciter ostenditur hoc esse sub illa manerie, sed esse rem affectam albedine et de illa manerie. Si autem simpliciter ostendatur esse de illa maneria rerum, que est homo, ut si dicatur: homo est homo nichil addens, predicatur hic species, et simili modo quelibet considerare.

Et notandum, quod cum dicitur, quod quoddam predicatur de specie, potest concedi: Quedam maneria rerum predicatur, quia sive dicantur genus, sive maneria rerum predicari, sensus semper est quod ostendatur: res est talis maneriei. Non tamen oportet dici: hoc est genus rerum vel maneries rerum, scilicet animal, sed est res incorporea, quia sensus esset, quod res talis maneriei essent incorporee, quod falsum est. Tamen potest dici simpliciter: hoc genus est incorporeum. Item sciendum, quod nunquam in propositione, in qua genus predicatur de specie, agitur nec de genere nec de specie, ut homo est animal. Hic genus predicatur de specie; non tamen dicitur aliquid de hac specie vel de hoc genere, quia tota locutio ad ea, que subsunt, pertinet et pro eis vera est. Dicitur tamen genus de specie, quia tota doctrina inter genus et speciem est, quia simpliciter ostenditur, quod res talis maneriei est de illa maneria, non quod res aliqua sit determinate. Cum vero de specie et genere agitur, ut homo est species, animal est genus, nullo modo nec genus nec species subiciuntur.

His itaque expeditis, queritur secundum hoc, quod manerie dicuntur, quid sit dicere: genus est totum integrum in singulis, vel species est tota et integra in suis individuis. Ad hoc dicimus, quod nichil aliud est dicere: genus totum et integrum in suis speciebus, quam dicere: totum esse generis est in singulis rebus illius speciei, ut totum esse animalis est in unoquoque esse homine. Sed contra concludit aliquis: Ergo est aliquid in omni homini, ut (fol. 3^v) si aliquid diceretur esse in omni homine ut in proprio fundamento, ut cum dicitur: scientia est in homine, intelligitur: scientia est in hoc homine ut in subiecto. Sed cum dicitur esse animal in unoquoque homine, non intelligitur ita animal esse in homine ut in subiecto, sed idem est ac si diceretur: totum esse animalis, id est, omnis proprietas animalis unicuique homini convenit, quia convenit unicuique homini, quod sit res animata sensibilis. Et hoc idem intelligimus, cum dicimus: hec species homo est in singulis individuis, quod nichil aliud est dicere quam: omnis proprietas hominis convenit unicuique homini, ut rationale, mortale, perceptibile, discipline; et hoc idem in aliis intelligendum est.

Hic queritur, quid sit dicere: genus accepta differentia transit in speciem. Quod nichil aliud est nisi quod cum totum esse generis jungitur cum differentia, fit species, vel secundum predicationem potest hoc assignare; et est dicere: genus accepta differentia transit in speciem, hoc est, genus predicatum cum differentia speciem facit predicari. Amplius queritur, si contingat unam solam esse de aliqua manerie rerum, que species dicitur, si tunc maneria dicatur illa species necne. Et dicimus, quia revera maneria illa species est sit nisi una res subiecta illi maneriei; quod previdit Aristoteles, cum dixit: Universale est, quod aptum natum, etc., quia voluit universale, etsi non predicaretur de actu de pluribus. Hoc etiam Priscianus insinuat,[12] ubi dicit appellativum nomen est commune multorum naturaliter. Sed de hoc *in tractatu speciei* satis diximus. Et notandum, quod secundum hoc, quod exponimus genus predicari de specie, cum dicimus: homo est animal, predicatur genus de specie, quia dicitur homo esse de illa maneria, que est animal, quia ostenditur, quod res huius maneriei est illius, et sic de aliis.

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[12] Priscianus, *Institutio Grammatica,* II, 24; ed. M. Hertz (Lipsiae, 1855) I, p. 58.

Sed quoniam de generibus et speciebus sufficienter pertractavimus, de differentiis et propriis et accidentibus, quid sint et quid sit ea predicari, ut prosequamur locus est. Dicimus itaque, quod differentia et propria et accidentia sunt proprietates quedam, que ex rebus in subiectis existentibus proveniunt, ut proprietas, que subiecto adjacenter inest, ex hoc quod rationalitas est in eo, differentia dicitur, ut esse rationale. Illa vero proprietas, que inest alicui ex hoc quod risibilitas est in eo, dicitur proprium, ut esse risibile. Illa autem proprietas, que inest ex hoc quod albedo est in aliquo, dicitur accidens, ut esse album. Predicatur ergo differentia de aliquo, cum ostenditur aliquid esse illius proprietatis, et sic de aliis. Quare sive dicatur: homo est rationalis, sive dicatur: rationalitas est in homine, dicimus differentiam predicari, et sic in aliis; quia dicitur: homo est risibilis vel risibilitas est in homine, predicatur proprium. Si autem dicatur: cignus est albus, vel albedo est in cigno, predicatur accidens; quia sive hoc sive illo dicatur modo, semper res talis proprietatis esse ostenditur.

Sed quoniam de universalibus diximus, de singularibus et individuis, que res, scilicet dicantur individua, videndum est. Individuum autem pluribus modis dicitur. Dicitur enim individuum aliquid, quod ita breve est, quod propter brevitatem sui partes non habet, ut athomus vel instans, quod adeo breve est, quod propter brevitatem (percipi non potest). Item individuum dicitur aliquid, quod propter duritiam sui non potest dividi, ut adamas. Sed neque sic neque sic individuum accipitur in logica. Est ergo individuum, quod non continet plura subiecta, in que possit dividi ut hec prima substantia, hic homo, hic asinus. Et ideo dixit Aristoteles: Universale est, quod est aptum natum predicari de pluribus. Singulare vero, quod non. Hac igitur ratione dicimus, quod singularia subiciuntur in istis propositionibus: homo est species, animal est genus, quia de pluribus non posset dici. Cum enim dicitur: homo est species, vel animal est genus, sensus est huius: species homo est species, et genus huius animal est genus. Sed non est aliquid, de quo possit dici: huius species est hoc, vel hoc est hoc genus, nisi de specie et de hoc genere. Quod autem illud, quod predicatur in hac propositione: homo est animal, non subiciatur in hac: animal (fol. 4^r) est genus, manifestum est, quia ab eo et ab omni esse eius et eius specie removetur, quia hoc genus animal non est animal, nec animatum, nec sensibile, nec homo, nec equus; et ita apertum est singularia ibi subici. Sed nomina ad eorumdem significationem trahuntur. Sed ad hoc, quod dicimus, quod hic homo, hic equus sunt individua, concludunt quidam individuum equitare et aliquid non, et per cetera nituntur nos in absona inducere verba. Sed verba huiusmodi non recipimus, quia ab arte sunt extranea. Ex quo enim a verbis, quibus ars utitur, recedunt, nec de individuo secundum hoc, quod habent subici speciei vel alicui, vel secundum hoc quod suscipit albedinem vel nigredinem vel aliquid aliorum, locuntur; sed verba vulgaria inducunt, dicentes individuum ire ad forum et emere aliud individuum. Non est autem eis respondendum aut quid incidenter est dicendum, quia si verbis huiusmodi assensum preberemus, si probare possent, quod individuum divideretur, quia rusticus in macello bovem dividit et procum. Et de his hactenus.

Eorum, que predicantur, alia predicantur in substantiam, alia extra substantiam, alia in quomodo se habent, alia vero aliter. Sed de his, que de substantia predicantur, videndum est. Sunt autem illa ut totum esse rei sicut genus vel substantialis differentia. Hec sola predicantur in substantiam. Que vero extra substantiam predicantur sunt illa, que neque totum esse rei ut species rei sunt, neque pars esse rei ut communiter accidentia.

The New List of the Popes[a]

ANGELO MERCATI

THE *Annuario Pontificio* for 1947 offers an innovation. It no longer presents "The Roman Pontiffs according to the iconographical series existing in St. Paul's Outside the Walls", but "according to the chronological order of the *Liber Pontificalis* and of its sources, continued down to the present", thus returning, with needed corrections, additions and modifications, to the list which was published in *La Gerarchia Cattolica* of 1904 and of 1905 by the illustrious Father, later Cardinal, Francis Ehrle, prefect of the Vatican Library (d. March 31, 1934).

Since the reasons for this substitution will be asked, some elucidations in this regard will not be out of place. The list of the Popes in St. Paul's Basilica with name, place of origin, family name, year of election and year of death, length of pontificate in years, months and days which was printed in the *Annuario Pontificio* from 1913 to 1946[b] was but the reproduction of the data established by the learned John Marangoni of Vicenza, custodian of the Roman catacombs (d. February 5, 1753), in the *Chronologia Romanorum Pontificum in pariete australi Basilicae Sancti Pauli viae Ostiensis depicta saeculo V seu aetate S. Leonis PP. Magni cum additione reliquorum Summorum Pontificum nostra ad haec usque tempora producta iussione Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Benedicti PP. XIV, Romae 1751*[c]. On the occasion of the restoration executed under the Lambertini Pope of the medallions of the Vth to XIth centuries[d] this work undertook to discuss the chronology and to give a very brief sketch of the life of each Pope. While evidencing diligent study, the work of Marangoni contains however some grave errors and many defects which oblige us to abandon certain of its conclusions as well as the manner in which it is presented in the numbers of the *Annuario*. In fact, of a single personage, Anacletus or Cletus, the second successor of St. Peter, it made two Popes, Anacletus and Cletus; it admits a Donus II who never existed and some antipopes are given as lawful (Felix II, Alexander V, John XXIII). The calculation of the length of the pontificates in years, months and days for the early period up to 230 is extremely problematical because of the origin and tradition of the sources. Not until later, and not for every pontificate, have we chronological elements more or less reliable, elements which become absolutely certain at a later date when official books, chronicles, historical compilations and good means of control abound. In time the family names of the Popes are given, but from the moment that the custom arose of changing the name upon becoming Pope the *Annuario* omitted the baptismal name as well as the name adopted upon entrance into a religious order. However this is an element which is not without importance because there was a time in the development of the institutions of the Curia when the Popes were accustomed to sign certain acts with the initial of their baptismal or religious name. Moreover we were given only the year in which a man became Pope and the year of his death; the month and the day, very useful chronological data, were omitted, as were also those which inform us of the chronological difference between the *electio* and that which comes from the *ordinatio* (if the elect is not already a priest or bishop), *consecratio* or *coronatio,* since the pontifical year in the papal acts dates precisely from the *coronatio.*

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[a] MEDIAEVIL STUDIES is pleased to be able to offer to its readers this contribution from the pen of the learned Monsignor Angelo Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Archives. The list of the Popes was published in the *Annuario Pontificio* for 1947. The introductory essay appeared in the *Osservatore Romano* of January 19, 1947. Because of the nature of these two publications, they are not found in many Universities and Libraries. The author has made one correction and the translator, T. P. McLaughlin, C.S.B., has drawn attention to two other small ones.

[b] Also earlier in its predecessors; the older *Annuario* which ran from 1860 to 1870 contained it for the years 1863 to 1870 and its successor from 1872 until 1911, *La Gerarchia Cattolica*, had it for the years 1873 to 1903. No lists were published during the six year period, 1906-1911. Another compilation with some scientific pretensions was published in the *Notizie per l'anno MDCCCXVIII* and reproduced in succeeding volumes up to 1859.

[c] This was followed in 1829 by an *Auctarium* up to Pope Pius VIII.

[d] For these consult today J. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien in den kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, II, 2 (Freiburg i. Br.), 1916, pp. 560-579.

The list of the Popes in the 1947 *Annuario* aims precisely at eliminating these errors and defects and adds also the antipopes for the reason likewise that since some of them were accepted as lawful they gave rise to an erroneous ordinal number for succeeding Popes who assumed the same names (Felix II, Boniface VII, Alexander V). For the chronological data up to 1458 I have taken as a basis the tables compiled with remarkable accuracy, the fruit, especially for the early period, of the penetrating research and severe criticism of Duchesne in his ever admirable edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* which even Mommsen, a competent critic and one not easily satisfied, adopted, declaring it compiled with *egregia disquisitione* and referring *propter dubia et incerta multa sane et gravia* to Duchesne *ducem etiam in tenebris fidum et prudentem.* Naturally I have reviewed and controlled everything according to the state of present day historical science but all is not entirely certain. In particular for the first five hundred years and in the obscurity of the Xth and XIth centuries historical and canonical questions remain open, especially concerning the lawful succession. However not even some uncertainties for the first centuries and the confusion of the Western Schism can weaken the continuous unbroken line of the Pontiffs as successors of St. Peter, Vicar of Jesus Christ and in this divine mission first Bishop of Rome.

THE ROMAN PONTIFFS

According to the chronological order of the *Liber Pontificalis*[1] and of its sources[2] continued down to the present[3].

ST. PETER, of Bethsaida in Galilee, Prince of the Apostles, who received from Jesus Christ the supreme pontifical power to be transmitted to his successors. He resided first in Antioch, then, according to the reference in the Chronology of the year 354[4], for 25 years in Rome where he suffered martyrdom in the year 64 or 67 of our era.

ST. LINUS, of Tuscany, 67-76[5].

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[1] L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis,* I (Paris, 1886), II (Paris, 1892). For the period up to Pope Constantine (d.715) see also the edition of T. Mommsen, *Gestorum Romanorum Pontificum* I (Berlin, 1898).

[2] With appropriate corrections in accordance with the conclusions of present day historical science. The names of antipopes are given within square brackets.

[3] The liturgical and hagiographical books of the Church of Rome consider as *martyrs* all the Popes anterior to Sylvester I (314-335), and as *Saints* those from Sylvester I to Felix IV (III,526-530) inclusive. They indicate other Saints and Beatified for the following centuries until we meet with formal beatification and canonization or approval of cult.

[4] In the so-called Liberian Catalogue. See the edition of Duchesne, *op.cit.*I,pp.2 ff., and of T. Mommsen in *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII,* vol. I (Berlin, 1892), pp. 73 ff. The list of the Bishops of Rome up to Marcellinus (296-304) which the historian Eusebius of Caesarea (d.c.340) used for the second book of his *Chronicorum,* in the interpretation of St. Jerome, also gives 25 years episcopate to St. Peter at Rome: "XXV annis eiusdem (Roma) urbis episcopus perseverat" (in Migne, PG 19, 539 f., and see the new edition of R. Helm in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der drei ersten Jahrhunderten,* VII, 1 (Berlin, 1913), p. 179.

[5] Up to Eleutherius the *years* of the beginning and end of the pontificates are not absolutely sure; we are dealing with relatively exact figures. Also, later, up to the middle of the XIth century, there are some doubts regarding the *day* and the *month*

ST. ANACLETUS or CLETUS, Roman, 76-88.
ST. CLEMENT, Roman, 88-97.
ST. EVARISTUS, Greek, 97-105.
ST. ALEXANDER I, Roman, 105-115.
ST. SIXTUS I, Roman, 115-125.
ST. TELESPHORUS, Greek, 125-136.
ST. HYGINUS, Greek, 136-140.
ST. PIUS I, of Aquileia, 140-155.
ST. ANICETUS, Syrian, 155-166.
ST. SOTER, of Campania, 166-175.
ST. ELEUTHERIUS, of Nicopolis in Epirus, 175-189.
ST. VICTOR I, African, 189-199.
ST. ZEPHYRINUS, Roman, 199-217.
ST. CALLISTUS I, Roman, 217-222.
    [ST. HIPPOLYTUS, Roman, 217-235][6].
ST. URBAN I, Roman, 222-230.
ST. PONTIANUS, Roman, 21.VII.230-28.IX.235.
ST. ANTERUS, Greek, 21.XI.235-3.I.236.
ST. FABIAN, Roman, 10.I.236-20.I.250.
ST. CORNELIUS, Roman, III.251-VI.253.
    [NOVATIAN, Roman, 251].
ST. LUCIUS I, Roman, 25.VI.253-5.III.254.
ST. STEPHEN I, Roman, 12.V.254-2.VIII.257.
ST. SIXTUS II, Greek, 30.VIII.257-6.VIII.258.
ST. DIONYSIUS, place of origin unknown, 22.VII.259-26.XII.268.
ST. FELIX I, Roman, 5.I.269-30.XII.274.
ST. EUTYCHIANUS, of Luni, 4.I.275-7.XII.283.
ST. CAIUS, Dalmatian, 17.XII.283-22.IV.296.
ST. MARCELLINUS, Roman, 30.VI.296-25.X.304.
ST. MARCELLUS I, Roman, 27.V.308[7]-16.1.309.
ST. EUSEBIUS, Greek, 18.IV.309[8]-17.VIII.309[8].
ST. MILZIADUS or MELCHIADUS, African, 2.VII.311-11.I.314.
ST. SYLVESTER I, Roman, 31.I.314-31.XII.335.
ST. MARK, Roman, 18.I.336-7.X.336.
ST. JULIUS I, Roman, 6.II.337-12.IV.352.
LIBERIUS, Roman, 17.V.352-24.IX.366.
    [FELIX II, Roman[9], 355-22.XI.365].
ST. DAMASUS I, Spaniard, 1.X.366-11.XII.384.
    [URSINUS, 366-367].
ST. SIRICIUS, Roman, 15 or 22 or 29.XII.384-26.XI.399.
ST. ANASTASIUS I, Roman, 27.XI.399-19.XII.401.
ST. INNOCENT I, of Albano, 22.XII.401-12.III.417.
ST. ZOZIMUS, Greek, 18.III.417-26.XII.418.
ST. BONIFACE I, Roman, 28 or 29.XII.418-4.IX.422.
    [EULALIUS, 27 or 29.XII.418-419].

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which are indicated in italics in the chronological tables of Duchesne, *op. cit.*, I, pp. CCLX ff., and II, pp. LXXV ff. Two or three dates of days and months at the beginning of a pontificate indicate the *election*, the *ordination* and the *coronation*, from which the Popes are accustomed to count the years of their pontificates.

[6] Exiled, like St. Pontianus, to Sardinia where he died reconciled with the Church.

[7] Or 26.VI.308.

[8] Or 310.

[9] Erroneously confused with St. Felix, a Roman Martyr, he has taken his place as St. Felix II in the list of the Roman Pontiffs thus giving erroneous numerals to the succeeding lawful Popes, Felix III and IV and to the antipope Felix V, who should be II, III and IV respectively.

ST. CELESTINE I, of Campania, 10.IX.422-27.VII.432.
ST. SIXTUS III, Roman, 31.VII.432-19.VIII.440.
ST. LEO I, *the Great,* of Tuscany, 29.IX.440-10.XI.461.
ST. HILARUS, Sardinian, 19.XI.461-29.II.468.
ST. SIMPLICIUS, of Tivoli, 3.III.468-10.III.483.
ST. FELIX III (II), Roman, 13.III.483-1.III.492.
ST. GELASIUS I, African, 1.III.492-21.XI.496.
ANASTASIUS II, Roman, 24.XI.496-19.XI.498.
ST. SYMMACHUS, Sardinian, 22.XI.498-19.VII.514.
[LAWRENCE, 498. 501-505].
ST. HORMISDAS, of Frosinone, 20.VII.514-6.VIII.523.
ST. JOHN I, of Tuscany, Martyr, 13.VIII.523-18.V.526.
ST. FELIX IV (III), of Samnium, 12.VII.526-22.IX.530.
BONIFACE II, Roman, 22.IX.530-17.X.532.
[DIOSCORUS, of Alexandria[10], 22.IX.530-14.X.530].
JOHN II, Roman[11], 2.I.533-8.V.535.
ST. AGAPITUS I, Roman, 13.V.535-22.IV.536.
ST. SILVERIUS, of Campania, Martyr, 1[12].VI.536-11.XI.537[13].
VIGILIUS, Roman[14], 29.III.537-7.VI.555.
PELAGIUS I, Roman, 16.IV.556-4.III.561.
JOHN III, Roman, 17.VII.561-13.VII.574.
BENEDICT I, Roman, 2.VI.575-30.VII.579.
PELAGIUS II, Roman, 26.XI.579-7.II.590.
ST. GREGORY I, *the Great,* Roman, 3.IX.590-12.III.604.
SABINIANUS, of Blera in Tuscany, 13.IX.604-22.II.606.
BONIFACE III, Roman, 19.II.607-12.XI.607.
ST. BONIFACE IV, territory of Marsi, 25.VIII.608-8.V.615.
ST. DEUSDEDIT OR ADEODATUS I, Roman, 19.X.615-8.XI.618.
BONIFACE V, Neapolitan, 23.XII.619-25.X.625.
HONORIUS I, of Campania, 27.X.625-12.X.638.
SEVERINUS, Roman, 28.V.640-2.VIII.640.
JOHN IV, Dalmatian, 24.XII.640-12.X.642.
THEODORE I, Greek, 24.XI.642-14.V.649.
ST. MARTIN I, of Todi, Martyr, VII.649-16.IX.655.
ST. EUGENE I, Roman[15], 10.VIII.654-2.VI.657.
ST. VITALIAN, of Segni, 30.VII.657-27.I.672.
ADEODATUS II, Roman, 11.IV.672-17.VI.676.
DONUS, Roman, 2.XI.676-11.IV.678.
ST. AGATHO, Sicilian, 27.VI.678-10.I.681.
ST. LEO II, Sicilian, 17.VIII.682-3.VII.683.
ST. BENEDICT II, Roman, 26.VI.684-8.V.685.
JOHN V, Syrian, 23.VII.685-2.VIII.686.
CONO, place of origin unknown[16], 21.X.686-21.IX.687.
[THEODORE . . . 687].
[PASCHAL . . . 687].

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[10] The lawful claim of Dioscorus who died 21 days after his election can perhaps be defended.

[11] He was named *Mercury* and is the first who changed his name (that of a pagan divinity) on ascending the papal throne.

[12] Or 8.

[13] Forcefully deposed in March, he appears to have resigned on November 11, 537, and died December 2 of the same year.

[14] Imposed by Belisarius, 29.III.537, he became lawful Pope upon the resignation of St. Silverius through recognition by the Roman clergy which thus validated his election.

[15] When St. Martin was captured and deported (17.VI.653) Eugene was ordained as his successor (10.VIII.654) and St. Martin appears to have raised no objection.

[16] But "edocatus apud Siciliam postmodum Romam veniens . . . ad presbyterii honorem devenit" (*Lib.Pont.*).

ST. SERGIUS I, Syrian, 15.XII.687-8.IX.701.
JOHN VI, Greek, 30.X.701-11.I.705.
JOHN VII, Greek, 1.III.705-18.X.707.
SISINNIUS, Syrian, 15.I.708-4.II.708.
CONSTANTINE, Syrian, 25.III.708-9.IV.715.
ST. GREGORY II, Roman, 19.V.715-11.II.731.
ST. GREGORY III, Syrian, 18.III.731-XI.741.
ST. ZACHARY, Greek, 10.XII.741-22.III.752.
STEPHEN II, Roman[17], 23.III.752-25.III.752.
STEPHEN III, Roman, 26.III.752-26.IV.757.
ST. PAUL I, Roman, IV, 29.V.757-28.VI.767.
[CONSTANTINE, of Nepi, 28.VI, 5.VII.767-769].
[PHILIP, 31.VII.768[18]].
STEPHEN IV, Sicilian, 1, 7.VIII.768-24.I.772.
ADRIAN I, Roman, 1, 9.II.772-25.XII.795.
ST. LEO III, Roman, 26, 27.XII.795-12.VI.816.
STEPHEN V, Roman, 22.VI.816-24.I.817.
ST. PASCHAL I, Roman, 25.I.817-11.II.824.
EUGENE II, Roman, II-V.824-VIII.827.
VALENTINE, Roman, VIII.827-IX.827.
GREGORY IV, Roman, 827-I.844.
[JOHN, -I.844].
SERGIUS II, Roman, I.844-27.I.847.
ST. LEO IV, Roman, I, 10.IV.847-17.VII.855.
BENEDICT III, Roman, VII, 29.IX.855-17.IV.858.
[ANASTASIUS, *the Librarian,* VIII.855-IX.855, d.c.880].
ST. NICHOLAS I, *the Great,* Roman, 24. IV.858-13.XI.867.
ADRIAN II, Roman, 14.XII.867-14.XII.872.
JOHN VIII, Roman, 14.XII.872-16.XII.882.
MARINUS I, of Gallese, 16.XII.882-15.V.884.
ST. ADRIAN III, Roman, 17.V.884-IX.885 (cult approved 2.VI.1891).
STEPHEN VI, Roman, IX.885-14.IX.891.
FORMOSUS, Bishop of Porto, 6.X.891-4.IV.896.
BONIFACE VI, Roman, IV.896-IV.896.
STEPHEN VII, Roman, V.896-VIII.897.
ROMANUS, of Gallese, VIII.897-XI.897.
THEODORE II, Roman, XII.897-XII.897.
JOHN IX, of Tivoli, I.898-I.900.
BENEDICT IV, Roman, I-II.900-VII.903.
LEO V, of Ardea, VII.903-IX.903.
[CHRISTOPHER, Roman, VII or IX.903-I.904].
SERGIUS III, Roman, 29.I.904-14.IV.911.
ANASTASIUS III, Roman, IV.911-VI.913.
LANDO, of Sabina, VII.913-II.914.
JOHN X, of Tossignano (Imola), III.914-V.928.
LEO VI, Roman, V.928-XII.928.
STEPHEN VIII, Roman, XII.928-II.931.
JOHN XI, Roman, II-III.931-XII.935.
LEO VII, Roman, 3.I.936-13.VII.939.

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[17] The name of Stephen II is not entered in the *Liber Pontificalis* nor in the other catalogues of the Popes since he died three days after his election and before his ordination which at that time was considered the real beginning of the pontificate.

[18] *Eodem die* elected and "ad suum revertitur monasterium".

STEPHEN IX, Roman, 14.VII.939-X.942.
MARINUS II, Roman, 30.X.942-V.946.
AGAPITUS II, Roman, 10.V.946-XII.955.
JOHN XII, *Octavius, Count of Tusculum,* 16.XII.955-14.V.964.
LEO VIII[19], Roman, 4, 6.XII.963-1.III.965.
BENEDICT V[20], Roman, 22.V.964-4.VII.966.
JOHN XIII, Roman, 1.X.965-6.IX.972.
BENEDICT VI, Roman, 19.I.973-VI.974[21].
    [BONIFACE VII, Roman, *Francone,* VI-VII.974; again VIII.984-VII.985].
BENEDICT VII, Roman, X.974-10,VII.983.
JOHN XIV, of Pavia, *Peter,* XII.983-20.VIII.984[22].
JOHN XV, Roman, VIII.985-III.996.
GREGORY V, Saxon, *Bruno, Duke of Carinthia,* 3.V.996-18.II.999.
    [JOHN XVI, of Rossano, *John Filagato,* IV.997-II.998].
SYLVESTER II, of Auvergne, *Gerbert,* 2.IV.999-12.V.1003.
JOHN XVII, Roman, *Siccone,* VI.1003-XII.1003.
JOHN XVIII, Roman, *Fasano,* I.1004-VII.1009.
SERGIUS IV, Roman, *Peter*[23], 31.VII.1009-12.V.1012.
BENEDICT VIII, *Theophylact, Count of Tusculum,* 18.V.1012-9.IV.1024.
    [GREGORY, 1012].
JOHN XIX, *Romanus, Count of Tusculum,* IV-V.1024-1032.
BENEDICT IX, *Theophylact, Count of Tusculum,* 1032-1044.
SYLVESTER III, Roman, *John,* 20.I.1045-10.III.1045.
BENEDICT IX (for the second time), 10.IV.1045-1.V.1045.
GREGORY VI, Roman, *John Graziano,* 5.V.1045-20.XII.1046.

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[19] Leo VIII was elected in the Roman Council held in the Basilica of St. Peter's under the Emperor Otto I after the deposition counted from the same date (4.XII.963) of John XII who died the 14th of May following. Was this deposition valid? If it was then Leo VIII was a lawful Pope. Here, as again about the middle of the XIth century, we are faced with an election (see also note 10 for Dioscorus at the year 530) concerning which because of the difficulty of reconciling historical and theological-canonical criteria one cannot succeed in deciding categorically where lies the lawful claim which, existing *in facto* assures the lawful, uninterrupted continuity of the Successors of St. Peter. From this arises lack of certitude in some cases which has led us to abandon the progressive numerotation in the list of the Popes.

[20] If Leo VIII was a lawful Pope then Benedict V who was deposed in another synod held in the Lateran by Leo VIII and the Emperor Otto I (23.VI.964) is an antipope.

[21] At the year 972 was inserted a non-existent Pope, Donus II.

[22] Since from the end of the XIIth century the catalogues of the Popes and historical collections make the mistake of dividing the pontificate of John XIV (983-984) between *two* Popes of the name of John, and then of including in the series of lawful Pontiffs also the ordinal number XVII with the same name, which like XVI, belongs to an antipope, John Filagato (997-998), it results that they have counted *two* Popes *John* too many. When Romanus, Count of Tusculum, was elected in 1024, choosing the name of John, he should in point of fact have carried the ordinal XVIII but the above-mentioned literature has XX and continues later with XXI (1276) and XXII (1316) instead of XIX and XX, and finally with XXIII for the antipope B. Cossa (1410). These errors, according as one or both were adopted, explain the strange nomenclature of the chronology which like that "according to the iconographical series existing in St. Paul's Outside the Walls", carry "John XVI or XVII", "John XVII or XVIII", "John XVIII or XIX or XX", etc.

[23] It is usually stated that he was the first Pope who, later followed by all (with the exception of Adrian VI and Marcellus II) changed his name on becoming Pope. He carried the nickname *Os porci* or *Bucca porca* which would have been the motive for the change. But already *Mercury* had become *John* (533); Octavius, Count of Tusculum, John (955); *Peter* of Pavia, *John* (983; the name Gregory in the *Annuario is* a slip); *Bruno,* Duke of Carinthia, *Gregory* (996); *Gerbert* in 999 became *Sylvester.* See also the latter's successors John XVII and XVIII as well as the antipope Boniface VII whose name was *Francone.* Henceforth is also indicated the baptismal name of the Popes and within brackets the name taken when they entered a religious order because from the XIVth century on it was the custom of the Popes to sign certain acts (petitions, motu proprios, briefs, etc.) with the initial of the latin baptismal or religious name.

CLEMENT II, of Saxony, *Suitgerus, lord of Morsleben and Hornburg,* 24, 25.XII.1046-9.X.1047.
BENEDICT IX (for the third time), 8.XI.1047-17.VII.1048[24].
DAMASUS II, Bavarian, *Poppone,* 17.VII.1048-9.VIII.1048.
ST. LEO IX, *Bruno, Count of Egisheim-Dagsburg,* 12.II.1049-19.IV.1054.
VICTOR II, *Gebhard, Count of Dollnstein-Hirschberg,* 13.IV.1055-28.VII.1057.
STEPHEN X, *Frederick, Duke of Lorraine,* 3.VIII.1057-29.III.1058.
[BENEDICT X, Roman, *John,* 5.IV.1058-24.I.1059.d.?].
NICHOLAS II, of Burgundy, *Gerard,* 24.I.1059-27.VII.1061.
ALEXANDER II, *Anselm of Baggio* (Milan), 1.X.1061-21.IV.1073.
[HONORIUS II, of District of Verona, *Cadalus,* 28.X.1061-1072].
ST. GREGORY VII, of Tuscany, *Hildebrand,* 22.IV, 30.VI.1073-25.V.1085.
[CLEMENT III, of Parma, *Wibertus,* 25.VI.1080. 24.III.1084-8.IX.1100].
Bl.VICTOR III, of Benevento, *Dauferius* (*Desiderius*), 24.V.1086-16.IX.1087 (cult approved 23.VII.1887).
Bl. URBAN II, French, *Odo of Lagery,* 12.III.1088-29.VII.1099 (cult approved 14.VII.1881).
PASCHAL II, of Bieda (Ravenna), *Rainerius,* 13, 14.VIII.1099-21.I.1118.
[THEODORIC, Bishop of St. Rufina, 1100, d. 1102].
[ALBERT, Bishop of Sabina, 1102].
[SYLVESTER IV, Roman, *Maginulf,* 18.XI.1105-1111].
GELASIUS II, of Gaeta, *John Caetani,* 24.I, 10.III.1118-28.I.1119.
[GREGORY VIII, French, *Maurice* and *Burdinus,* 8.III.1118-1121, d.?].
CALLISTUS II, *Guy of Burgundy,* 2, 9.II.1119-13.XII.1124.
HONORIUS II, of Fiagnano (Imola), *Lambert,* 15, 21.XII.1124-13.II.1130.
[CELESTINE II, Roman, *Theobald Buccapecus,* XII.1124].
INNOCENT II, Roman, *Gregory Papareschi,* 14, 23.II.1130-24.IX.1143.
[ANACLETUS II, Roman, *Peter Petri Leonis,* 14, 23.II.1130-25.I.1138].
[VICTOR IV, *Gregory,* III.1138-29.V.1138, d.?]
CELESTINE II, of city of Castello, *Guy,* 26.IX, 3.X.1143-8.III.1144.
LUCIUS II, of Bologna, *Gerard Caccianemici,* 12.III.1144-15.II.1145.
Bl. EUGENE III, of Pisa, *Bernard, perhaps of the Paganellis of Montemagno,* 15, 18.II.1145-8.VII.1153 (cult approved 3.X.1872).
ANASTASIUS IV, Roman, *Corradus,* 12.VII.1153-3.XII.1154.
ADRIAN IV, English, *Nicholas Breakspear,* 4, 5.XII.1154-1.IX.1159.
ALEXANDER III, of Siena, *Roland Bandinelli,* 7, 20.IX.1159-30.VIII.1181.
[VICTOR IV[25], *Octavian of Monticello* (Montecelio, Tivoli), 7.IX, 4.X.1159-20.IV.1164].
[PASCHAL III, *Guy of Crema,* 22, 26.IV.1164-20.IX.1168].
[CALLISTUS III, *John,* abbot of Strumi (Arezzo), IX.1168-29.VIII.1178[26]].
[INNOCENT III, of Sezze, *Landus,* 29.IX.1179-1180].
LUCIUS III, of Lucca, *Ubaldus Allucingoli,* 1, 6.IX.1181-25.IX.1185.
URBAN III, of Milan, *Hubert Crivelli,* 25.XI, 1.XII.1185-20.X.1187.
GREGORY VIII, of Benevento, *Albert de Morra,* 21, 25.X.1187-17.XII.1187.
CLEMENT III, Roman, *Paul Scolari,* 19, 20.XII.1187-III.1191.
CELESTINE III, Roman, *Hyacinth Bobone,* 30.III, 14.IV.1191-8.I.1198.

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[24] If the triple removal of Benedict IX (1044, 1046 when he surrendered to Gregory VI, and then in the synod of December) was not lawful—and this should be considered certain for Sylvester III—this last, Gregory VI and Clement II were antipopes.

[25] This should be "V" but, perhaps because the other antipope of 1138 resisted barely two months and freely submitted to Innocent II, no account was taken of him when Octavius of Monticello assumed the name of Victor.

[26] Date of his submission to Alexander III.

INNOCENT III, of Anagni, *Lotario, Count of Segni,* 8.I, 22.II.1198-16.VII.1216.

HONORIUS III, Roman, *Cencio Savelli,* 18, 24.VII.1216-18.III.1227.

GREGORY IX, of Anagni, *Hugolinus, Count of Segni,* 19, 21.III.1227-22.VIII.1241.

CELESTINE IV, of Milan, *Godfrey Castiglioni,* 25, 28.X.1241-10.XI.1241.

INNOCENT IV, of Genoa, *Sinibaldus Fieschi,* 25, 28.VI.1243-7.XII.1254.

ALEXANDER IV, of Anagni, *Rinaldus, Count of Segni,* 12, 20.XII.1254-25.V.1261.

URBAN IV, of Troyes, *James Pantaléon,* 29.VIII, 4.IX.1261-2.X.1264.

CLEMENT IV, French, *Guy Fulcodi,* 5, 15.II.1265-29.XI.1268.

Bl. GREGORY X, of Piacenza, *Tedaldus Visconti,* 1.IX.1271, 27.III.1272-10.I.1276 (cult approved 12.IX.1713).

Bl. INNOCENT V, of Savoy, *Peter of Tarentaise,* 21.I, 22.II.1276-22.VI.1276 (cult approved 13.III.1898).

ADRIAN V, of Genoa, *Ottobonus Fieschi,* 11.VII.1276-18.VIII.1276.

JOHN XXI[27], Portugese, *Peter Juliani* from father's name and generally *Peter of Spain,* 8, 20.IX.1276-20.V.1277.

NICHOLAS III, Roman, *John Cajetan Orsini,* 25.XI, 26.XII.1277-22.VIII.1280.

MARTIN IV[28], French, *Simon de Brion,* 22.II, 23.III.1281-28.III.1285.

HONORIUS IV, Roman, *James Savelli,* 2.IV, 20.V.1285-3.IV.1287*.

NICHOLAS IV, of Ascoli, *Jerome Masci,* 22.II.1288-4.IV.1292.

ST. CELESTINE V, of Isernia, *Peter del Murone,* 5.VII, 29.VIII.1294-13.XII.1294, d.19.V.1296 (canonized 5.V.1313).

BONIFACE VIII, of Anagni, *Benedict Caetani,* 24.XII.1294,23.I.1295-11.X.1303.

Bl. BENEDICT XI, of Treviso, *Nicholas Boccasini,* 22, 27.X.1303-7.VII.1304 (cult approved 24.IV.1736).

CLEMENT V, French, *Bertrand de Got,* 5.VI, 14.XI.1305-20.IV.1314.

JOHN XXII, of Cahors, *James Duèse,* 7.VIII, 5.IX.1316-4.XII.1334.

[NICHOLAS V, of Corvaro (Rieti), *Peter Rainallucci,* 12, 22.V.1328-25.VIII.1330, d. 16.X.1333].

BENEDICT XII, French, *James Fournier,* 20.XII.1334, 8.I.1335-25.IV.1342.

CLEMENT VI, French, *Peter Roger,* 7, 19.V.1342-6.XII.1352.

INNOCENT VI, French, *Stephen Aubert,* 18, 30.XII.1352-12.IX.1362.

Bl. URBAN V, *William de Grimoard,* 28.IX, 6.XI.1362-19.XII.1370 (cult approved 10.III.1870).

GREGORY XI, French, *Peter Roger de Beaufort,* 30.XII.1370, 5.I.1371-26.III.1378.

URBAN VI, Neapolitan, *Bartholomew Prignano,* 8, 18.IV.1378-15.X.1389.

BONIFACE IX, Neapolitan, *Peter Tomacelli,* 2, 9.XI.1389-1.X.1404.

INNOCENT VII, of Sulmona, *Cosmas Migliorati,* 17.X, 11.XI.1404-6.XI.1406.

GREGORY XII, Venetian, *Angelo Correr,* 30.XI, 19.XII.1406-4.VII.1415[29].

[CLEMENT VII, *Robert, Count of Geneva,* 20.IX, 31.X.1378-16.IX.1394].

[BENEDICT XIII, of Aragon, *Peter de Luna,* 28.IX, 11.X.1394-23.V.1423[30]].

[ALEXANDER V, of Isle of Crete, *Peter Filargo,* 26.VI, 7.VII.1409-3.V.1410].

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[27] No Pope carrying the name of John XX existed. By this time the errors in the Popes *John* (see note 22 on John XIV) are universally received so that when after two centuries and a half a return was made to the name John, Peter of Spain took the number XXI, though, strictly speaking, he should have been XIX.

[28] Since the Popes Marinus I (882-884) and Marinus II (942-946) were also considered as *Martin,* the new Pope was given the ordinal IV among the *Martins.*

* A typographical error in the *Annuario* has this read "1292".

[29] Date of his resignation; he died 18.X.1417. The antipopes who follow constitute the two obediences, Avignon and Pisa.

[30] The Council of Constance had deposed him on July 26, 1417, as had earlier the Council of Pisa, June 5, 1409. Following in his obedience were *Clement VIII (Giles Sanchez Munoz),*- 10.VI.1423-26.VII.1429 (d.28. XII.1447) and *Benedict XIV (Bernard Garnier),* 12.XI.1425-1430.

[JOHN XXIII, Neapolitan, *Balthasar Cossa,* 17, 25.V.1410-29.V.1415[31]].
MARTIN V, Roman, *Odo Colonna,* 11, 21.XI.1417-20.II.1431.
EUGENE IV, Venetian, *Gabriel Condulmer,* 3, 11.III.1431-23.II.1447.
[FELIX V, *Amadeus, Duke of Savoy,* 5.XI.1439, 24.VII.1440-7.IV.1449[32]].
NICHOLAS V, of Sarzana, *Thomas Parentucelli,* 6, 19.III.1447-24.III.1455.
CALLISTUS III, of Jativa (Valencia), *Alonso Borgia,* 8, 20.IV.1455-6.VIII.1458.
PIUS II, of Siena, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini,* 19.VIII, 3.IX.1458-15.VIII.1464.
PAUL II, Venetian, *Peter Barbo,* 30.VIII, 16.IX.1464-26.VII.1471.
SIXTUS IV, of Savona, *Francis della Rovere,* 9, 25.VIII.1471-12.VIII.1484.
INNOCENT VIII, of Genoa, *John Baptist Cibo,* 29. VIII, 12.IX.1484-25.VII.1492.
ALEXANDER VI[33], of Jativa (Valencia), *Roderick Borgia,* 11, 26.VIII.1492-18.VIII.1503.
PIUS III, of Siena, *Francis Todeschini-Piccolomini,* 22.IX, 1, 8.X.1503-18.X.1503.
JULIUS II, of Savona, *Julian della Rovere,* 31.X, 26.XI.1503-21.II.1513.
LEO X, Florentine, *John de' Medici,* 9, 19.III.1513-1.XII.1521.
ADRIAN VI, of Utrecht, *Adrian Florensz,* 9.I, 31.VIII.1522-14.IX.1523.
CLEMENT VII, Florentine, *Julius de' Medici,* 19, 26.XI.1523-25.IX.1534.
PAUL III, Roman, *Alexander Farnese,* 13.X, 3.XI.1534-10.XI.1549.
JULIUS III, Roman, *John Mary Ciocchi del Monte,* 7, 22.II.1550-23.III.1555.
MARCELLUS II, of Montepulciano, *Marcellus Cervini,* 9, 10.IV.1555-1.V.1555.
PAUL IV, Neapolitan, *John Peter Carafa,* 23, 26.V.1555-18.VIII.1559.
PIUS IV, of Milan, *John Angelo de' Medici,* 25.XII.1559, 6.I.1560-9.XII.1565.
ST. PIUS V, of Bosco (Alessandria), *Anthony (Michael) Ghislieri,* 7, 17.I.1566-1.V.1572 (beatified 27.IV.1672, canonized 22.V.1712).
GREGORY XIII, of Bologna, *Hugh Boncompagni,* 13, 25.V.1572-10.IV.1585.
SIXTUS V, of Grottammare (Ripatransone), *Felix Peretti,* 24.IV, 1.V.1585-27.VIII.1590.
URBAN VII, Roman, *John Baptist Castagna,* 15.IX.1590-27.IX.1590.
GREGORY XIV, of Cremona, *Nicholas Sfondrati,* 5, 8.XII.1590-16.X.1591.
INNOCENT IX, of Bologna, *John Anthony Facchinetti,* 29.X, 3.XI.1591-30.XII.1591.
CLEMENT VIII, Florentine, *Hippolytus Aldobrandini,* 30.I, 9.II.1592-3.III.1605.
LEO XI, Florentine, *Alexander de' Medici,* 1, 10.IV.1605-27.IV.1605.
PAUL V, Roman, *Camillus Borghese,* 16, 29.V.1605-28.I.1621.
GREGORY XV, of Bologna, *Alexander Ludovisi,* 9, 14.II.1621-8.VII.1623.
URBAN VIII, Florentine, *Maphaeus Barberini,* 6.VIII,29.IX.1623-29.VII.1644.
INNOCENT X, Roman, *John Baptist Pamphili,* 15.IX, 4.X.1644-7.I.1655.
ALEXANDER VII, of Siena, *Fabian Chigi,* 7, 18.IV.1655-22.V.1667.
CLEMENT IX, of Pistoia, *Julius Rospigliosi,* 20, 26.VI.1667-9.XII.1669.
CLEMENT X, Roman, *Aemilius Altieri,* 29.IV, 11.V.1670-22.VII.1676.
INNOCENT XI, of Como, *Benedict Odescalchi,* 21.IX, 4.X.1676-12.VIII.1689.
ALEXANDER VIII, Venetian, *Peter Ottoboni,* 6, 16.X.1689-1.II.1691.
INNOCENT XII, Neapolitan, *Anthony Pignatelli,* 12, 15.VII.1691-27.IX.1700.
CLEMENT XI, of Urbino, *John Francis Albani,* 23, 30.XI, 8.XII.1700-19.III.1721.
INNOCENT XIII, Roman, *Michael Angelo dei Conti,* 8, 18.V.1721-7.III.1724.
BENEDICT XIII, Roman, *Peter Francis (Vincent Mary) Orsini,* 29.V, 4.VI.1724-21.II.1730.
CLEMENT XII, Florentine, *Lawrence Corsini,* 12, 16.VII.1730-6.II.1740.
BENEDICT XIV, of Bologna, *Prosper Lambertini,* 17, 22.VIII.1740-3.V.1758.
CLEMENT XIII, Venetian, *Charles Rezzonico,* 6, 16.VII.1758-2.II.1769.

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[31] Date of his deposition in the Council of Constance; he died 22.XI.1419.

[32] Date of his abdication; he died 7.I.1451.

[33] This should be "V" since we cannot consider as lawful Pope the Alexander V of the Council of Pisa (1409-1410).

CLEMENT XIV, of S. Arcangelo (Rimini), *John Vincent Anthony (Lawrence) Ganganelli,* 19, 28.V, 4.VI.1769-22.IX.1774.
PIUS VI, of Cesena, *John Angelo Braschi,* 15, 22.II.1775-29.VIII.1799.
PIUS VII, of Cesena, *Barnabas (Gregory) Chiaramonti,* 14, 21.III.1800-20.VIII.1823.
LEO XII, of Genga (Fabriano), *Hannibal della Genga,* 28.IX, 5.X.1823-10.II.1829.
PIUS VIII, of Cingoli, *Francis Xavier Castiglioni,* 31.III, 5.IV.1829-30.XI.1830.
GREGORY XVI, of Belluno, *Bartholomew Albert (Maur) Cappellari,* 2, 6.II.1831-1.VI.1846.
PIUS IX, of Senigallia, *John Mary Mastai Ferretti,* 16, 21.VI.1846-7.II.1878.
LEO XIII, of Carpineto (Anagni), *Joachim Pecci,* 20.II, 3.III.1878-20.VII.1903.
PIUS X, of Riese (Treviso), *Joseph Sarto,* 4, 9.VIII.1903-20.VIII.1914.
BENEDICT XV, of Genoa, *James della Chiesa,* 3, 6.IX.1914-22.I.1922.
PIUS XI, of Desio (Milan), *Achilles Ratti,* 6, 12.II.1922-10.II.1939.
PIUS XII, Roman, *Eugene Pacelli,* 2, 12.III.1939—

The Content of Courson's *Summa*

V. L. KENNEDY, C.S.B.

N the prologue[1] to his *Summa*, Robert Courson states that he intends to treat of those moral questions which have to do with faith and the other virtues.[2] He goes on to say that, since John the Baptist and Our Lord himself began their teaching with a call to penance, he too will begin with penance and will then deal with moral questions and those that concern faith.[3] He explains that moral questions are those 'which teach us what we should seek and what we should avoid and how we may live in the midst of this wicked and perverse nation'.[3a] The following, he says, are questions of this type: 'penance, the return of sins, the keys, excommunication, restitution, scandal, simony, the vows, matrimony, baptism, the eucharist, the reward of the elect and the punishment of the damned'.[4] That this is a summary, and rather incomplete, statement of the contents of his *Summa* will be seen from the list of *capitula* published in this article.

We suspect that Courson's *Summa* grew in content as he went along. Starting with penance, he found himself face to face with a multitude of problems which confront the minister of that sacrament, and this led him to discuss the current abuses of his age and the remedies which should be applied to them, not only by the confessor but also by other ecclesiastical and civil authorities. He is particularly concerned with the external forum; this is undoubtedly due to the fact that he himself was, during the period of his teaching career at Paris, frequently called upon to act as a judge-delegate for the Roman Curia.[5] This leads him at times to discuss problems which are more juridical than moral. He has, for example, a long dissertation on legal procedure;[6] it is necessary to deal with this, he says, 'since an ecclesiastic of our day is assailed from all sides by litigation and law-suits'.[7] The predominant character of this penitential and canonical part of the *Summa* will be seen from the list of *capitula* where it occupies thirty-six sections out of a total of forty-six, or almost four-fifths of the whole work.[8]

Of the eight manuscripts[9] of the *Summa* which we have examined, only three have a list of *capitula* at the beginning: Paris B.N. Lat. 14,524, Troyes 1175, and Bruges 247. The lists in the Paris and Troyes manuscripts correspond; moreover we have two further manuscripts in which the rubricator distributes the same list throughout the text: Paris B.N. Lat. 2358 and 2359. However since these latter are identical copies, they furnish only one additional witness. The titles given in these four manuscripts are quite numerous and profuse; practically every question, objection and solution has a heading, so that our lists furnish us with almost a complete summary of Courson's work. Unfortunately the original composer of the *capitula* seems to have wearied of his task; he breaks off abruptly in Section XLI (on penance) leaving the last five sections undone. One might suspect that the incompleteness of the lists in Paris 14,524 and Troyes 1175 was the result of a scribal error, had we not the additional evidence from Paris 2358 and 2359 in which the rubricator runs out of these long profuse titles in the same section;[10] from there on, he uses only an occasional short rubric. The division of the *Summa* into sections and the numbering the the titles within the section are found in the list of Paris 14.524 and are carried throughout the text of this manuscript up to Section XLI. In Troyes 1175 the sections are not numbered but are indicated by a larger than usual capital letter at the beginning of each division.

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[1] Published in MEDIAEVAL STUDIES, VII (1945), 294.

[2] *Ibidem*: 'questiones morales et tam de fide quam de ceteris virtutibus institutas pro posse nostro deo annuente prosequemur'.

[3] *Ibidem*: 'ideo et nos a penitentia incipientes primo morales questiones, secundo de fide institutas succincte et summatim prosequi proposuimus'.

[3a] *Ibidem*: 'que docent quid appetendum, quid fugiendum, et qualiter in medio huius prave et perverse nationis sit commorandum'.

[4] *Ibidem*: 'huiusmodi sunt ille que sunt de penitentia, de reditu peccatorum, de clavibus, de excommunicatione, de restitutione, de scandalo, de symonia, de voto, de matrimonio, de baptismo, de eucharistia, de premiis electorum, de suppliciis damnatorum'.

[5] Cf. M. and C. Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson. Sa vie.' *Archives d'histoire doct. et litt. du Moyen Age*, IX (1934), 67-82.

[6] Cf. *infra* sections XXXII to XXXVI. This part of the *Summa* is missing in some manuscripts, for example: Bruges 247 and Paris B.N. Lat. 3,203.

[7] Paris B.N. Lat. 14,524, fol. 111^{rb}: Quoniam vir ecclesiasticus hodie undique pulsatur litigiis et causis, ut facilius se a nexibus eorum expediat, dubia de iudicio et ordine iudiciario, de sententiis, de iudiciis, de testibus, de rescriptis, de appellationibus, quorum cognitio sacerdotibus et pastoribus ecclesiae admodum est necessaria, breviter discutiemus.

[8] See the complete lists, *infra* pp. 83 ff.

[9] These are: Paris B.N. Lat. 3,203, 3,258, 3,259, 14,524; Bruges 247, Troyes 1175, British Museum, Kings 9 E xiv, Cambridge, Gaius and Gonville College 331 (incomplete).

The list of *capitula* in Bruges 247 is complete for the text of the *Summa* as found in this manuscript. The headings are, as a rule, brief though quite numerous. The scribe makes no division into sections but numbers his titles consecutively in Roman numerals from one to one hundred and sixty-eight; parallelling these numbers he repeats the characters of the alphabet, so that certain related titles will have the same Roman numeral but will be distinguished by letters of the alphabet, e.g. CI F, CI G, CI H.

For the purposes of this study we thought it best to publish the list of *capitula* from Paris 14,524 and Troyes 1175 as far as it goes and to complete the table of contents from Bruges 247. In this latter part of the text, the division into sections and the numbering of the titles are ours, not that of the manuscript; we assign a section to each of the following: matrimony, the eucharist, confirmation, extreme unction and the dedication of churches.

According to these lists, Courson's *Summa* has the following main divisions: Sections I and II Penance and indulgences; III The Keys; IV to VI Excommunication; VII The return of sins; VIII to X Simony; XI and XII Usury; XIII and XIV Tithes; XV and XVI Rapine and the use of property; XVII Benefices; XVIII Prescription; XIX Patronage; XX Fraternal Correction; XXI to XXIV Vows; XXV Scandal; XXVI *De perplexitate*; XXVII Oaths and perjury; XXVIII and XXIX Lies; XXX Clerics and capital punishment; XXXI Promotion and demotion of clerics; XXXII to XXXVI Juridical procedure; XXXVII Sacraments in general; XXXVIII to XLI Baptism; XLII Matrimony; XLIII The Eucharist; XLIV Confirmation; XLV Extreme Unction; XLVI Dedication of churches.

There are indications that this list is not complete. In his prologue, Courson mentioned two questions which do not appear in the *capitula*: 'the rewards of the elect and the punishment of the damned'.[11] Moreover in a preface to section XXXVIII, where he introduces his discussion on the other sacraments, he states that he intends to deal also with 'prayer, adoration, the celebration of mass, the pains and penalties of the damned, the rewards and state of the blessed'.

> Restant sex principalia sacramenta videlicet baptismus, matrimonium, eucharistia, consecratio (sacer ordo),[12] confirmatio, extrema inunctio; de

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[10] These two manuscripts have one more title of this type: Section XLI, 4—Argumentum dubitabile de innocentibus sumptum ex illo versu: Ex ore infantium etc.

[11] Cf. above note 4.

[12] The reading *sacer ordo* is found in Paris 2358 and 2359.

> quibus per ordinem agendum. De septimo sacramento scilicet de paenitentia satis diximus a principio et quia in his et contra haec malitia hominum et versutia malignantium novas et inauditas perplexitates cotidie adinvenit, dubitationes eas discutere et diffinire satagemus, illis de oratione et adoratione, de missarum celebratione, de poenis et suppliciis, de locis poenalibus reproborum, de premiis et statu glorificandorum subiuncturi.[13]

Of the manuscripts which we have examined, three end with the section on the dedication of churches;[14] one is clearly incomplete since it breaks off in the midst of the tract on the eucharist;[15] four have an additional chapter on the sacrament of orders;[16] of these four, two add a further chapter on prayer,[17] and one only deals with the hereafter.[18]

Capitula Summae Magistri Roberti[1]

I

1. Quid sit penitentia et quid penitere.[2]
2. Quod tria attendere debet quisque ut sit vere penitens.
3. Quod penitentia tria complectitur sacrificia, cordis, oris, et operis.
4. Utrum omnia teneatur iterare qui opera penitentiae sine[3] caritate peregit.
5. Quod opera mortua numquam reviviscunt.
6. De differentia inter sacramentum baptismi et sacramentum penitentiae.
7. Utrum omnis qui vult penitere peniteat.
8. Utrum penitens teneatur proponere se non commissurum venialia.
9. Quid respondendum sit a sacerdote illi qui consulit eum utrum recipiet eucharistiam in Pascha nesciens si[4] sit in caritate.
10. Argumentum quod idem penitens sibi scit consulere in tali articulo.
11. Argumentum quod non debet accedere ad sumptionem eucharistiae in tali articulo nec praesumere quod habeat caritatem.
12. Quid consulere debeat sacerdos parrochiano suo muto vel surdo vel[5] morioni vel maniaco.
13. Quod non invenitur salus nisi in quinque generibus hominum.
14. Utrum relinquatur ei aliquod remedium salutis qui non habet copiam sacerdotis vel alicuius cui possit confiteri.
15. De illo qui vult baptizari et non habet facultatem.
16. De quindecim gradibus penitentiae secundum[6] Augustinum.
17. Quod hos quindecim etiam confitens habere debet in contritione cordis et satisfactione operis.
18. De tribus existentibus in navi ubi instat periculum mortis.
19. De cognoscente matrem eius cui dedit fidem in facie ecclesiae quod eam duceret.

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[13] Paris B.N. Lat. 2359 fol. 161ra; 14,524 fol. 118ra.

[14] Bruges 247, Paris B.N. Lat. 3,203, and Troyes 1175.

[15] Cambridge, Gaius and Gonville College 331.

[16] Paris B.N. Latin 3,258, 3,259, 14,524; Br. Museum Kings 9 E xiv.

[17] Paris B.N. Lat. 14,524 and Br. Mus. Kings 9 E xiv.

[18] Br. Mus. Kings 9 E xiv. This manuscript add the following chapters after the dedication of churches: De ordine, De oratione, De generibus peccatorum, De remediis peccatorum, De statu existentium in patria, De statu perfectorum, De statu angelorum, De hierarchiis angelorum.

[1] For the variants we use the following *sigla*: P = Paris B.N. Lat. 14,524; T = Troyes 1175; R = Paris B.N. Lat. 2,359; B = Bruges 247. The title is found only in P.

[2] For convenience in printing we have changed the Roman numerals of the manuscript to Arabic. This section and the next will be found edited in MEDIAEVAL STUDIES, VII (1945), 294-336.

[3] sine—in T.

[4] si—an T.

[5] vel morioni vel maniaco *om.* R.

[6] secundum Augustinum *om.* P.

20. Casus notabilis de quodam cui oblatum est peregrinum iudicium cum traheretur ad furcas.
21. Cur superadditur confessio cum in casu sufficiat ad deletionem maculae et culpae contritio. Hic[7] multa notabilia continentur.
22. Utrum confessio, contritio, et satisfactio sint in praecepto cum penitentia sit in praecepto.
23. De remediis penitentiae, in quibus attenditur triplex elemosina et carnis maceratio que consistit in quatuor.[8]
24. Quid faciendum sit sacerdoti si summam viderit in confitente contritionem, de quo inducitur casus notabilis de[9] Ivone episcopo carnotensis.[10]
25. De eo qui ad plenam restitutionem induci non potest licet aliqua sibi iniuncta[11] compleverit.
26. De illo qui in articulo mortis iniungere potest penitentiam sibi iniunctam caris suis et de illis dubiis quae circa huiusmodi emergunt.
27. De intrante claustrum qui ante introitum omnia sibi iniuncta ad arbitrium ecclesiae complevit et[12] de confessione an sit semper iteranda novo sacerdoti.
28. Casus difficilis de clericis qui interfuerunt multis obscenis contractibus, cuiusmodi penitentia debet eis iniungi penitentibus.[13]
29. Quae penitentia sit nobis iniungenda pro mortuis in carcere quibus subvenire potuimus et non subvenimus.
30. Quid sit faciendum capellano principis in confessione domini sui.
31. Quid faciet contritio in eo qui peccatum nullum commisit quod confitetur.
32. De immundis animalibus in Levitico significantibus immundos homines.
33. De servientibus malo principi significato per cocodrillum.
34. De occidente patrem qui numquam habuit voluntatem occidendi.[14]
35. De penitentia duorum occidere volentium quorum alter occidit alter non.
36. De distinctione trium temporum penitentiae scilicet ante baptismum, in baptismo, post baptismum.
37. De superciliis fungentibus officio palpantium qui ex saecularibus litteris in favorem magnatum confingunt ad superstitiales praedictas solutiones.
38. De casu quo tota die percellitur ecclesia; contra episcopos et prelatos indignis ecclesiastica beneficia conferentes; hic multa notabilia continentur.
39. Quid respondendum sit foro penitentiali claustrali dicenti quod omnia quibus utitur in claustro sunt de usura, de rapina, de furto.
40. De monasterio quod omnes monachos quos habet ad interventum pecuniae suscepit.
41. Quid faciendum uxori feneratoris.
42. De matrona supponenti sibi puerperium vel de alio viro concipiente ut sic habeat heredem.
43. Questio[15] quid consulendum sit cyrurgicis, advocatis, mangonibus, turpitudinem procuratoribus, lenis, lenonibus, adulatoribus,[16] et detractoribus.
44. De modo iuiungendae satisfactionis in qua primo quaeritur an sacerdos debeat iniungere penitentiam cum voto aut praestita sacramenti religione a confitente.
45. De sacerdote quando[17] minorem quandoque maiorem quam deberet iniungere penitentiam.
46. De sacerdote qui non habet iurisdictionem in sibi confitentem.

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[7] Hic. . . . continentur *om.* R.

[8] De remediis . . . quatuor—De remediis penitentiae trifaris et quadrifariis R.

[9] de Ivone etc. *om.* P.

[10] et de quadam sibi confitente et de patre eius *add.* T.

[11] sibi iniuncta *om.* R.

[12] et de confessione etc. *om.* R.

[13] penitentibus *om.* R.

[14] *om.* in toto R.

[15] quaestio *om.* R.

[16] adulatoribus etc.—et huiusmodi R.

[17] Quando . . . quandoque—quando . . . quando T.

II

1. Questio de generalibus absolutionibus et remissionibus quae fiunt a domino papa et ab ecclesiae prelatis.
2. Quid respondendum sit si quaeratur quantum[1] de pena per absolutiones quae fiunt in praedictis absolutionibus remittatur.
3. Questio quid dicendum sit a sacerdote laicis has oblationes facientibus aut sibi aut aliis.
4. Quare huiusmodi remissiones sunt institutae.
5. Utrum suffragia praedictorum si sint in mortali valeant sibi vel aliis.
6. Utrum quaestuarii cedulas absolutionum ferentes audiendi sint.[2]
7. Utrum prelatus debeat refundere in fabricam ecclesiae quae per praedicationes talium acquiruntur et de aliis hic incidentibus.
8. Quid faciendum sit bono sacerdoti cum talis furtifer cum cedula prelati sui intrat ecclesiam suam seminaturus hereses et mendacia.
9. De commutationibus penitentiarum quae possunt fieri[3] cognita causa.
10. De ruralibus sacerdotibus penitentias questuarias iniungentibus.
11. Utrum simplices ius ignorantes meritorie dictas penitentias impleant.
12. Utrum prelatus debeat permittere ut praedicti questuarii deferant capsulas, philacteria, et reliquas sanctorum ad colligendas oblationes.
13. Utrum sacerdos possit commutare restitutionem faciendam a penitente in aliam penam.
14. De crucem assumentibus qui non compelluntur a suis sacerdotibus ad restitutionem decimarum, talliarum, exactionum, et cohabitationem uxorum reclamantium.
15. Quae penitentia iniungenda sit heretico confesso vel convicto.[4]

III

1. Questio de clavibus.
2. De usibus clavium qui multiplices sunt.
3. Utrum sacerdos dimittat peccata cum Augustinus dicit quod solus deus illa dimittit.
4. Utrum semiplene penitens possit absolvi a sacerdote credente eum vere penitere.
5. Utrum sacerdos qui est in mortali habeat claves praedictas.
6. De hoc quod omnis auctoritas ligandi et solvendi est apud deum, et de excommunicatione per iram animi lata.[1]
7. Utrum sine clavibus aliquis habeat usum clavium.
8. Quid iudicandum si dominus papa conferat usum clavium abbati qui habet alas ligatas.[2]
9. De abusoribus clavium ad excoriandum[3] subditos.
10. Quaestio difficilis[4] quid faciendum plebeculae modo praedicto afflictas.
11. Quae sacramenta possunt redimi in necessitate et quae non.
12. Utrum in aliquo casu sententia teneat a non suo iudice lata.[5]
13. Utrum aliquis possit absolvere vel ligare semetipsum.
14. Utrum superveniens excommunicatio existentem in peccato mortali magis separet a deo.

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[1] quantum . . . remittatur—quantum remittatur de pena per absolutiones que fiunt in ecclesiis per oblationes R.

[2] *om.* in toto P.

[3] fieri *om.* P.

[4] *om.* in toto PT.

[1] animi lata—adminiculata R.

[2] Hic multa notabilia continentur *add.* R.

[3] excommunicandum R.

[4] Quaestio difficilis—quod difficile P.

[5] necessitate *add.* R.

IV

1. Quaestio separatim de excommunicatione.
2. Quod excommunicatio sit tripliciter.
3. De sententia generaliter in hoc modo prolata a sacerdotibus: Excommunicamus illum qui hanc rem furatus est; et de sententia lata in torneatores auctoritate domini papae a legato.
4. De Urbano papa districte prohibente persolvi a subditis fidelitatem principi eo quod deo et ecclesiae exstitit rebellis.
5. Utrum sententia lata in pluribus ecclesiis magis liget quam si lata fuerit in una.
6. De iniuste excommunicato qui nescit se excommunicatum.[1]
7. Quod nemo potest dispensare contra novum et vetus testamentum.
8. De publicis meretricibus et manifestis feneratoribus et de sacerdotibus habentibus publice focarias.
9. Utrum excommunicatis communicanda suffragia ecclesiae vel aliqua sacramenta.
10. Quod videtur non licere quod excommunicati contrahant matrimonia.
11. Utrum excommunicatus possit aliquem convenire uel ab aliquo conveniri.
12. Casus difficilis de vassallo vel principe iuste excommunicato cui homines sui ligii praestiterint sacramentum de fidelitate servanda.
13. Utrum aliquis possit de iure post mortem excommunicari.

V

1. De incidentibus in canonem latae sententiae.
2. De ostiario et officiali repellentibus et flagellantibus quandoque[1] clericos intrare volentes castrum sibi commissum a domino suo prohibente ne aliquem intrare permittant.
3. De pueris colludentibus et sese verberantibus et de aliis quibusdam dubiis.
4. Utrum aliquis communicare possit cum proficiscente Romam ut absolvatur a praedicta sententia.
5. Utrum furiosus vel ebrius percutiens clericum incidat in canonem latae sententiae.
6. Quod ligatus sententia maioris non potest absolvi a minore.
7. Quid faciendum sit sacerdoti iuranti consuetudines praedecessorum suorum quando sibi confertur ecclesiasticum beneficium.
8. De cura unius[2] parrochiae duobus sacerdotibus collata.
9. De habitante in diversis parrochiis diversa domicilia.

VI

1. De excommunicatione conditionali multipliciter.
2. Quid dicendum de huiusmodi excommunicationibus: Excommunico te si honoras patrem, si appellas.
3. De duobus iudicibus delegatis, mortuo mandatore, sententiantibus in contumacem.

VII

1. Quaestio de reditu peccatorum quod multis rationibus[1] hic probatur.

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[1] *om.* in toto T.

[1] quandoque *om.* R.

[2] unius *om.* R.

[1] multis rationibus—multipliciter R.

2. Argumentum quod omne peccatum sit ingratitudo.
3. Argumentum ad hanc auctoritatem:[2] Deus non punit bis in idipsum.
4. Argumentum quod in uno duo sunt contraria scilicet prodigalitas et avaritia.
5. Argumentum quod omne peccatum sit ex contemptu et quod reditus peccatorum aggravat peccata.
6. Argumentum[3] quod quicumque aequaliter peccant, aequaliter sunt mali et quod aliquis est aliquantulum reus et magis, et aliquantulum puniendus et magis.
7. Argumentum[4] quod aliquis potest resurgere in minore caritate; et duplex ad hoc solutio.
8. Utrum[5] peccata redeant in tanta quantite in quanta perpetrata sunt.
9. Utrum penitens teneatur iterare in confessione omnia peccata illa quae redierunt.
10. Quid respondendum sit si quis querat an peccatum pro quo multa praecedentia redierunt sit causa omnium malorum.
11. De quadam contrarietate canonum de reditu peccatorum.

VIII

1. Quaestio de symonia in cuius principio continetur diffinitio symoniae et unde dicatur.
2. Quod tribus modis fit symonia secundum Gregorium.
3. De quatuor spiritualibus in quibus maxime sit symonia.
4. Quod species symoniae non videntur sufficienter enumerari hic propter choritas;[1] et de hac auctoritate: Maledictus qui opus dei facit fraudulenter.
5. Quod prelatus committit symoniam qui dat spirituale alia de causa quam propter deum.
6. De quinque nummis symoniae in claustro, in studio, in choro, et in omni loco dominationis domini;[2] pro[3] quibus obsequiis licite ab episcopo datur ecclesiasticum beneficium.
7. Utrum pro pretio liceat alicui absolvere excommunicatum, vel dedicare ecclesiam, vel anniversaria vel tricennalia celebrare.
8. Quod triplici casu licite datur temporale pro spirituali ubi continetur quid faciendum prelato de pecunia ab excommunicato data ut absolvatur.
9. De nummis horariis et de studentibus in lucrandis scientiis ut sic promoveantur.
10. Quid faciendum sit canonico si talis consuetudo sit in ecclesia sua quod omnes fructus totius anni solvantur in una praecipua sollemnitate et qui non interfuerint nichil percipient.
11. Utrum qui fuit tamquam truncus et porcus in ecclesia in qua symoniacus intravit vel si fuit multis annis in peccato mortali teneatur percepta in ea[4] restituere.
12. Utrum dominus papa possit aliquem reinvestire sufficienter resignanten praebendam vel episcopatum symoniace adeptum et utrum possit eum absolvere[5] a fructibus perceptis.
13. Quid consulendum sit religiosis ad interventum pecuniae receptis.[6]

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[2] ad hanc auctoritatem *om.* R.

[3] No. 7 in P.

[4] No. 8 in P.

[5] No. 6 in P.

[1] coritas R. the word is derived from Core the rebel leader against Moses; cf. *Num.* xvi.

[2] dominationis domini—domnatioro P.

[3] a separate rubric in R.

[4] in ea—omnia R.

[5] absolvere *om.* T.

[6] receptis *om.* R.

14. Utrum aliquis possit sibi vel filio suo de patrimonio suo vel de decimis quas tenuit praebendam instituere.
15. Utrum qui symoniace est canonizatus dicendus sit canonicus.
16. Argumentum quod prelatus symoniacus nichil potest dare de symoniace acquisitis in cuius solutione continetur quod in aliquo[7] casu licite dare possit, in aliquo[8] non.
17. Quid iudicandum de illo cui datur praebenda alicuius qui creditur esse mortuus, et de quibusdam dubiis quae ad idem faciunt.[9]
18. Argumentum de annexis spiritualibus ubi habetur quod de facto quandoque laici canonicabantur.
19. De eo quod alicui[10] confertur[11] dimidia praebenda[12] qui postea emit aliam dimidiam.[13]
20. De hoc quod Abraham emit locum sepulturae in spelunca duplici ubi tangitur quaestio de iure patronatus.
21. Argumentum[14] ad probandum quod licet alicui dare pecuniam symoniaco ne vendat praebendas, ubi continetur casus notabilis de canonico turbatore ecclesiae suae.
22. Quaestio[15] utrum sola intentio[16] sufficiat ad hoc ut efficiatur quis symoniacus.
23. De laicis in multis familiantibus prelatis ut obtineant praebendas ad opus filiorum suorum.
24. Utrum taciturnitas operetur symoniam in aliquo habente tantum oculos ad temporalia.
25. De cotidianis commutationibus spiritualium.
26. De venditione prioratus ubi multa sunt notabilia.
27. De venditione fructuum decimarum et[17] praebendarum.
28. De pensionariis sacerdotibus et burgensibus praebendariis.
29. Quod unusquisque debeat manere in sua vocatione in qua vocatus est.
30. Argumentum ad hoc[18] quod prelatus potest ius patronatus a laicis redimere.
31. Utrum sacerdotes possint pecuniam dare ne aliquis furtifer in decanum promoveatur vel ut promotus deiciatur. Hic plures incidunt quaestiunculae notabiles.
32. Utrum cum regalis iniunctio adiuncta sit regno, ipsum vendi possit aut ducatus.
33. Utrum minores sacerdotes debeant resistere prelatis suis abutentibus potestate sua.

IX

1. De intentione et studiis eligentium et meritis eligendorum.
2. Quid faciendum episcopo si quis dicat quod debet magis dignum quaerere cum dignum habeat ad manum cui possit conferre beneficium, et quod possum dare servienti in obsequiis honestis secundum Alexandrum.
3. Quid faciendum sit prelatis qui post electionem suam se cognoscant omnino indignos et insufficientes.
4. Quid faciendum sit tibi cum omnes socii tui indignum eligunt.
5. Utrum episcopi sint examinandi ante consecrationem.
6. De triplici sacramento quod in multis ecclesiis praestatur[1] a beneficiandis.

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[7] aliquo—uno R.
[8] aliquo—alio R.
[9] faciunt—pertinent vel faciunt R.
[10] De eo quod alicui—De eo cui R.
[11] gratis *add.* R.
[12] in aliqua ecclesia *add.* R.
[13] aliam dimidiam *om.* T.
[14] argumentum *om.* P.
[15] quaestio *om.* R.
[16] sola intentio—aliquis T.
[17] et prebendarum *om.* R.
[18] ad hoc *om.* R.
[1] praestatur—confertur T.

7. De adeuntibus curam romanam vel ut ius suum redimant vel cum adversario transigant vel ut coram domino papa litigent et de aliis dubiis hic incidentibus.
8. De clericis currentibus Romam[2] et recurrentibus ad mandatum prelatorum et principum ut[3] tandem sic canonicentur.
9. Utrum symoniacus efficiatur qui ad fraternitatem[4] sub certa pactione pecuniae admittitur.
10. Utrum venditores sigillorum sub prelatis et principibus symoniam incurrant. Hic invenies alias notabiles quaestiunculas cum suis solutionibus.

X

1. Quaestio difficilis: Quae opera licite possint locari vel vendi, ubi multa continentur notabilia de advocato.
2. De tribus casibus in quibus advocatus arguendus est quod peccat mortaliter.
3. Utrum magistri artium licite possint locare operas suas, et an accepta a feneratoribus vel raptoribus teneantur restituere.
4. Quod ex sola intentione in spiritualibus et perversis studiis scripturarum contingit symonia.
5. Quaestio difficilis de magistris scholarum et de his quos sibi substituunt.
6. Utrum sacerdotes conductitii possint locare operas suas.
7. Argumentum quod theologus potest locare praedicationem suam sicut advocatus advocationem suam.
8. Utrum nepotulo episcopi vel alicui alii parvulo aliquid conferatur in ecclesiastico beneficio cum investitur infra annos discretionis.
9. De locantibus operas proprii corporis Iudaeis, feneratoribus vel raptoribus.
10. De variis quaestiunculis diligenter annotandis; de meretricibus; de advocatis; de mimis; de ioculatoribus; de adulatoribus; de deciariis; de compositoribus scacorum, alearum, toxicorum, stibii,[1] cerussae, balistarum, hastarum, ferreorum indumentorum; de mangonibus; de mercatoribus ad terminum vendentibus; de buclariis; de caudatoribus vestium; de omnibus quorum inutiles sunt operae.
11. Utrum princeps possit aliquid accipere a talibus imminente guerra et destructione regni et ecclesiae, et an teneatur compellere feneratores et spoliatores ad restitutionem.
12. Utrum princeps cruce signatus qui habet in privilegio quod bona subditorum suorum debent cedere in usum suum cum proficiscitur in defensionem terrae sanctae possit aliquid a talibus accipere.
13. De illis qui legunt novo genere fallendi et adulandi prelatis et principibus et matronis decreta in cameris[2] emolliendo rigorem canonum et pervertendo in favorem illorum.
14. Quod[3] magister videtur peccare mortaliter qui videns se insufficiens ad docendum locat operas suas ut conducat alienas ad modum militis torneatoris locantis operas suas ut alienas conducat adiungendo familiae suae milites; et[4] de aliis dubiis quae incidunt hic.
15. Utrum[5] ballivi principum, coterelli, et milites stipendarii possint locare operas suas principibus nostri temporis.
16. De episcopis qui locant milites ad mandatum regis in guerra.
17. Quod illicitae[6] sunt operae scriptorum quas locant in nundinis feneratoribus,

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[2] Romam *om.* T.
[3] ut—et R.
[4] fraternitatem—confrarias R.
[1] tybii T.
[2] in cameris *om.* R.
[3] No. 15 in P.
[4] et de aliis etc. *om.* R.
[5] No. 14 in P.
[6] licite T.

cambitoribus, et operae magistrorum organicorum[7] qui per scurrilia emolliunt iuvenes.

18. Ubi possunt cyrurgici locare operas suas; a quibus nulli hominum conditioni licitum sit aliquid accipere; et an mercator teneatur ad restitutionem qui vendit illis a quibus nichil est accipiendum.
19. Quomodo praedicti debeant exercere contractus ut sint in statu salvandorum.

XI

1. Quaestio de usura ubi in primis determinatur quid sit usura.[1]
2. Argumentum quod in casu admittenda sit usura.
3. Utrum liceat in aliquo casu accipere ad usuram de hostibus ubi agitur de collibistis.
4. De argumentis laicorum pro[2] usuris defendendis.
5. Utrum aliquis possit petere ab alio nummum sub usura quin peccet mortaliter.
6. Utrum princeps vel prelatus vel alius possit aliquid[3] accipere a feneratoribus; de[4] auctoritatibus quibus prelati et religiosi se defendere volunt quod possunt accipere a feneratore.
7. Quid iniungere debeat sacerdos danti ad usuram in alea.
8. Contra illos qui asserunt quod non est discutiendum utrum oblatio feneratoris sit de fenore an de licite acquisitis; et quod auctoritates quas abbates et prelati pro se inducunt sunt potius contra ipsos quam pro ipsis.[5]
9. Quod abbas peccat mortaliter qui recipit feneratores reclamantibus propriis episcopis et sacerdotibus.
10. De duplici palliatione, una religionis, alia forinsecae allegationis.
11. Quid faciendum prelato qui habet potestatem diruendi ecclesias et aedificia constructa sub nomine ecclesiae a feneratoribus cum hoc ei constiterit.
12. Quod novem modis curritur cum fure.
13. Utrum in aliquo casu possit quis funebrem pecuniam accipere.
14. De casu in quo funebris pecunia licite potest detineri, et de ordine quem fenerator vel raptor debet attendere in restituendo.
15. Qualiter sit distinguendum ut sanum detur consilium volentibus restituere.

XII

1. Quaestio difficilis de pecunia alicuius principis vel prelati illicite acquisita et in massam redacta et missa ad nundinas ut inde nova fabricetur meneta.
2. Utrum omnis fenerator in omni casu teneatur ad omnium restitutionem; de[1] vendentibus et ementibus ad terminum.
3. Quid dicendum sit de illo qui dat pro centum ducenta ad aliquem terminum alicui qui negotiando interim lucratur inde ducenta.
4. De illo qui vendit annonam pro pretio arctioris venditionis quae erit usque ad festum sancti Remigii; et de illis qui recipiunt in vadia terram, agros, vineas vel molendina vel villas; et de cooperatoribus et coadiuvantibus et[2] nutrientibus feneratores.
5. De contractibus feneratorum qui dicunt se super his confirmari a domino papa.
6. Utrum aliquis non intendens fenerari subeat invitus penam et culpam feneratoris et utrum teneatur ad restitutionem; quod multiplex probatur.

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[7] organi P.

[1] For this tract on Usury (sections XI and XII) see: G. Lefèvre, *Le traité 'De Usura' de Robert de Courçon* (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille X, Lille, 1902).

[2] pro usuris defendendis—usuram defendencium R.

[3] aliquid *om.* P.

[4] de auctoritatibus etc. *om.* R.

[5] faciant *add.* TR.

[1] De vendentibus etc.—separate rubric in R.

[2] et nutrientibus feneratores *om.* R.

7. De valetudinariis mercatoribus habentibus suum capitale salvum et recipientibus a mercatoribus sibi subditis supra sortem lucri.
8. Utrum usura sit dare mutuum familiari principis ut liberet me a tallia, et advocato ut stet pro me in causa, et diviti ut michi domum accomodet.
9. Utrum alicui liceat mutuum accipere obligando fructum praebendae suae vel episcopatus apud feneratores qui nichil habent nisi ex fenore ut peregre proficiscatur, et utrum a talibus liceat alicui mutuum accipere.
10. Quod usuram incurrit, sicut ex praedicitis patet, qui dat ad terminum quamcumque speciem annonae ut pro viliori cariorem accipiat; et quod omnis clericus est arcendus ab his[3] contractibus et ab omnibus mercimoniis.
11. Utrum contractus gravatus per usuram possit repertere cum effectu coram iudice ecclesiastico illa quae reddit supra sortem.[4]
12. Quid agendum sit sacerdotibus timoratis de feneratoribus et incorrigibilibus quos publica accusat infamia.

XIII

1. Quaestio de decimis in qua primo proponitur quae nomine decimarum intelligantur, et utrum omnes et de omnibus teneantur ad solutionem decimarum, et utrum alii quam viri ecclesiastici possint detinere decimas.
2. Quid sit decima et rationes et expositiones sanctorum propter praedictas auctoritates quod decimae sunt dandae de omnibus ab omnibus.
3. Argumentum quod clericus tenetur solvere decimas, ubi plura tremenda contra clericos proponuntur.
4. Quod clerico sufficit solvere decimas pauperibus et quid dicendum de clericis qui praebendantur cum bona patrimonialia eis sufficere possint.
5. Quaestio difficilis Remis et Senonnen actitata utrum teneamur laicis hoc praedicare et eos compellere ad solutionem omnium decimarum.
6. Responsio rusticorum contra exigentes decimas.[1]
7. Utrum ab omnibus cuiuscumque sint conditionis vel status decimae sint recipiendae.
8. Utrum peccent monachi, templarii vel hospitalarii qui occasione privilegii sui spoliant vicinas ecclesias decimis.[2]
9. Quod omnes decimae ad ordinationem spectant episcopi, et quod illa quadripartita decimae divisio quae solebat fieri modo non tenet sed in primitiva ecclesia tenuit.
10. Quod per Abraham probatur quilibet teneri ad decimarum solutionem et quod laicus non potest decimas detinere.
11. Quid faciendum sacerdoti cum detentor decimarum accedit ad altare in die paschae petens ab eo eucharistiam.
12. Quod episcopus potest conferre laico non ius sed fructus decimae possidendos a se et suis usque in secundum vel tertium vel quartum heredem.

XIV

1. De redemptione decimarum ubi primo[1] quaeritur quomodo redimi possunt.
2. De clerico redimente decimam sine auctoritate episcopi et tandem ducto penitentia resignante[2] in manu episcopi vel domini papae in spe rehabendi eam.

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[3] his . . . mercimoniis—huiusmodi contractibus mercimonii R.
[4] *om.* in toto R.
[1] *om.* in toto R.
[2] decimis *om.* P.
[1] primo *om.* T.
[2] resignavit P.

3. Utrum liceat clerico redimere villam[3] emptam de fructibus decimae, sicut et ipsam decimam.
4. Utrum liceat[4] episcopo redimere bona ecclesiae suae de manu laici dando in mutuum ei certam summam pecuniae ut tandem capitale recipiat cum fructibus interim perceptis.
5. De quibusdam subtilibus usurae latrunculis obrepentibus in solutionem eiusdem quaestionis.
6. Quod miles qui detinet decimam potest eam impignorare[5] monasterio auctoritate episcopi.
7. Utrum aliquo proripiente manu armata tres vel quatuor modios de acervo tritici non decimato pro decima decimandum sit quod restat.
8. De duobus fratribus dividentibus patrimonium ita quod unus solam decimam elegit, et alter residuam partem.[6]
9. Quid consulendum sit laico detinenti medietatem decimarum suarum militi ut eam restituat ecclesiae suae.
10. Quid faciendum iudicibus delegatis si spoliatus laicus decimis impetret ad eos litteras summi pontificis ut ipsum restituant.
11. Quid consulendum sit laico confitenti quod magnam partem decimarum detinuit sacerdoti iam mortuo.
12. De quibusdam dicentibus milites posse salvari in detentione decimarum qui hic confutantur.
13. Utrum salvari possit qui contemnit solvere decimas de omnibus quae possidet.
14. Regulae de decimis solvendis modis omnibus tenendae.
15. Utrum decimanda sint quae illicite acquiruntur et licite possidentur.
16. Argumentum quod decimae non sunt redimendae.[7]
17. Quaestio de primitiis in qua primo determinatur quae sint primitiae.
18. Quod primitiae uidentur dandae sicut decimae.

XV

1. Quaestio de rapina ubi primo determinatur quid sit rapina et quod multae sint species rapinae.
2. De rapinis principum et prelatorum, ubi continetur quod filii Israel non commiserunt furtum asportantes vasa aurea et argentea de Egypto.
3. Quid dicendum de principe qui violenter se intrudit in regnum[1] aliquod quod expugnat; et de monasteriis constructis a Karolo Martello et Gerardo de Rossilum[2] pro victoriis habitis.
4. De lagano a multis principibus instituto, ubi agitur de pedagiis et toleationibus et roagiis et aliis pravis consuetudinibus regni.
5. De consuetudinibus hominum iustitiae dei obviantibus reprobandis et de consuetudinibus patrum a filiis non tenendis.
6. Quid consulendum sit militibus tales consuetudines instituentibus nec eas abrogare volentibus necnon et illis qui nullum censum habent in villis suis nisi talliarum tantum.
7. Argumentum contra claustrales ementes communes[3] pasturas et cetera communia et expendentes in guerris principum bona pauperum, et contra episcopos idipsum facientes.
8. De rapina quae fit per detractionem ubi probatur auctoritate Augustini quod detractores heretici sunt.

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[3] villam *om.* R.
[4] clerico *add.* R.
[5] impignorare—pignorare P.
[6] residuam partem—residuum pariter P.
[7] No. 16 and no. 17 are transposed in T.
[1] regnum—monasterium P.
[2] Rossilum—Roselon P.
[3] communes—omnes T.

9. De abbate qui occasione administrationis suae rapit quae dat consanguineis intuitu sanguinis.
10. Quod focariae tenentur ad restitutionem illorum quae acceperunt ab eis qui nichil habent nisi de patrimonio crucifixi,[4] ubi subiungitur[5] quod religiosi non possunt nutrire spurios filios suos vel nepotes de bonis claustri.
11. De speciariis vendentibus et de religiosis et clericis ementibus preciosas species et electuaria ad incentivum luxuriae.
12. Utrum villa licite se possit redimere a talliis et utrum abbas vel princeps possit pretium redemptionis eius licite retinere.[6]
13. De principe petente subsidia ab hominibus abbatum[7] et episcoporum quotiens habet guerras sive iustas sive iniustas.
14. Utrum in aliquo casu liceat exercere tallias in subditos.
15. Argumentum quorundam pseudo quod licite fiunt talliae.
16. Utrum princeps in aliquo casu possit ecclesias compellere ut ei ministrent subsidia in guerris.
17. Utrum liceat principibus confiscare bona ecclesiarum vacante sede cathedrali, et utrum teneat collatio praebendarum ab eis facta.
18. Utrum teneatur princeps aut prelatus subditos compellere ad largitionem elemosinae in tempore caristiae quod legitur fecisse comes Theobaldus.
19. De illa prava consuetudine principum qui nobiles iuvenculas pupillas tradunt nuptui ignobilibus ad interventum pecuniae.
20. Quid faciendum illi qui rem alienam invenit in publica strata aut in domo aut in agro.
21. Quid dicere debet sacerdos rustico invenienti in agro suo thesaurum et eum super hoc consulenti.[8]
22. Quaestio de sacrilegio in quo determinatur quid sit sacrilegium, quae sunt eius species; et qua pena feriendi sunt sacrilegii.
23. De raptoribus mulierum.
24. De raptoribus masculorum ubi sodomitae confutantur.
25. Qua dissimulatione[9] ecclesia permittat sodomitas sublunari in dignitatibus et bonis ecclesiasticis, maxime illos qui sunt manifesti.

XVI

1. Utrum clericus habeat proprium et utrum condere possit testamentum et utrum iudicandus sit raptor si bona ecclesiae det aliis quam pauperibus.
2. Quae sit differentia inter saecularem et regularem canonicum et monachum in dispensatione eis credita.[1]
3. De consuetudine cisalpinae ecclesiae qua hodie clerici de bonis ecclesiae passim condunt testamenta maxime de mobilibus.
4. Quaestio si pariter egeant extraneus et consanguineus tuus aeque boni utri illorum potius tenearis subvenire.
5. Utrum michi liceat auferre panem habundanti ut pascam morientem.
6. Utrum domino aliquid depereat de merito[2] si servus eius retineat de his quae in piis causis dare praecepit.
7. Quare Daniel dixit Nabuchodonosor ut redimeret elemosinis peccata cum esset in mortali peccato.
8. Quid faciam videns duos aequaliter egentes cum non possum succurrere nisi alteri illorum.

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[4] crucifixi—christi P.
[5] subiungitur—additur R.
[6] retinere—detinere TR.
[7] abbatum et *om.* T.
[8] Nos. 20 and 21 are one title in P; separate in T and R.
[9] dissimulatione—diffimatione P.
[1] Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are missing in P.
[2] de merito *om.* R.

9. Obiectio fundata super hanc auctoritatem: Pasce fame morientem si non paveris, occidisti.
10. Obiectio de elemosina spirituali cuius solutio notabilis est.
11. Utrum mortaliter peccem si citra extremam necessitatem non subveniam egentibus in alimonia corporali et spirituali.
12. Quid michi faciendum de avaro fame morituro nisi dem ei de pane suo proprio.
13. De dante alicui laboranti in extrema necessitate animo repetendi si aliquid pinguius[3] ei accreverit.
14. Quid tibi faciendum si sint centum pauperes et centum sufficientes eos sustentare hoc anno et utrum illis nichil eis erogantibus tenearis omnibus subvenire si mediocriter habundas.
15. De modo distributionis elemosinae corporalis vel spiritualis.

XVII

1. Utrum liceat alicui habere plures ecclesias vel praebendas; ad quod probandum multae hic inducuntur rationes et auctoritates novi et veteris testamenti.
2. Rationes in contrarium efficatiores ubi viva apponitur solutio.
3. Quod in periculosissimo statu sunt suffarcinati patrimonio Christi.
4. De quibusdam magistris volentibus probare quod in omni ecclesia sint praebendandi.
5. Quid dicendum de illis qui ad hoc sibi cumulant plura beneficia ut eligentes episcopum[1] tracti cupiditate illius citius eum eligant.

XVIII

1. Quaestio de praescriptione.
2. Quid sit usucapio et quod tam praescriptio quam usucapio sint facta[1] pro publico bono.
3. Quod quinque exiguntur in praescriptione.
4. Quid sit effectus praescriptionis.
5. Utrum qui habuerit conscientiam rei alienae possessae per praescriptionem teneatur eam restituere.
6. Argumentum quod nec etiam in foro saeculari[2] praescriptio aliquem debet defendere.

XIX

1. Quaestio de iure patronatus.
2. Quid sit emolumentum iuris patronatus et onus.
3. Quod patronus nichil dat clerico quin praesentat eum episcopo.
4. Argumentum quod princeps vel principissa non debet se intromittere ad tractandum ea quae spectant ad generalem curam episcoporum vel sacerdotum.
5. Quod ius patronatus simplex est et non compositus.

XX

1. Quaestio de fraterna correptione qua primo quaeritur an quilibet teneatur corripere fratrem.[1]

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[3] pinguius—pignus P.

[1] episcopum *om.* T.

[2] saeculari—penitentiali T.

[1] sint facta—fuit R.

[1] suum *add.* R. Nos. 1 and 2 are one rubric in R.

2. Rationes contra scilicet quod quemlibet non spectat fraterna correptio.
3. Solutio[2] quod ad quemlibet spectat sive sit maior sive sit minor sive sit servus sive sit liber.
4. Utrum dicendum sit quod quaelibet privata persona vel stultus vel idiota teneatur corripere prelatum vel principem cum[3] scit crimen.
5. De inscriptione et abolitione.
6. De male exponentibus hoc capitulum: Si peccaverit in te.
7. Quid faciendum sacerdoti volenti accusare secundum formam praescriptam subditum suum coram episcopo suo qui non vult audire accusationem eius.
8. Quid faciendum eidem sacerdoti in praedicto articulo si suus episcopus et omnes superiores ad quos recurrere debet inveniantur inviti.[4]
9. Utrum fraterna correptio praescriptum ordinem debet servare in notorios.
10. Viva iacula auctoritatum contra illos qui dicunt nichil esse notorium nisi per convictionem vel confessionem in iure.[5]
11. Argumentum contra manifeste peccantes.[6]
12. Quibus rationibus poteris cognoscere praedictos notorios. Sententia[7] quorumdam modernorum quid sit notorium.

XXI

1. Quaestio de voto in qua primo proponitur diffinitio voti.
2. Quae sit habenda differentia[1] inter firmum propositum et votum.
3. Argumentum quod nullus per vocale votum ad aliquid agendum compelli debet nisi mentaliter voveat.
4. Quod votum distinguitur multipliciter.
5. Quid sibi velit haec forma vovendi: Abrenuntio sathanae.
6. Argumentum quod quicumque peccat mortaliter venit contra votum necessitatis.[2]
7. Argumentum quod commutandum est votum emissum contra votum necessitatis ubi habetur quod votum Iepte stultum fuit.[3]
8. Quid sollemnizat votum; an ipsa sollemnitas sit de substantia voti.
9. Argumentum contra quosdam dicentes quod sollemne votum non plus obligat quam simplex quoad deum et quod sollemnitates[4] non intendunt effectum voti.
10. De differentia privati voti ad sollemne qua dicitur quod privatum votum impedit matrimonium contrahendum sed non dirimit contractum, sollemne[5] vero dirimit contractum et impedit contrahendum.
11. Argumentum contra de voto continentiae gloriosae virginis matris Mariae.

XXII

1. Quaestio de voto conditionali.
2. Argumentum[1] super hoc: Ego voveo quod fiam albus monachus si non fiam niger.
3. De duobus voventibus in hunc modum: Ego voveo me aedificaturum ecclesiam in illo territorio nisi tu aedificaveris.

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[2] Solutio *om.* R.
[3] cum—cuius R.
[4] inviti—muti R.
[5] contra manifeste peccantes *add.* T.
[6] *om.* in toto R. for T see previous note.
[7] Sententia etc.—separate rubric in R.
[1] differentia *om.* P.
[2] ubi habetur quod votum Iepte stultum fuit *add.* R.
[3] *om.* in toto R.
[4] sollemnizantes T.
[5] sollemne vero etc. *om.* P.
[1] Argumentum *om.* T.

4. De sociis sic voventibus:[2] Ego voveo me intraturum claustrum si tu intras.
5. Quod ex diversitate diversarum conditionum dissimiliter sit iudicandum.
6. De voti redemptione sive commutatione.
7. Utrum plene sint absoluti quorum vota dominus papa commutat modica occasione.
8. Argumentum quod uxor potest revocare votum viri ne eat in terram sanctam.
9. Utrum adhuc excommunicati sint quod dominus papa generaliter excommunicavit nisi arriperent iter peregrinationis suae iuxta terminum praefixum quod nondum arripuerunt.[3]
10. Utrum idem iudicium sit habendum in votis continentiae et abstinentiae ubi continetur quod heres regni permissus est exire claustrum ad contrahendum matrimonium ne heres deesset in regno, et quomodo dispensatur cum rege Ludovico ieiunante sexta feria in pane et aqua.
11. Quid sit faciendum illi qui vovit se intraturum hoc[4] claustrum specialiter in quo postmodum omnia esse corrupta et infecta cognoscit.

XXIII

1. Quaestio de votis ordinatorum ubi primo quaeritur unde sit illa continentia quae imposita est constitutis in sacris ordinibus.
2. Utrum possit ordo conferri alicui invito et reclamanti cum adiuncta continentia.
3. Quod apostolus prohibet promoveri bigamum et neophytum et de aliis quae hic incidunt.
4. Utrum diaconus orientalis ecclesiae uxoratus huc veniens teneatur continere hic et an ibi ordinatus in diaconum possit hic contrahere.
5. Argumentum quod non licet domino papae dispensare ut diaconus possit contrahere.
6. Argumentum quod revocandum esset in irritum praeceptum de continentia clericorum.

XXIV

1. De votis religiosorum sive ad religionem transeuntium.
2. Quod vir compellitur redire ad uxorem si ea reclamante claustrum intraverit.
3. Quod nullus coniugatorum ad sacros ordines est promovendus nisi ab uxore continentiam profitente fuerit absolutus.
4. Quod uxoratus prohibetur ordinari in episcopum nisi uxor eius continentiam prius[1] professa[2] velamen sibi imponat.
5. Argumentum quod monachatio viri non tenet quin reddatur uxori, ita nec ordinatio eiusdem in sacerdotem ipsa reclamante.
6. Quod de concessione domini papae claustrales saepe matrimonio traditi sunt propter defectum heredum post sollemne votum.
7. De viro et uxore intrantibus simul hospitale vel domum leprosorum.
8. De scholari vovente inter manus abbatis se futurum monachum cisterciensis ordinis peracto biennio, quo peracto se reddidit ordini sancti Victoris.
9. Argumentum[3] fundataum super hoc decretum: Non distat religiosus clericus a religioso monacho, ad probandum quod religiosus canonicus non tenetur intrare claustrum propter maiorem religionem.

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[2] De sociis sic voventibus *om.* T.
[3] arripuerint—proripuerint P.
[4] hoc *om.* T.

[1] prius—post P.
[2] professa—confessa T.
[3] Argumentum *om.* T.

XXV

1. Quaestio de scandalo in qua primo diffinitur quid sit scandalum et[1] quid scandalizare proximum.
2. Quod plures auctoritates videntur asserere omne scandalum esse mortale peccatum.
3. Argumentum contra hoc quod videtur possibile invenire scandalum quod non sit mortale peccatum in cuius solutione invenies[2] tripicem scandali distinctionem.
4. Quaestio in quibus casibus vitandum sit scandalum.
5. Argumentum contra hanc auctoritatem: Melius est ut scandalum oriatur quam veritas vitae vel iuris vel doctrinae relinquatur.
6. Argumentum quod prelatus ad exemplum domini debet tributum solvere.
7. Quaestio utrum tu iudex debeas protelare sententiam pro paupere[3] in damnum ipsius contra divites qui statim occidunt te si sententiaveris.
8. Quid faciendum si sis moriturus in corpore nisi comedis idolotitum et frater tuus in anima si comedas; sed gravior erit quaestio si fueris prelatus.
9. Utrum negabis rem quam petit a te[4] proximus scandalizando ipsum an dices te illam non habere ut non scandalizetur.
10. Quid faciendum sit sacerdoti qui est in peccato mortali in die paschae cum sit obligatus ad hoc ut celebret.
11. Argumentum quod tibi sit licitum mutuum accipere ad usuram secundum hanc auctoritatem: Melius est ut thesaurus ecclesiae exponatur ad usuram quam pauper ad imbrem.
12. Quid faciendum illi qui iuravit se daturum praebendam isti vel illi cum sciat quod alter scandalizabitur si eam dederit alteri.
13. Similis quaestio de duobus quos credis in extrema necessitate constitutos.
14. Quid tibi faciendum si occurras latronem in nemore quem te[5] oportet occidere vel occidi ab eo.
15. Obiectio de hac auctoritate: Omnia michi licet sed non omnia expediunt.
16. De clericis et monachis qui in multis ecclesiis comedunt carnes in sabbato in scandalum laicorum.
17. Quid faciendum in mensa prelati tui ubi apponuntur tibi pitancia et praesentes quos mittunt raptores et feneratores pro filiis suis canonicandis.
18. Argumentum quod tu non debes tua repetere propter scandalum.
19. Argumentum quod advocatus debet ab advocatione potius[6] cessare quam multos scandalizare.
20. Quid faciendum sit praedicatori in extrema necessitate cum non habet unde vivat et praedicet mixtim bonis et pessimis et sciat si aliquid ab eis recipiat inde scandalum gravissimum oriri.
21. Quod duplex assignandus est casus ad intelligendam hanc auctoritatem: Omnia michi licet sed non omnia expediunt.
22. Quid faciendum episcopo habenti utrumque gladium cum aliquis praepotens ducitur ad forum eius qui publica fama accusat sed nemo audet accusare eum personaliter propter potentiam eius.

XXVI

1. Quaestio de perplexitate.[1]

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[1] quid sit scandalum et *om.* P.
[2] invenies—nota R.
[3] sententiam pro paupere—causam pauperis R.
[4] a te *om.* R.
[5] quem te—quando R.
[6] potius *om.* P.
[1] *om.* in toto R.

2. De perplexitate hereticorum et aliorum multorum dicentium in multis casibus[2] se non posse evadere quin incurrant damnationem.
3. Quod infinitae auctoritates in contrarium clament, ubi distinguitur inter perplexitates.
4. De abbate depositario qui iuravit se redditurum pecuniam depositori suo qui postea fit hereticus; et de cognoscente sororem uxoris suae; et de diacono sacerdotis tenentis publice focariam.
5. De illa quae post sponsalia cognita est carnaliter a sponso, an matrimonium contractum cum alio teneat.
6. Casus de sacerdote qui fratrem suum insequentem cum gladio extracto ut occideret eum, modico lapillo in capite percussit ita quod vulneris occasione mortuus est.
7. An heremita debeat exire ad consulendum feneratoribus laborantibus in extremis.[3]
8. De sacerdote cui et princeps et episcopus praecipit et consulendo inducit ut benedicat ferrum vel aquam ad iudicia quibus temptatur deus.
9. De sententia qua dominus papa iussit percelli barones et milites sequentes vexilla regis Franciae in guerra quadam et de aliis dubiis hic incidentibus.
10. Viva improbatio solutionis quorundam secundum traditiones humanas[4] dicentium quod non pertinet ad subditos discutere an sit iustum vel iniustum bellum.
11. Casus difficilis de duobus iudicibus delegatis et de contumace ab eis excommunicato.
12. Casus difficilis de quodam uxorato super quo plurimum dubitatum est in curia romana.
13. De milite duas uxores repellente per falsos testes de consanguineitate conficta.
14. Casus de quodam qui ignoranter in uxorem duxit sororem suam.
15. Casus de quodam converso diu latente[5] sub veste saeculari et tandem post confessionem factam sacerdoti petente uxorem sibi dari ab eodem.
16. Quid faciendum sacerdoti non habenti hostiam consecratam in parasceve, et quid si nisi unam solam habet in ora communionis et aeger in periculo mortis petat eam.
17. De advocato[6] ad prelationem qui nescit utrum advocatio[7] sua sit a deo.
18. De uxore feneratoris utrum debeat illicite acquisita restituere viro[8] suo nesciente.
19. Quid sit faciendum episcopo habenti utrumque gladium cum adducitur furtifer ad forum eius qui confitetur crimen homicidii.
20. Casus de adultero clauso in cista ab adultera viro suo nesciente.

XXVII

1. Quaestio de iuramentis et periuriis in qua primo diffinitur quid[1] sit iuramentum.
2. Quod tria requiruntur ad hoc ut legitime fiat iuramentum; quod[2] iurare quandoque sit meritorium et quod dominus iuravit et multi sancti.
3. De paterinis et nestorianis oblatrantibus et obicientibus hoc: Nolite omnino iurare.
4. De forma iuramenti quae multiplex[3] est.

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[2] casibus *om.* T.
[3] in extremis *om.* R.
[4] secundum traditiones humanas *om.* R.
[5] diu latente—qui diu latens R.
[6] advocato—vocato P.
[7] advocatio—vocatio P.
[8] viro suo nesciente *om.* R.
[1] quid sit iuramentum *om.* T.
[2] Separate title in R and T.
[3] multiplex—duplex T.

5. Quod minus malum est per deos falsos iurare veraciter quam per deum verum fallaciter.
6. Utrum Iacob et Machabei peccaverint[4] accipientes iuramenta facta sibi per idola.
7. De sollemnitate iuramenti et de his quae augent vel minuunt religionem iuramenti.
8. De iurante sic: Ego iuro quod interficiam patrem vel dabo tibi centum, et de aliis dubiis hic incidentibus quae diligenter sunt notanda.
9. Quod iuramentum triplici de causa est illicitum.
10. Utrum falso iuramento liberares eum qui apud te quaeritur occidendus si[5] alias eum non posses liberare.
11. Utrum debeas iudicare secundum iuramenta falsorum testium vel sequi conscientiam.
12. Utrum coacta iuramenta facta a te in nemore sicariis vel maleficis adimplere tenearis.
13. Quod principes qui faciunt servos suos iurare per se falsa sunt in eadem damnatione cum servis.
14. Utrum omnes peccent mortaliter qui non resistunt periurantibus in publicis contractibus.
15. Quod iuxta tria genera mendaciorum quae assignat Augustinus, possunt assignari tria genera periurorum ubi agitur de cotidianis nostris et mercatorum periuriis.
16. Argumentum disquisitius[6] de illis qui passim iurant et non[7] aliqua causa decipiendi.
17. Quid statuat[8] canon de illis qui per capillos dei vel caput vel alio modo iurant in contumeliam creatoris.
18. Quid de illis dicendum qui per creaturas etiam per crepitas suas et huiusmodi iurare praesumunt.[9]
19. Quid dicendum de iurantibus et accipientibus iuramentum ubi ex utraque parte vertitur dolus.
20. Quod plures sunt casus in quibus est iurandum quibus diversae species iuramenti exprimuntur.
21. Utrum quilibet passim et in omni tempore sint compellendi ad iuramenta.
22. De sacramento calumniae quod multum valet ad causarum decisionem.

XXVIII

1. Quaestio de mendaciis ubi in primis determinatur quid sit mendacium et quid mentiri.
2. Probatio quod non solum in verbis sed etiam in simulatis operibus mendacium est.
3. Disquisitius de tribus generibus mendaciorum quae assignat Augustinus.
4. De pluribus dubiis quae emergunt super his quae continentur[1] in tertio genere mendacii ubi quaeritur quid faciendum sit perfecto cum occidendus apud eum quaeritur.
5. Quomodo intelligendum sit quod dicit Augustinus dicens scilicet[2] quod perfectis non convenit mentiri nec etiam pro temporali vita salvanda ne dum alienam vitam servant suam propriam perdant.

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[4] peccaverint—iuraverint T.

[5] si alias eum non posses liberare *om.* R.

[6] Argumentum disquisitius *om.* R.

[7] et non—tamen T.

[8] statuat—faciat T.

[9] R inserts between nos 18 and 19; Utrum iuramenta sint intelligenda secundum intentionem iurantis vel eius cui iuratur.

[1] continentur *om.* R.

[2] dicens scilicet *om.* R.

6. Item obiectiones de praedicto articulo scilicet[3] de occidendo et de aliis quaestiunculis valde necessariis hic incidentibus.
7. De specie mendacii quae sit causa ioci non ad decipiendum.
8. De octo generibus mendaciorum enumeratis ab Augustino.
9. Argumentum contra hoc quod dicitur in his octo generibus tanto minus quis peccat cum mentitur quanto magis a primo recedit.
10. Obiectio contra quartum et quintum genus mendacii.
11. De illo qui mentitur in doctrina religionis asserens aliquid contra vetus vel novum testamentum.
12. Quod imperfecto licet mentiri ne ingenua defloretur vel bona alicuius rapiantur, quod probatur per mendacium obstetricum.
13. Utrum liceat alicui mentiri timore propriae mortis; utrum dominus approbaverit mendacium obstetricum.
14. Utrum peccaverit Abraham cum asseruit se ad[4] servos cum puero reversurum cum de hoc dubitaret, et de apostolo qui dixit se venturum ad Hispanios et non venit, et de verbis quae proposuit contra Ananiam principem sacerdotum ipsum percutientem.
15. Utrum simulatio sit alicubi assumenda.

XXIX

1. Quaestio utrum Iacob mentitus sit dicens se esse Esau.
2. Utrum Iacob dicendo se esse Esau, immo primogenitum mentitus sit.[1]
3. Utrum Isaac contra intentionem suam benedixerit Iacob.
4. Utrum Iacob surripiendo benedictionem peccaverit.
5. Arugmentum quod Iacob peccavit obtinendo sic benedictionem.
6. Quid Isaac demonstravit quando dixit Iacob: Tu es filius meus Esau.
7. Utrum Iacob peccaverit emendo primogenitum et utrum intervenerit lepta symoniae.

XXX

1. Quaestio de iudicio sanguinis in qua primo quaeritur utrum clericus liceat agitare causam sanguinis; quod multis modis probatur per exempla veteris et novi testamenti.
2. Casus de Everaldo[1] magno heresiarcha in concilio parisiensi convicto, et multa alia de prelatis.
3. Quid tibi prelato sit faciendum si principes vel officiales tui nolunt aliquem punire nisi hoc audiant expressum de ore tuo.
4. An ecclesia habeat defendere omnes ad se confugientes.
5. De incendariis irruentibus in ecclesiam ut eam incendant et te occidant nisi clames et nisi viciniam convoces, et de scholaribus parisiensibus in simili articulo saepius[2] constitutis.
6. Utrum liceat clerico advocatum fieri in causa criminali.
7. Argumentum quod prelatus praecipiens officiali suo ut exerceat iusticiam per consuetudinem regni peccat mortaliter.
8. Utrum episcopus negabit audienciam alicui malefico appellanti ad audienciam ipsius de gravamine sui officialis qui eum comprehendit in aliquo crimine.
9. Utrum quod per se mortale est possit ex certa scientia perpetrari sine peccato.
10. Quomodo hic intelligendum est: Nolite eradicare zizania etc.

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[3] Item . . . scilicet *om.* R.

[4] ad—et P.

[1] *om.* in toto R.

[1] Euardo R. Evrardus of Chateauneuf condemned at the Council of Paris in 1201.

[2] saepius *om.* T.

XXXI

1. Quaestio de criminibus que impeliunt promovendum et deiciunt promotum.
2. De clerico non hospitali et de episcopo qui inhumanus est secundum canonem si non omnes recipiat.
3. Quod coeuntes cum menstruata in veteri testamento occidebantur.
4. Argumentum quod idem iudicandum sit de contrahente cum vidua ante baptismum et de occidente ante baptismum.
5. De controversia inter Ieronimum et Augustinum super his qui[1] viduas ante baptismum ducebant.
6. Quaestio unde contrahat irregularitatem occidens ante baptismum et post meritorie; hic proponitur[2] difficilis quaestio.[3]
7. De cruce signatis interficientibus Sarracenos ad mandatum domini papae.
8. Quod infamis non debet promoveri.[4]
9. Quod neophytus, id est noviter ad fidem conversus, de iure non promovetur.
10. Quod deformitas membrorum impedit promovendum et deicit iam promotum.
11. Utrum lapsi in aliquod mortale possint restitui in ordines suos et ad superiores promoveri.
12. Quaestio de his qui non sunt ex legitimo matrimonio.
13. Quaestio de dispensatione in qua primo diffinitur quid sit dispensatio.
14. Quod verae sunt causae dispensationis scilicet utilitas et necessitas.
15. Utrum teneat dispensatio si dominus papa dispenset sine omni necessitate et utilitate[5] et cognitione iustae causae et tantum ex motu animi.
16. Quid dicendum sit ubi praedictae causae dispensationis non sunt.[6]
17. Quod communis est opinio neminem posse dispensare contra ius naturale ubi agitur quod nemo potest dispensare contra vetus vel novum testamentum.[7]
18. Quod secundum Augustinum aliquando per dispensationem aliquid detrahendum est severitati pro maioribus malis sanandis.[8]
19. Quare non liceat modo habere plures uxores sicut licuit in veteri testamento iure[9] permittente naturali quod adhuc manet.
20. Quod contra votum sollemne vel iuramentum sollemniter emissum non admittitur dispensatio, et argumentum[10] quod aliquantulae usurae recipi possunt secundum Ambrosium.
21. Quod nec papa nec ecclesia romana nec generalis synodus potest mutare statuta apostolorum ubi dicitur quod subdiaconi continere tenentur.
22. Quid dicendum si de facto contrahat subdiaconus qui in proposito contrahendi quod semper ante habuit fit subdiaconus.
23. De acolito contrahente per verba de praesenti qui ante carnalem copulam promoveatur ad ordines superiores.
24. Utrum per dispensationem apostatae, curiales, vel servi vel criminosi possint promoveri.
25. Argumentum quod servi ad sacros ordines possunt promoveri.

XXXII

1. Quid sit causa et quod in omni causa agitur aut ad denuntiandum aut de interesse aut criminaliter.

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[1] qui viduas . . . ducebant—qui ad viduas ante baptismum accedunt R.
[2] proponitur—oritur R.
[3] R adds here no. 7.
[4] R adds *ubi dicitur* and then no. 9.
[5] et utilitate *om.* P.
[6] om. in toto R.
[7] Quod communis . . . testamentum—Utrum teneat dispensatio contra ius naturale vel vetus vel novum testamentum R.
[8] *om.* in toto R.
[9] iure . . . manet *om.* P.
[10] Separate rubric in R.

2. Quod ordo iuris auctoritatibus veteris et novi testamenti confirmatur.
3. Quid sit ordo iudiciarius ubi[1] de trinis invenies edictis vel uno peremptorio.
4. Quod induciae deliberatoriae concedendae sunt.[2]
5. De diffinitione causae et litis contestatione et de dubiis quae exiguntur ab observatione ordinis iudiciarii.
6. De quinque casibus exceptionis in quibus non per omnia ordo iudiciarius observatur.
7. De tribus sententiarum diversitatibus, condemnationis, excommunicationis, suspensionis; in quarum prima semper requiritur ordo iudiciarius, in aliis duobus non.
8. De forma accusationis inscriptae.[3]
9. De distinctione inter criminaliter accusantes.[4]
10. Qui sunt admittendi ad accusationem et testimonium ferendum.[5]
11. Quod praedicti non sunt admittendi ad iudicium ut sint iudices.[6]
12. Utrum consanguinei remoti vel aliqui de domo tua fidem omnibus proponentes admitti debeant ut pro te testantur contra hereticos.
13. Quod canon dicit causam esse agendam ubi crimen committitur.
14. De variis iudiciis.
15. De productione testium secundum canones.
16. De iuramento quod iudex debet a testibus recipere.
17. Quod iudex debet separare testes ante et post iuramentum quousque plene examinati fuerint et de modo excommunicationis[7] eorundem.
18. Quod omnia dicta testium sunt scribenda et sigillanda et tandem publicanda.
19. Quod iudices debent attestationes retinere et permittere ut ab utraque parte scribantur.
20. Quid iudex debet facere si actor non potest ducere testes ad consistorium suum.
21. Quid actori et reo concessum est dicere in dicta testium et excipere.
22. Quod laici non sunt admittendi in actione clericorum.[8]
23. Quod nullius accusatio recipitur in absentem.

XXXIII

1. Quid sit appellatio; quis possit appelare et a quo ad quem.
2. Quod secundum leges appellatur tantum post sententiam diffinitivam.
3. Quod infra decem dies post latam sententiam appellandum est.
4. Quod effectus appellationis nichil innovari permittit.
5. Quid iudex debet facere si appellatio non fuerit inhibita in litteris commissionis.
6. Quid faciendum sit si iudex contra ius scriptum vel rem iudicatam[1] sententiaverit.
7. Quod appellatio comtumacis[2] non valet nec appellatio officialis a sententia proprii iudicis nisi in casu et quod inhibetur appellatio multis de causis.
8. Argumentum contra hoc quod dicitur quod sicut nec ab arbitriis ita nec ab executoribus est appellandum.
9. Obiectio difficilis de contrarietate dictorum Alexandri et Lucii tertii.
10. Argumentum[3] quod appellatio removeri debet in reconventione sicut

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[1] ubi . . . peremptorio—et quae exiguntur ad observationem ordinis iudiciarii R.
[2] *om.* in toto R.
[3] ubi distinguitur inter criminaliter accusantes *add.* R.
[4] *om.* in toto R.
[5] et ad iudicium *add.* R.
[6] *om.* in toto R.
[7] excommunicationis—examinationis T.
[8] R omits no. 22 and uses no. 23 twice.

[1] iudicatam—praelibatam R.
[2] Quod appellatio contumacis—cuius appellatio R.
[3] argumentum *om.* R.

removetur in conventione et eadem ratione in[4] incidenti sicut in causa principali.

XXXIV

1. Quaestio de infamia in qua primum determinatur quid sit infamia.
2. De duplici infamia una iuris alia facti.
3. Quando quis infamis efficitur multiplici de causa.
4. Utrum aliquis[1] condemnandus propter solam infamiam.
5. Quid faciendum episcopo dubitanti de infamia alicuius.
6. Argumentum quod omne crimen infamiae[2] potest tolli.[3]

XXXV

1. De accusatione in duobus generibus causarum civilis et ecclesiasticae, et[1] de duplici crimine civili et ecclesiastico.
2. In cuius foro litigabit clericus qui accusat civiliter laicum.
3. Quid sit actorem quandoque intendere possessorie quandoque petitorie.
4. Quod accusationis multiplex est diversitas.[2]
5. De abolitione quae fit tripliciter:[3] publice, private et ex lege.
6. De his quae requiruntur in accusationibus[4] ad faciendam probationem.
7. De sex speciebus probationum.
8. De quinque quae maxime derogant[5] fidei testium.
9. Quod etiam per instrumenta fit legitima probatio.

XXXVI

1. Quaestio de rescriptis in qua habetur primo quae dicantur rescripta, et utrum rescripta valeant in quibus tacentur nomina propria eorum quibus scribuntur et apponuntur nomina dignitatum.
2. Utrum aliquod rescriptum quamvis imperfectum possit in aliquo casu valere.
3. Utrum speciale mandatum mentionem generalis non faciens derogat generali.
4. Argumentum de impetrante litteras primo et de impetrante secundo super eodem negotio litteras sine falsitate sed nullam priorum mentionem facientes.
5. Argumentum quod litterae posteriores valent contra eum qui dolo vel negligentia non vult uti prioribus.
6. Argumentum quod dominus papa potest removere ius generale quod est de expirante mandatore.
7. De duabus decretalibus quae sibi contrariae videntur.
8. Utrum procedere debeat in causa cui scribitur tanquam diversis personis propter dignitates quas solus occupare non creditur.
9. Quod multi sunt casus in quibus non valet rescriptum.

XXXVII

1. Quaestio utrum opera legalium sacramentorum fuerint meritoria ubi primo multis auctoritatibus veteris et novi testamenti probatur quod non.[1]

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[4] in *om.* R.

[1] aliquis om. R.; quis P.

[2] infamiae *om.* R.

[3] Solutio est ibi viva *add.* R.

[1] et de duplici etc. *om.* R.

[2] et quot de causis prohibetur quis accusare *add.* R.

[3] tripliciter—temporaliter T.

[4] accusationibus—accusatione illius T.

[5] derogant—denigant T.

[1] De legalibus utrum sanctificare possint aliquem *add.* R. (a separate rubric.)

2. Utrum in omnibus septem sacramentis conferatur cumulus vel augmentum gratiae.
3. Utrum sacramenta plus gratiae conferant ministrantibus illa quam quibus ministrantur.
4. De differentia habenda inter sacramenta veteris et novi testamenti.
5. Descriptio sacramenti ab Augustino et de differentia signorum.[2]
6. Quare sacramenta sint instituta.[3]

XXXVIII

1. Diffinitio baptismi et argumentum contra eiusdem diffinitionem.[1]
2. De effectu verbi quo baptisma conferatur sicut Augustinus dicit super Iohannem.
3. De effectu baptismi qui multa operatur in baptizato.
4. Quae differentia fuerit inter effectum baptismi collati ab apostolis ante passionem et baptismi collati post passionem.
5. Unde baptismus sortiatur effectum, ubi inducuntur[2] rationes ad probandum quod baptismus nichil confert catechumeno ita contrito quod contritio eius sufficiat ad deletionem penae et culpae.
6. Quod tantum legitur in apostolo exterior satisfactio tolli per baptismum in baptizato.
7. Quod in parvulis neque interior neque exterior gemitus requiritur; contra quod argumentatur Paterinus.[3]
8. Argumentum[4] contra fundata super illud Gregorii: Quod hodie valet apud nos aqua baptismatis.
9. Quod baptismus non habet effectum sine intentione baptizantis; hic quaeritur quid iudicandum sit si aqua fundatur cum intentione baptizandi super dormientem vel morionem vel furiosum vel paralyticum vel paganum nolentem baptizari.
10. Utrum baptizat qui intendit immergere eo modo quo docet ecclesia et non conferre fructum baptismi.

XXXIX

1. De forma baptismi et de hoc verbo baptizo.
2. De forma decerptata in principio vel in medio vel in fine, et quod apostoli baptizabant in nomine Christi, et quod baptismus a quocumque conferatur tenet.
3. Utrum rebaptizandus sit baptizatus vel in nomine patris et filii vel Christi tantum, et utrum damnabitur parvulus si moriatur ipse vel baptizans eum statim post haec verba: baptizo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.[1]
4. De forms superflua.
5. De forma transposita quae fit in dictionum transpositione.
6. De forma interrupta vel corrupta.
7. De forma in aequipollentem translata vel in alienam linguam.
8. Quare non conficiatur in qualibet lingua sicut in qualibet lingua baptizatur, et quod iterandum est baptisma quando dubitatur fuisse collatum.
9. Utrum communicabimus cum illo quem[2] non constat nobis fuisse baptizatum.

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[2] *om.* in toto R.
[3] *om.* in toto R.
[1] diffinitiones R.
[2] inducuntur—monentur R.
[3] Paterinus *om.* P.
[4] Argumentum . . . baptismatis—Qualiter intelligendum sit quod dicit Gregorius quod fides parentum valet parvulis R.
[1] *om.* in toto R.
[2] cum illo quem—aliquem quo P; mortuo quem R.

10. De forma baptismi a diversis prolata, et utrum baptizatus sit qui immersus fuit, manco formam illam proferente, et alio trinam illam immersionem complente.[3]
11. Utrum baptismus conferatur adiecta conditione.
12. Utrum officialis episcopi non habens intentionem baptizandi baptizat invitum propter auctoritatem domini sui hoc ei committentis.[4]
13. Utrum unus baptizans in latina et alius in graeca baptizet in eadem forma, et utrum diversae voces sint unum[5] nomen.

XL

1. De institutione baptismi et de causa institutionis et de effectu eius primo.
2. Utrum simul habuerint cursum suum baptismus et circumcisio.
3. Utrum quis sine baptismo possit salvari.
4. De existente in heremo, de iobita, de socratico, de existentibus ultra caspios montes, et de parvulo rapto ad Sarracenos.[1]
5. Quod ab initio mundi quatuor modis patuit aditus regni caelorum.
6. De quadripartita distinctione secundum quatuor genera hominum.
7. Quaestio quare hoc sacramentum celebratur in aqua tantum.
8. Utrum possit fieri baptismus in liquore permixto ex aqua et vino, vel ex melle et aqua, vel aliis liquoribus, ubi continetur de muliere proiciente super filium suum salivam occurente lupo.
9. Utrum parvulo possit conferri baptismus sine immersione, et utrum semper ibi requiratur immersio, et utrum una sola possit sufficere an tres semper sint faciendae.
10. Utrum in prima immersione tollatur originale et quid conferat secunda et tercia.[2]
11. Utrum in aliquo casu liceat iterare sacramentum baptismi.
12. Quare seipsum non possit quis baptizari cum seipsum possit communicare.

XLI

1. De effectu baptismi et parvulis.[1]
2. Quid recipiant parvuli per effectum baptismi.[2]
3. Argumentum super responsionem patrini pro parvulo cui obviat Augustinus dicens parvulum habere fidem propter fidei sacramentum et alia quae hic proponuntur.[3]

(Lists in P and T end here; continuation from Bruges 247)

4. De innocentibus et obiectiones de eorum dubitationibus.[4]
5. De ficte accedente ad baptismum.
6. De potestate baptismi.
7. De differentia baptismatis Iohannis et apostolorum.
8. De differentia circumcisionis ad baptismum.

XLII

1. De matrimonio.
2. Quid sit matrimonium.
3. Quod matrimonium omni nationi concessum sit.

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[3] complente—complere R.
[4] *om.* in toto R.
[5] unum—idem R.
[1] ad Sarracenos—a Sarracenis R.
[2] *om.* in toto R.
[1] ubi dicitur quod omnes parvuli damnantur qui decedunt sine baptismo *add.* R.
[2] Quid . . . baptismi—Utrum parvuli per effectum baptismi recipiant fidem vel aliquam virtutem R.
[3] *om.* in toto R.
[4] de innocentibus . . . dubitationibus—Argumentum dubitabile de innocentibus sumptum ex ilo versu: Ex ore infantium etc. R.

4. Quare, ubi et quando, et qua forma verborum institutum sit matrimonium.
5. De causa finali matrimonii.
6. De bonis matrimonii scilicet spe, fide, et sacramento.
7. Utrum alter coniugum ante carnalem copulam possit transire ad religionem.
8. De muliere quae relicto viro non invenit nisi symoniacum ingressum claustri.
9. Utrum altero transeunte ad religionem possit reliquus remanere in saeculo vel promoveri ad sacros ordines.
10. De impedimentis matrimonii et primo de dispare cultu.
11. De quadripartito errore matrimonii.
12. Primo de errore personae.
13. De errore conditionis.
14. De errore qualitatis.
15. De conditionibus appositis in contractu matrimonii.
16. De impossibilitate coeundi.
17. De exsectis.
18. De infectis per abusionem.
19. De hermophroditis.
20. De enormitate criminum.
21. De eo qui fidem dedit de contrahendo cum quadam et postmodum cognovit matrem eiusdem antequam consummatum est matrimonium.
22. De spirituali proximitate.
23. Utrum ille qui baptizat filium proprium debeat postea cognoscere uxorem.
24. De sacerdote qui illam violavit cuius confessionem suscepit.
25. De legali cognatione impediente matrimonium.
26. De impedimento matrimonii quod dicitur publicae honestatis iustitia.
27. De impedimento consanguineitatis.
28. De arbore consanguineitatis.
29. De affinitate.
30. De libello repudii.
31. Utrum carnale commercium possit compleri sine peccato.
32. De temporibus coeundi.

XLIII

1. De sacramento eucharistiae.
2. Quid sit sacramentum.
3. Quando, et quare, et a quo fuerit institutum.
4. De illis quae exiguuntur ad hoc ut fiat confectio.
5. Utrum confectio in una possit fieri sine confectione in alia specie.
6. Qualis fiat ibi conversio.
7. Utrum in fractione substantia vel accidens frangatur.
8. Obiectiones super hoc quod dicitur: Hoc est corpus meum.
9. Quomodo sub specie panis et vini sit corpus et sanguis Christi.
10. De confectione domini in coena.
11. Ubi, quando, et quo habitu, et a quibus habeat confici corpus Christi.
12. Quid consulendum sit sacerdoti qui credit imponere vinum calici et ponit aquam.
13. A quibus et qua reverentia debeat tractari corpus Christi.
14. A quibus et quotiens in anno debeat sumi eucharistia.
15. A quibus eucharistia habeat concedi vel non.
16. Utrum aliquis in articulo mortis possit emere eucharistiam vel aliud sacramentum.
17. Quod histrionibus et leccatoribus non sit eucharistia danda.
18. Quae debeat penitentia iniungi non honeste custodientibus eucharistiam.

19. Utrum aliquis licite bis in die possit celebrare.
20. Quid sit faciendum de forma panis vel vini evomita.
21. Super hoc quod dicitur: Non bibam de hoc genimine vitis donec etc.
22. Utrum anima Christi sumatur cum corpus Christi sumitur.
23. Utrum panis et vinum convertantur in eandem eucharistiam.
24. De quibusdam dubiis formae confectionis.
25. Utrum liceat post fractionem hostiae unam partem ad opus infirmi retinere.
26. Utrum in aliquo casu debeat dari pro eucharistia simplex panis.
29. De dubiis quae inveniuntur in canone missae.
30. De ordine eorum quae fiunt in missa.

XLIV

1. De confirmatione.
2. A quibus et quando instituta fuerit confirmatio.
3. Quae personae habeant confirmare et quae confirmari.
4. De hoc quod confertur secundus ordo praetermisso primo.

XLV

1. De extrema inunctione.

XLVI

1. De dedicatione.
2. Quid sit dedicatio.
3. Quare episcopus alloquitur insensatos lapides.
4. Utrum aliquis impetret facilius quod rogat in ecclesia consecrata quam alia.
5. Utrum maius altare sine ecclesia vel e converso possit de iure dedicari.

Expliciunt capitula.

Regio Dissimilitudinis de Platon à Saint Bernard de Clairvaux

ETIENNE GILSON

EN 1921, R. Arnou signalait à l'attention des historiens le texte suivant emprunté aux *Confessions* de saint Augustin, VII, 10, 16: *Et reverberasti infirmitatem aspectus mei radians in me vehementer, et contremui amore et horrore: et inveni longe me esse a te in regione dissimilitudinis* . . . Sur quoi il ajoutait en note: "L'expression se trouvait dans Platon (*Polit.* 273*d*): *εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἄπειρον ὄντα τόπον*, et fut reprise par Proclus (*Alcib.*, 11,90) *ἐπὶ τὸν σκεδασμὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος πόντον.*"[1] Bien que son travail fût consacré à Plotin, R. Arnou ne citait ici aucun texte analogue de Plotin lui-même.

Quelques années plus tard, et à deux reprises, en 1926 et 1928, A. E. Taylor signalait au contraire la parenté qui unit au texte de Platon, *Polit.* 273*d*, le texte suivant de Plotin, *Enn.* I, 8, 13: *ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀνομοιότητος τόπῳ.* La dérivation semble en effet ne laisser place à aucun doute. Par contre, A. E. Taylor ne rappelait pas alors le rapprochement, déjà fait par R. Arnou, entre le texte du *Politique* et celui des *Confessions* de saint Augustin.[2]

Deux ans après A. E. Taylor, en 1928, F. H. Brabant faisait à ce sujet deux remarques. D'abord, il attribuait comme but principal au système de Plotin celui d'aider l'âme à s'évader "de la région de la différence et de la dissemblance (*dissimilitudo*) où elle erre à présent, pour revenir à son vrai pays, l'union avec Dieu". Aucun texte de Plotin n'était cité à l'appui de cette thèse. Par contre, un peu plus loin, F. H. Brabant citait le texte des *Confessions*, VII, 10, 16, et le rapprochait de celui du *Politique* 273*d*.[3] Ainsi, Arnou avait cité Augustin et Platon, mais non Plotin; A. E. Taylor avait cité Platon et Plotin, mais non Augustin; F. H. Brabant cite Augustin et Platon, mais, bien qu'il en parle, ne cite pas Plotin.

En 1933, dans un livre consacré à Plotin et à saint Augustin, J. Guitton écrivait, parlant de ce dernier: "Vient l'*adolescentia.* Il se perd alors dans la région de la dissemblance: c'est ainsi que Plotin définissait la matière". La note qui commente ces lignes renvoie d'abord au *Politique* 273*d*, ne contient pas de référence à Plotin, et, pour ce qui est de saint Augustin, cite quatre textes des *Confessions*, dont aucun n'est le bon, c'est-à-dire VII, 10,16, le seul où se rencontre la formule *in regione dissimilitudinis.*[4] Platon, Plotin et Augustin se sont cette fois rejoints, mais Plotin et Augustin ont tous deux perdu leurs références, si bien qu'on ne sait plus au juste où ils se sont rencontrés.

En 1934, écrivant un travail sur saint Bernard de Clairvaux, je donnais moi-même le texte des Confessions, VII, 10, 16, comme la source de la même formule chez saint Bernard, *Sermones de Diversis*, XLII, 2: *regio dissimilitudinis.*[5] Bernard venait dès lors rejoindre Augustin, mais tous deux perdaient contact avec Plotin et Platon, dont pourtant ils dépendent.

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[1] René Arnou, *Le désir de Dieu dans la philosophie de Plotin. Contribution à l'histoire des idées religieuses aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris, 1921), p. 218, note 2.

[2] A. E. Taylor, *Plato, the Man and his Work* (London, 1926), p. 396, note 1. Du même auteur: *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford, 1928), p. 265, note 1.

[3] F. H. Brabant, *Augustine and Plotinus,* dans le recueil d'essais édité par A. E. J. Rawlinson, *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (London, 1928), p. 310 et p. 319.

[4] J. Guitton, *Le temps et l'éternité chez saint Augustin* (Paris, 1933), p. 262.

[5] E. Gilson, *La théologie mystique de saint Bernard* (Paris, 1934), p. 63, note 1.

La chaîne, ainsi allongée d'un chaînon et raccourcie de deux, devait être bientôt restituée entière, et pour la première fois avec toutes ses références par A. E. Taylor. Dans une courte note, publiée en 1934, l'illustre historien de Platon signalait que la formule, empruntée par Bernard à Augustin, l'avait été d'abord par Augustin à Plotin, qui l'avait lui-même empruntée à Platon.[6] Acquisition historique définitive, semblait-il, tant la filiation semblait évidente du *Politique* 273*a* aux *Ennéades* I, 8, 13, des *Ennéades* aux *Confessions* VII, 10, 16 et des *Confessions* aux *Sermones de Diversis* XLII, 2. Tout le monde concédant que Plotin avait lu Platon, qu'Augustin avait au moins lu du Plotin et que Bernard avait lu de l'Augustin, rien ne semblait pouvoir menacer une conclusion si laborieusement établie, lorsque, dans un travail publié en 1945, Fr. Chatillon la remit partiellement en question. Accordant à A. E. Taylor qu'Augustin avait emprunté à Plotin la formule *regio dissimilitudinis*,[7] il contestait au contraire que Bernard l'eût lui-même empruntée d'Augustin. Chez Bernard, comme chez Guillaume de Saint-Thierry qui l'a reprise à son tour, elle semblerait plutôt venir, assurait-on, de Plotin lui-même, soit directement, soit par on ne sait quels intermédiaires encore à découvrir.[8]

Si l'on écarte provisoirement le problème nouveau que soulève l'addition de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry à notre ancienne liste, car rien ne permet d'affirmer *a priori* que la source de cette expression soit la même chez Bernard et chez Guillaume, la question reste de savoir s'il existe une raison quelconque de contester, avec Fr. Chatillon, que le texte de saint Augustin, et non pas celui de Plotin, soit la source de la formule reprise par saint Bernard.

I. ORIGINE PLATONICIENNE DE LA FORMULE

Si l'origine de la formule remonte à Platon, elle se trouve dans le *Politique* 273*d*. Le texte en question fait partie d'un mythe bien connu, où Platon suppose que l'univers parcourt indéfiniment deux cycles successifs et de sens inverse. Dans le premier, "c'est Dieu lui-même qui guide sa marche et préside à sa révolution; à d'autres moments, il le laisse aller, quand les périodes de temps qui lui sont assignées ont achevé leur cours, et l'univers recommence alors de lui-même, en sens inverse, sa route circulaire, en vertu de la vie qui l'anime et de l'intelligence dont le gratifia, dès l'origine, celui qui l'a composé".[1] C'est au cours d'un cycle du deuxième genre, c'est-à-dire alors que, le pilote de l'univers ayant laché le gouvernail, le monde laissé à lui-même tourne en sens inverse de celui du premier cycle, que se place l'incident dont parle notre texte:

> Tant donc que le monde avait joui de l'assistance de son pilote pour nourrir les êtres qui vivent dans son sein, sauf de rares défaillances il n'engendrait que de grands biens; une fois détaché de lui, au contraire, dans chaque période qui suit immédiatement cet abandon, il administre encore toutes choses pour le mieux, mais, plus le temps s'avance et l'oubli l'envahit, plus aussi reprennent puissance les restes de sa turbulence primitive, et celle-ci, finalement, revenant à sa pleine floraison, rares sont les biens, nombreux sont au contraire les maux qu'il s'incorpore, au risque d'aboutir à se détruire lui-même avec ce qu'il renferme. Aussi le dieu qui l'organisa, voyant le danger de sa situation, se prend dès lors à craindre qu'il n'aille

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[6] A. E. Taylor, 'Regio dissimilitudinis', *Arch. d'hist. doctr. et litt. du moyen âge*, IX (1934), 305-306.

[7] Fr. Chatillon, 'Regio dissimilitudinis', *Mélanges Podechard* (Lyon, 1945), pp. 89-96.

[8] Fr. Chatillon, *art. cit.*, p. 100. 'Je ne sais par quels intermédiares" pour Bernard, et, 101, "par quelque intermédiaire encore à découvrir" pour Guillaume.

[1] *Le Politique*, 269*c*, trad.Aug.Diès (Paris, 1935), p. 21.

> se disloquer sous la tempête qui le bouleverse et s'abîmer dans l'océan sans fond de la dissemblance; il se rassied donc à son gouvernail, et redressant les parties que ce cycle parcouru sans guide vient d'endommager ou de disloquer, il l'ordonne et le restaure de façon à le rendre immortel et imperissable.[2]

Tel qu'il vient d'être traduit, ce texte suppose qu'on lise, à 273*d*, *εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἄπειρον ὄντα πόντον*. Si telle est la bonne leçon, Platon a bien parlé d'un "océan de dissemblance", mais non pas d'une "région de la dissemblance". La formule de Bernard, d'Augustin et de Plotin ne saurait donc se réclamer de son autorité. Mais est-ce *πόντον* ou *τόπον* qu'il faut lire?

A vrai dire, on n'en saura probablement jamais rien et les conjectures des philologues nous laissent ici sans secours. Pour commencer par le texte même dont nous venons de citer la traduction, l'*apparatus criticus* y indique, page 28 ligne 7: "*πόντον* Simplicius *in Phys.* 1122, 11 Diels, Proclus *in Tim.* I, 179. 26 et al. Diehl: *τόπον* Platonis codd. Eus." Autant qu'on en peut juger, cette note signifie que la leçon *πόντον* a pour elle les témoignages de Simplicius et de Proclus, alors que la leçon *τόπον* a pour elle l'autorité d'Eusèbe et l'accord des manuscrits où le *Politique* nous a été conservé. Il ne faut pas s'exagérer l'importance de manuscrits dont les dates s'échelonnent du IX^e^ au XVI^e^ siècles:[3] le plus ancien est à peu prés aussi loin de Platon dans le temps que nous le sommes du texte que lui-même nous en apporte. Pourtant, s'il existe, comme on nous l'assure, leur accord ne laisse pas d'être important et il faudrait de fortes raisons pour nous convaincre qu'on doit le négliger. Contre les manuscrits, que nous offre-t-on? Les témoignages de Simplicius et de Proclus, qui datent du VI^e^ et du V^e^ siècle, de notre ère. Mais on allégue, en faveur de *τόπον*, celui d'Eusèbe, qui nous fait remonter au moins au IV^e^ siècle, sans parler de celui de Plotin qui, étant partie au procès, ne saurait être cité comme témoin. Il faut bien reconnaître que tout ceci ne prouve pas grand chose. La tradition manuscrite, dont les origines nous échappent, se prononce en faveur de *τόπον*; certaines citations ou réminiscences favorisent la même leçon, au lieu que d'autres recommandent *πόντον*.

Voici les citations anciennes du texte auxquelles ont jusqu'à présent renvoyé les éditeurs de Platon: Eusèbe, *Praeparatio evangelica*, *liv.* XI, ch. 34: *ἵνα μὴ . . . εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἄπειρον ὄντα τόπον δύῃ . . . .*[4] Gifford traduit: *and sink down into the infinite gulf of disorder . . .*[5] En somme, la "région" du texte devient un "gouffre" dans la traduction.[6] Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum*: *ὁ γὰρ ἀληθινὸς πόντος ἀνάλογον ἐστι τῷ ἀληθινῷ ψεύδει καὶ τῇ ἀληθῶς ὕλῃ, ἣν ἀνομοιότητος πόντον ἐν τῷ Πολιτικῷ* [273*d*] *προσείρηκε.*[7] Proclus identifie donc cet "océan" à la matière. Diehl signale en note la leçon: *τόπον* Plat. Cf., *ὁ ἀληθινὸς πόντος ὁ τῆς ἀνομοιότητος . . . .*[8] *τὸ δὲ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὕλην, εἴτε ἄβυσσον αὐτὴν εἴτε ἀνομοιότητος πόντον εἴθ' ὁπωσοῦν ἐθέλοις προσονομάζειν.*[9] Simplicius *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros*, VIII, 1: *εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος πόντον.*[10] Diels note que les manuscrits du *Politique* donnent *τόπον*, mais que Alb. Jahn (*Zeitschrift f. Alterthumskunde*, 1842, pp. 548 ff.) a rétabli *πόντον*, bien que les éditeurs de Platon fassent la sourde oreille. Renvoie en outre à Michel d'Ephèse, *In Ethic. Arist.*,[11] qui donne en effet la leçon *πόντον*, mais avec un appareil critique bien fait pour laisser le lecteur indécis. Je regrette de n'avoir pu trouver le travail de Jahn indiqué par Diels.

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[2] *Le Politique*, 273c-e; *trad. citée*, pp. 27-28.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, Sigles; fin de la Notice.

[4] Ed. E. H. Gifford (Oxford, 1903), II, p. 135.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, III, p. 609.

[6] Cf. Fr. Chatillon, *art. cit.*, p. 87, note 3 sur le texte et la traduction de Viguier (PG 31, 936c).

[7] Ed. E. Diehl (Leipzig, 1903), I, p. 179.

[8] I. p. 174, 1. 10.

[9] I, p. 175, 11. 18-20.

[10] Ed. H. Diels (Berlin, 1895), p. 1122, ll. 10-11.

Il reste finalement que nous avons à choisir entre l'ensemble des manuscrits d'une part, et la leçon attestée par Proclus d'autre part. L'autorité de Proclus perd beaucoup de sa force, si l'on observe que, comme il ressort des textes cités plus hauts, il ne cite pas le *Politique*, mais y fait simplement allusion. Le texte d'Eusèbe est une citation, celui de Proclus n'en est pas une (*ἄπειρον ὄντα* ne s'y trouve pas). De plus, Proclus renvoie au texte du *Politique* en commentant le passage du *Timée* (25*a*) où Platon nomme l'Atlantique *τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκεῖνον πόντον* (la vraie mer ouverte, qui est au delà des îles). C'est cette mer que Proclus assimile allégoriquement à la matière, et il n'est aucunement impossible que ce soit le *πόντον* de *Timée* 25*a* qui, dans la mémoire de Proclus, se soit substitué au *τόπον* de Platon. Il n'est donc même pas certain que la variante de Proclus atteste l'existence d'une tradition antérieure. Peut-être date-t-elle de lui et en est-il la source. Tout se passe comme si certaines raisons avaient prévalu, dans l'esprit de plusieurs, pour récuser la tradition manuscrite et ce sont donc ces raisons qu'il convient d'examiner.

Stallbaum représente ici une attitude particulièrement intéressante, car son texte maintient la leçon traditionnelle *τόπον*, à laquelle, visiblement, il n'ose toucher, mais il le désavoue en note:

> Je n'aime pas ce *τόπον*, qui gâte l'élégance de la métaphore. Nous pensons qu'il faut lui substituer *πόντον*. L' *ἀνομοιότης* est cet état du monde où l'uniformité et la constance font complètement défaut, tellement qu'il soit dissemblable à soi-même et partout en désaccord avec soi. Car *ὅμοιον* et *ἀνόμοιον* ne désignent pas seulement ce qui est semblable ou dissemblable à l'égard d'autrui, mais aussi ce qui est semblable ou dissemblable à l'égard de soi-même et que l'on tient par suite comme intérieurement uni ou divisé.[12]

Si nous écartons provisoirement ces dernières remarques, d'ailleurs excellentes, sur la nature de l'*ἀνομοιότης*, il reste une seule raison invoquée par Stallbaum en faveur de *πόντον*, et c'est que *τόπον* ne lui plait pas, parce qu'il ruine l'élégance de la métaphore.[13] A quoi l'on peut répondre que, littérairement parlant, l'"océan" se trouve en effet naturellement appelé par cette histoire de vaisseau battu par la tempête, déserté par son pilote et sur le point de sombrer. La question reste pourtant de savoir si, dans un texte de Platon, le point de vue littéraire doit l'emporter sur le point de vue philosophique. Pour remplacer *τόπον* par *πόντον*, ce n'est pas assez que le second soit plus élégant, il lui faut être en outre, sinon meilleur, du moins aussi bon quant au sens, et c'est un point dont Stallbaum ne semble pas s'être soucié.

L. Campbell, qui vient après lui, conserve la leçon *τόπον* dans le texte et la défend même, en note, contre la note de son prédécesseur:

> On a élevé des objections contre *τόπον*, déclare-t-il, Stallbaum voudrait lire *πόντον*, et M. Wagner, dans le *Rheinische Museum*, a suggéré *τύπον*, qui est

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[11] Ed. G. Heylbut (Berlin, 1892), p. 480, l. 17.

[12] God. Stallbaum, *Platonis Politicus* (Leipzig. 1851), p. 202. La note continue en renvoyant sur ce point aux textes suivants: *Timée* 42*c*. 67*b*; *Phédon*, 109*a*; *Banquet*, 173*d* et 188*b*, où *anomoion* signifie "dissemblable à soi".

[13] Stallbaum, qui dit établir son édition sur dix-neuf manuscrits (*éd. cit.*, pp. 133-134), n'en cite aucun à l'appui de la correction qu'il propose.

> trop abstrait pour le contexte . . . L'objection de Stallbaum (*Displicet istud* τόπον, *quo metaphorae elegantia pessumdatur*) oublie la différence qu'il y a entre métaphore et allégorie. Le vague de τόπος dans le language de Platon (où il signifie "région") convient exactement à ce passage.[14]

Stallbaum n'a donc pas convaincu Campbell, qui propose pourtant comme traduction de ce passage: *Lest being tost with tempest it might be shaken in pieces and founder in the abyss of dissimilitude.*[15] *Abyss* est une merveille de compromis et c'est là se tirer habilement d'affaire. Si ἄπειρον τόπον peut se rendre par "abîme" et ἄπειρον πόντον par "océan sans fond", comme on ne voit guère de différence entre un océan sans fond et un abîme, la traduction restera la même quel que soit le texte adopté.

Si l'on s'accordait sur cette solution, pourquoi toucherait-on au texte? On conçoit que L. Campbell se soit abstenu de le faire, mais A. E. Taylor, dans les notes dont nous avons déjà parlé, demande au contraire qu'on le fasse, et voici ses raisons:

> Quant à la *mer*, voir *Politique* 273*e* 1, où la bonne leçon n'est pas τόπον que donnent les éditeurs modernes, mais πόντον. Ceci n'est pas une conjecture de Stallbaum, mais le texte le mieux garanti, car c'est la seule leçon reconnue par Proclus, qui se réfère souvent à ce passage. La variante τόπον est dénuée de sens, mais elle peut être ancienne, car elle est reproduite par Plotin, *Enn.* I, 8, 13, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀνομοιότητος τόπῳ, un passage d'où la métaphore du navire est absente et où πόντῳ n'aurait aucun sens.[16]

Impossible d'être plus net, mais c'est l'être un peu trop. Dire que πόντον n'est pas une conjecture de Stallbaum se heurte à l'évidence du fait. C'est tellement une conjecture que, nous l'avons vu, Stallbaum n'a même pas osé l'introduire dans son texte. Le reste de l'argument d'A. E. Taylor doit donc être accueilli avec réserve. Si la leçon πόντον y est donnée pour *the best authenticated text,* cela ne signfie nullement qu'elle soit la mieux garantie par les manuscrits, mais, simplement, qu'elle jouit de la garantie suprême que lui confèrent les citations de Proclus. Pour se laisser convaincre par cet argument, il ne suffirait pas de préférer Proclus à Plotin, qui, en effet, peut être ici récusé comme témoin, il faut encore éliminer le témoignage d'Eusèbe. En tout cas, la formule d'A. E. Taylor ne signifie pas, dans sa pensée, ce qu'elle semble dire; en fait, πόντον reste chez Stallbaum une pure conjecture, qui ne repose sur l'autorité d'aucun manuscrit. C'est sans doute pourquoi, dans un ouvrage ultérieur, A. E. Taylor a formulé autrement sa position. Après avoir cité une fois de plus la phrase litigieuse, avec la leçon πόντον, il ajoutait: "(*Mss.* τόπον).). Stallbaum affirme néanmoins à bon droit que πόντον doit être le vrai texte, bien qu'il n'ait pas eu la hardiesse de l'imprimer. Il ne semble pas avoir su que Proclus avait πόντον dans son texte. La corruption doit être très ancienne, car Plotin cite la phrase avec τόπον (à moins, en fait, que les manuscrits de Plotin ne soient ici eux-mêmes corrompus, ce qui est possible).[17] Evidemment, πόντον n'est plus objet de science, mais de foi, car on accorde que les manuscrits donnent τόπον, que πόντον n'est finalement qu'une conjecture de Stallbaum et, ce qui devient franchement troublant, on cherche à desqualifier le τόπον de Plotin en suggérant que son texte est, lui aussi, corrompu. Or, on vient de le voir, A. E. Taylor lui-même déclarait deux ans plus tôt que, dans le texte de Plotin, πόντον eût été absurde. S'il y eût été absurde, comment peut-on supposer que Plotin l'ait écrit? Et qu'est-ce que cet original dénué de sens, qu'une heureuse corruption rendrait un jour intelligible? Nous sommes rendus au point où l'hypothèse invente sur place des étais nouveaux pour remplacer ceux qu'on lui retire. Elle entre elle-même dans la région de la dissemblance, où elle se disloque par le conflit de ses propres justifications. Rien n'impose πόντον, à moins, bien entendu, que τόπον se révèle, à l'analyse, vraiment dépourvu de sens.

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[14] Lewis Campbell, *The Sophistes and Politicus of Plato* (Oxford, 1867), p. 67, note 1. Campbell renvoie, dans la même note, aux passages suivants: *Théétète,* 176*a*; *Phèdre,* 247*c*, 274*d*; *Sophiste,* 254*a*; *République* VI, 508*c*; VII, 516*b*, 532*d*; X, 614*c*.

[15] L. Campbell, *éd. cit.*, p. 66, note 9.

[16] A. E. Taylor, *Plato, the Man and his Work*, p. 396, note 1.

[17] A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford, 1928), p. 265, note 1.

Dès qu'on pose ainsi le problème, on s'aperçoit que l'important n'est pas de savoir s'il faut lire τόπον ou πόντον. L'important, c'est l' ἄπειρον et l'ἀνομοιότης. Même si l'on préfère la "mer" à la "région", ce qui la caractérise, dans le texte de Platon, ce n'est pas le manque de fond, mais le manque de limites,[18] c'est-a-dire, exactement, l'absence de πέρας. Si l'on hésite sur le texte, il ne faut pas commencer par y introduire un "océan" qui appellera ensuite une absence, sans doute relative, de fond, il faut au contraire partir de l'ἄπειρον et se demander ce qui, chez Platon, peut être dépourvu de limites. Ce pourrait assurément être un océan, mais ce peut être aussi une région ou un lieu. La question reste dès lors ouverte et c'est en tout cas de ce biais qu'il convient de l'aborder. En proposant une suite de références à des passages où Platon use du terme τόπος, Campbell nous adresse donc une invitation fort sage, que nous devons accepter.

Dans le *Théétète* 176*a*, Socrate dit qu'il est impossible que le mal disparaisse, "car il y aura toujours, nécessairement, un contraire du bien. Il est tout aussi impossible qu'il ait son siège parmi les dieux: c'est donc la nature mortelle et le lieu d'ici-bas que parcourt fatalement sa ronde".[19] Ici, τόνδε τὸν τόπον désigne donc ce bas monde où nous sommes, par opposition à celui des dieux.

Dans le mythe du *Phèdre*, au contraire, il s'agit d'abord du lieu supracéleste, τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον (267*c*), puis du "pays d'en haut" (τοῦ ἄνω τόπου) que les Grecs nomment Thèbes d'Egypte (274*d*).

Dans le *Sophiste* 253*e* et 254*a*, il s'agit d'abord de savoir où, en quel lieu, chercher le philosophe, puis de savoir où, en quel lieu, chercher le sophiste. Ce dernier se trouve facilement "dans l'obscurité du non être, et c'est à l'obscurité du lieu qu'il doit d'être difficile à saisir pleinement".[20]

Dans la *République*, le texte de 508c parle du "lieu intelligible" qu'illumine le Bien; 516*b*, au mythe de la caverne, parle du "lieu visible", au sens de "monde visible"; 532*d* reprend la même expression, avec le même sens; 614*c*, dans le mythe d'Er, parle d'un lieu divin, τόπον τινὰ δαιμόνιον, où des juges célestes séparent les bons des méchants.

Si l'on compare ces passages, on constate que sauf dans *Phèdre* 274*d* et, si l'on veut, dans *République* 614*c*, où il est pris au sens propre, τόπος y désigne toujours une "région" allégorique ou mythique, soit céleste (*Phèdre* 247*c*, *République* 508*c*), soit terrestre et inférieure (*Théétète* 176*a*, *Sophiste* 254*a*, *République* 516*b* et 532*d*). C'en est assez pour nous assurer, non seulement, comme le dit justement Campbell, que le "vague" du terme conviendrait exactement au texte du *Sophiste* 273*d*, mais que son apparition y rappellerait sa présence dans plusieurs autres: une "région" allégorique, et qui soit mauvaise, ne ferait pas exception dans les écrits de Platon.

L'ἀνομοιότης pose des problèmes plus complexes mais aussi plus instructifs.

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[18] Sur ce point, voir la note, aussi spirituelle que juste, de Fr. Chatillon, 'Regio dissimilitudinis', p. 88, note 1; et dans la note précédente, ce qui concerne la traduction d'Eusèbe par Viguier. *Vorago* chez Viguier, *abyss* chez Campbell, "océan sans fond" chez A. Diès, autant de traductions dont l'élégance sacrifie la précision philosophique.

[19] *Théétète*, 176*a*; trad. A. Diès (Paris, 1924), p. 208.

[20] *Le Sophiste*, 254*a*; trad. A. Diès, 1925, p. 253*c*.

Si Stallbaum a engagé l'histoire sur une piste incertaine, ce n'est pourtant pas faute d'avoir exactement compris le sens de ce mot. La dissemblance dont il s'agit ici, c'est bien, comme Stallbaum l'explique, l'inconsistance interne du monde, la dissemblance de soi-même à soi. La remarque est très importante, car elle nous renvoie directement à la notion platonicienne du réel, qui implique avant tout la consistance et l'homogénéité internes, l'accord avec soi-même,

Il n'est pas nécessaire d'établir ici ce dernier point, que tous les interprètes de Platon accordent. Qu'on le désigne du nom de "forme" ou de celui d'"idée", ce que Platon nomme l'"être vrai" ou vraiment digne de ce nom, c'est celui qui est "soi-même selon soi-même". Le "véritablement être", selon Platon, est donc pur de tout élément d'altérité. Semblable à soi-même, il l'est, si l'on peut dire, d'un bout à l'autre et en tout, ce qu'il est.

Pour saisir le sens exact de la dissemblance en question, partons donc de la ressemblance dont elle est le contraire. "Ne crois-tu pas, demande Socrate dans le *Parménide*, qu'il y une forme en soi de la ressemblance (*αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτὸ εἶδος τι ὁμοιότητος*), et, à cette forme, une autre qui s'oppose: l'essence du dissemblable (*ἄλλο τι ἐναντίον, ὃ ἔστιν ἀνόμοιον*)?[21] La combinaison de ces deux formes ou idées opposées donne naissance à tout ce que nous nommons le multiple. Toutes choses, telles du moins que celles dont nous avons l'expérience sensible, sont donc à la fois semblables et dissemblables "à elles-mêmes" du fait de cette double participation .(*ὅμοιά τε καὶ ἀνόμοια αὐτὰ αὑτοῖς*, 129*a*). Ce qui est impossible, c'est que la Ressemblance soit Dissemblance, mais qu'il y ait de l'une et de l'autre dans le concret, ce n'est pas une impossibilité, c'est la règle. Ajoutons pourtant que, si la ressemblance à soi-même constitue l'être, la dissemblance à soi-même introduit dans le concret un élément de non-être.[22] C'est par sa dissemblance interne que l'être concret se distingue de l'Idée qui, elle, et quelques difficultés que la doctrine rencontre dans la pensée de Platon lui-même,[23] est vraiment identique à soi.

S'il en est ainsi, la dissemblance interne doit être normalement tenue pour un principe négatif, qui se tient du côté du désordre, de la discorde ou dissension intérieure, et présage la ruine de l'être, ou l'en menace. Dans un mythe de la *République* VIII qu'il convient de citer ici parce que, comme celui du *Sophiste*, il raconte l'histoire d'une décadence, Platon invoque précisément l'*ἀνομοιότης* (547*a*), comme cause du manque d'harmonie qui se trouve toujours à l'origine de la discorde, de la guerre et de la haine. Qu'il s'agisse bien ici d'une dissemblance interne, le fer se mêlant à l'argent et l'airain à l'or dans une même race au lieu de constituer, comme il se doit, des races distinctes, c'est l'évidence même. La dissemblance interne est donc bien, pour l'être en qui elle se rencontre, principe de discorde intérieure et menace de perdition. La doctrine platonicienne de l'âme, qui suffirait d'ailleurs seule à établir ce point, peut au moins servir de contre-épreuve décisive. Si, à la différence de l'homme, l'âme de l'homme est immortelle, c'est précisément qu'elle est simple, c'est-à-dire qu'elle ne comporte à l'égard d'elle-même aucune trace de diversité ni d'*ἀνομοιότητός*.[24] C'est comme pure de toute dissemblance que l'âme est éternelle, la moindre trace d'hétérogénéité interne suffisant à compromettre la stabilité de l'être qui s'en trouve affecté. Lorsque Platon écrit dans le *Théétète* 185*b*, "tu veux dire l'être et le non-être, la ressemblance et la dissemblance

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[21] *Parménide*, 129*a*; trad. A. Diès (Paris, 1923), p. 58.

[22] *Théétète*, 185*b*.

[23] Cf. *Parménide*, 159*a*.

[24] *République*, X, 611*b*. Quelques lignes plus loin, l'âme défigurée par la dissemblance est comparée au marin Glaucos, méconnaissable sous les cailloux, les coquillages et les algues qui le défigurent. Encore la mer . . .

(ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἀνομοιότητα), le même et l'autre", il énumère une série de couples dont la correspondance, terme à terme, va pour lui de soi. Il est donc certain que, dans la langue de Platon, le mot "dissemblance" s'allie naturellement à des images de dissolution et de ruine. Un navire philosophique chassé par la tempête vers la région de la dissemblance, c'est nécessairement un navire en perdition.

Ajoutons que ce τόπος est, en même temps, ἄπειρος. Cette épithète n'est pas, elle non plus, dépourvue de signification philosophique. Pour en établir le sens, adressons nous au *Philèbe* 23cd., où Platon en fait grand usage. Socrate y pose en effet, comme point de départ de sa discussion, que tout ce qui existe dans l'univers se divise en trois: l'infini, ou le "sans limite" (ἄπειρον), la limite (πέρας), et leur mélange.[25] Nous restons donc en pays connu, la limite allant naturellement se ranger auprès du même et de l'être, et l'infini, ou "sans limite", s'associant aussi naturellement à l'autre et au non-être. Le mot grec se charge ici d'un sens précis qui n'est plus le nôtre, car l'infini français connote un excès, au lieu que l'ἄπειρον, "l'illimité" grec, connote nettement un défaut. L'ἄπειρον, c'est ce qui manque de πέρας et, du même coup, suffre du mal d'ὕβρις, qui est la démesure. Or, comme Socrate le dit en propres termes au cours du même dialogue,[26] la démesure dans les plaisirs appelle la correction de la loi et de l'ordre, qui leur imposent la limite par une intervention, non pas destructrice mais salvatrice. C'est la limite qui sauve, et s'il y a un lieu de l'infini ou de l'"illimité", c'est un lieu de destruction aussi certain que celui de la dissemblance. Disons plutôt que c'est le même. Seuls l'Intellect divin et l'Ame divine qui veillent sur l'univers l'empêchent de s'abîmer dans l'"illimité" en imposant à ce dernier ce qu'il faut de limite,[27] exactement comme le navire du *Politique* s'abîmerait dans l'"illimité" de la dissemblance, si le Pilote divin ne reprenait sa place au gouvernail.

Il s'en faut donc de beaucoup que la correction proposée par Stallbaum s'impose. Aucun manuscrit connu ne l'appuie. Quant à la suite des idées qu'elle suggérerait, que vaut-elle? "Comme l'altérité, nous dit-on, la dissemblance est un principe de changement interne, d'émiettement continu, donc d'infinitude (ἄπειρον). Cf. *Parménide* 164*b*/*d*. Les images du pilote, du gouvernail (272*e*-273*e*), de la tempête (273*a*/*e*), appellent naturellement celle de l'océan; la notion d'infini rapproche océan et dissemblance".[28] Il suit de là que, si Platon a écrit πόντον, le texte s'explique sans incohérence, mais il ne suit aucunement de là que Platon l'ait écrit. Or il est bien vrai que les images du pilote, du gouvernail et de la tempête appellent celle de l'océan, si l'ambition principale de Platon fut, comme celle de Théophile Gautier, d'écrire "des métaphores qui se suivent", mais comme l'a fait observer Campbell dans une remarque dont la discrétion ne diminue pas la portée, Platon propose ici une agéllorie dont la conclusion doit être, non pas un effet littéraire, mais une proposition philosophique. C'est pourquoi le navire du monde peut aussi bien risquer de sa perdre dans les "parages" du manque de limite et de ressemblance, que dans l'"océan" qu'on propose de leur substituer. Le texte peut donc être maintenu tel que l'accord des manuscrits nous le donne, et le faux sens évident où l'on tombe en remplaçant par un océan "sans fond" la région "privée de πέρας" à laquelle Platon pense, montre assez à quel point, même d'un point de vue purement littéraire, il est imprudent d'y toucher.

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[25] *Philèbe*, 23*c*-*d*. Nous laissons de côté la "cause" du mélange, quatrième principe qui n'intéresse pas notre problème.

[26] *Philèbe*, 26*b*.

[27] *Philèbe*, 30*d*.

[28] A. Diès, *Le Politique*, *éd. cit.*, p. 28 note 1. Je me permets de signaler que *onta*, redondance purement verbale s'il tombe sur un *ponton* (= un océan qui est sans bornes), n'en est pas une s'il tombe sur *topon*: une région qui est sans limite. Platon n'est pas incapable de redondance et c'est aux hellénistes de dire ce qu'ils en pensent. Si l'on accepte l'impression personnelle d'un lecteur de la commune espèce, *onta* semble moins naturel dans le premier cas que dans le second.

On peut donc admettre que la formule ἀνομοιότητος . . . τόπον remonte authentiquement à Platon, et que la forme abrégée sous laquelle Plotin la reprendra à son compte représentera chez lui un souvenir du *Politique*. Mais nous apprenons par là bien davantage. Même sans sortir des textes auxquels nous avons dû recourir pour en éclairer le sens, il apparaît que Platon a parlé d'une ὁμοιότης en soi et d'une ἀνομοιότης en soi (*Théétète*, 185*b*), ce qui autorisera plus tard Augustin à parler d'un *Similitudo* en soi et, peut-être, d'un *Dissimilitudo* absolue. Nous savons en outre que la ressemblance se tient du côté de l'être, du bien et du salut, comme la dissemblance se tient du côté du non-être, du mal et de la perdition. Il y aurait anachronisme grave à lire dans ces quelques lignes la théologie chrétienne évoluée qu'y lira plus tard saint Augustin et qui durera jusqu'au moyen âge, mais comment n'y pas voir l'esquisse de la technique philosophique dont cette théologie fera l'usage que l'on sait? Exploitation abusive d'une philosophie aux fins de la religion, dira-t-on sans doute. Peut-être, mais pour justifier ce jugement de valeur, il faudrait résolument franchir les limites de l'histoire. Il faudrait surtout oublier ce qu'il y a déjà de religion véritable dans la pensée philosophique de Platon.

Car il y en a, et sur le point même qui nous intéresse. La doctrine platonicienne de l'ὁμοιότης est inséparable de celle de l'ὁμοίωσις, qui peut ne signifier rien de plus que la ressemblance, mais qui peut désigner aussi, comme on l'a dit avec raison, l'effort pour ressembler au modèle qu'il s'agit d'imiter.[29] L'ὁμοίωσις platonicienne prend valeur religieuse, dès que le modèle à imiter est un modèle divin. Or, parmi les exemples de τόπος platonicien que nous avons cités, il en est un qui revêt à cet égard une importance exceptionnelle, d'autant plus frappante d'ailleurs que ce passage s'offre à nous sans que nous l'ayons cherché à cette fin. Il s'agit du développement de *Théétète* 176*a*-*b*, où Platon dit que le mal ne saurait disparaître, parce qu'il doit nécessairement toujours y avoir quelque chose de contraire au bien: "Or il est impossible que le mal réside chez les dieux; c'est donc nécessairement la nature mortelle et cette région-ci (τόνδε τὸν τόπον) qu'il hante. Il faut donc essayer de s'enfuir de ce monde-ci vers l'autre le plus vite possible. Cette fuite, c'est l'assimilation à dieu dans la mesure du possible (φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν), et cette assimilation, c'est de devenir juste et saint grâce à la raison".[30] "Raison" est faible et plat pour rendre φρόνησις, "sagesse contemplative" est peut-être un peu généreux,[31] mais Platon pense certainement ici à l'exercice de l'intellect qui conduit à la sagesse. Quoi qu'il en soit de ce dernier point, ce qui n'est chez Platon que l'affleurement discret d'une émotion religieuse, s'épanouira après lui en ruisseaux et en fleuves, par le confluent de thèmes qui ne demandaient qu'à se mêler.

Tout d'abord, le thème de l'évasion ou de la fuite de ce monde-ci vers l'autre, dont il est superflu de noter combien il devait séduire des âmes chrétiennes.

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[29] *Lexicon platonicum* (Leipzig, 1836), II, p. 440.

[30] Sur ce texte, voir A. J. Festugière, *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon* (Paris, 1936), pp. 154-155 et pp. 418-420. Ces dernières pages renvoient au texte de *Républ.* VI, 500*c*-*d*, où Platon décrit le philosophe comme se rendant semblable au divin, à force de vivre avec lui en contemplant l'immuable. La réserve, "dans la mesure du possible", figure dans les deux textes. Cf. aussi, comme A. J. Festugière le rappelle opportunément ici, Aristote, *Eth. Nic.*, X, 17, 1177*b* 31 ff.; dans l'édition G. Rodier (Paris, 1897), p. 115, note 2 et p. 117, note 3.

[31] A. J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, p. 419. A. Diès, incomparable traducteur de Platon, propose: "dans la clarté de l'esprit", où les harmoniques de "clarté" suggèrent aussi la lumière de la sagesse, et qui est une vrai bonheur de plume.

Mais Plotin lui-même en fera largement usage. Deuxième thème: le moyen d'évasion par "assimilation" à Dieu, c'est-à-dire en se rendant semblable à lui par une sainteté et une justice nourries de contemplation. Plotin le popularisera et saint Augustin en usera comme d'un lieu commun. Troisième thème: puisque la région où nous sommes et qu'il faut fuir (*Théétète*, 176*a-b*) est aussi la région de la dissemblance (*Politique*, 273*d*), celle vers laquelle nous devons tendre ne peut être que celle de la ressemblance. C'est d'ailleurs pourquoi tendre vers elle ne peut être qu'un effort pour se transformer soi-même, autant que possible, à la ressemblance de dieu. Il suffit de rassembler ces éléments pour obtenir une doctrine qui les dépasse un peu, mais où l'on voit pourtant qu'ils tendent irrésistiblement à se rejoindre. Un pèlerinage de ce monde vers un autre, c'est-à-dire un effort pour s'élever, par voie d'assimilation progressive au divin, de la dissemblance d'ici-bas à la Ressemblance, c'était au moins le cadre d'une spiritualité.

II. RESSEMBLANCE ET DISSEMBLANCE CHEZ PLOTIN

Quelle que soit la source prochaine de saint Bernard, nul n'a soutenu qu'il soit remonté, par delà Augustin et Plotin, jusqu'à Platon. Nous pouvons donc chercher dans Plotin l'origine proprement dite de la formule chrétienne dont nous étudions l'histoire, et, comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, elle s'y trouve dans les *Ennéades*, I, 8, 13.

Le traité qui contient ce texte a pour titre: *Qu'est-ce que les maux et d'où viennent ils*? C'est un de ceux dont il est probable que le futur saint Augustin les ait lus avant sa conversion définitive et, si l'on admet que la *regio dissimilitudinis* vient de là, cette probabilité se change en certitude. Augustin s'y demande, entre autres choses, si le vice est le mal même, ou seulement la cause du mal pour l'âme, et si la vertu est le bien même, ou seulement cause du bien pour l'âme. A quoi il répond:

> Nous disons: la vertu n'est pas le beau en soi ni le bien en soi, parce que le beau en soi et le bien en soi sont avant elle et au delà d'elle; et elle est bonne et belle par participation. En montant au-dessus de la vertu, ou trouve le beau et le bien, et en descendant au-dessous du vice, on trouve le mal en soi, soit qu'on le contemple, quelle que soit d'ailleurs la nature de cette contemplation, soit qu'on devienne soi-même mauvais en y participant. On se trouve alors complètement dans la région de la dissemblance; en se plongeant en elle, on fait une chute dans un bourbier obscur; car si l'âme va jusqu'au vice absolu, elle cesse d'être vicieuse, et elle échange le vice pour une autre nature encore pire; il y a encore quelque chose d'humain dans le vice, et il est mélangé avec son contraire. L'âme alors meurt, comme meurt une âme; mourir, pour elle, tant qu'elle est encore plongée dans le corps, c'est s'enfoncer dans la matière et s'en rassasier; et, quand elle est sortie du corps, c'est reposer dans la matière, jusqu'à ce quelle remonte et retire ses regards du bourbier; c'est là venir dans le Hadès et y sommeiller.[1]

La thèse générale de ce texte est simple: la vertu n'est pas le Bien, le vice n'est pas le mal, mais le Bien est un au delà de la vertu comme le mal est un au delà du vice. Elle s'exprime pourtant dans un petit scenario métaphysique: une anabase de l'âme qui, de la vertu, s'élève au Bien absolu, puis une catabase de l'âme qui, du vice proprement dit, redescend au mal absolu. Ce mal est d'abord désigné comme "région de la dissemblance", puis comme un "bourbier obscur",[1a] enfin, un peu plus loin, il est techniquement identifié à la matière. L'âme qui se repose dans la "contemplation" de la matière, ou qui s'identifie à elle en y participant, meurt littéralement, comme peut mourir une âme, mais non sans espoir de revivre. Retenons d'abord de ces notions l'apparentement de la matière à la dissemblance, au mal et au vice, relation nouvelle par rapport à Platon, mais qui, au cours de l'histoire de notre formule ne cessera plus de se maintenir.

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[1] Plotin, *Enn.* I, 8, 13; trad. E. Bréhier (Paris, 1921), I, pp. 127-128.

[1a] Cf. Plotin, *Enn.* I, 6, 5; éd. E. Bréhier, I, p. 101, 1.44.

L'introduction de la notion technique de "matière" s'explique par l'influence d'Aristote. On sait que le terme ὕλη, au sens précis de principe opposé à la forme, n'appartient pas à la langue de Platon.[2] Il suffit pourtant de se souvenir des textes platoniciens que nous venons de citer, pour voir que cette précision technique ne fait pas violence à sa pensée. Si Platon n'a pas nommé la matière, il en a beaucoup parlé sous d'autres noms. Ses commentateurs et historiens n'ont guère éprouvé de scrupules à lui prêter un terme, qui désigne commodément ce que lui-même avait nommé tantôt le "sans limite", tantôt le "non-être" ou un "quasi non-être" et qui se tient toujours chez lui du côté du mal. Quant à la formule elle-même, elle représente chez Plotin, non pas une citation littérale, mais une réminiscence. Platon avait parlé d'un "région infinie de la dissemblance", c'est-à-dire, comme on l'a vu, d'une région où règne la dissemblance et le manque de πέρας. Plotin oublie ou néglige l'ἄπειρον, et c'est sa formule abrégée et apauvrie, qui va désormais remplacer celle de Platon. En ce sens étroit, c'est Plotin qui est l'auteur de la "région de la dissemblance". Il reste à savoir quelle doctrine cette formule représentait dans la pensée de son auteur.

Elle évoque d'abord, chez Plotin, le complexe de notions platoniciennes qui se lie au thème de l'évasion, ou de la fuite vers Dieu grâce à la ressemblance. Proposé comme en passant par le *Théétète*, 176*a*,[3] il devient un des thèmes fondamentaux du plotinisme. Le traité *Des vertus* (*Enn.* I, 2, 1), débute par un rappel du Théétète: "Puisque c'est ici-bas qu'est le mal, que c'est nécessairement cette région-ci du monde qu'il hante, et que l'âme veut fuir le mal, il faut s'enfuir d'ici. Qu'est-ce donc que cette fuite? C'est, dit-il, de nous rendre semblables à dieu, en devenant justes et saints grâce à la raison et, généralement parlant, en devenant vertueux". On retrouve ainsi, dès l'abord, la notion d'une "région" d'ici-bas, demeure du mal, dont il faut fuir en s'assimilant à dieu par la vertu.[4] Ceci, bien entendu, ne signifie pas que dieu lui-même possède des vertus, mais qu'il est tel que ce soit par le seule vertu qu'on puisse lui devenir semblable.[5] Ainsi comprise, la doctrine de l'assimilation à dieu devient comme le coeur même de la sagesse plotinienne et c'est elle qui appelle la notion de matière comme un moment nécessaire de sa justification.

Dieu lui-même est sans forme, étant au-dessus de la forme, mais, après dieu, c'est la forme qui est le plus proche de lui. A l'extrémité opposée se trouve la matière. Sans forme elle aussi, non plus par excès cette fois mais par défaut, elle est ce qui se trouve le plus loin possible de dieu. Prise entre dieu et la matière, l'âme de l'homme ne peut se dégager de cette dernière qu'en s'imposant de la forme et des formes. Ces formes sont des mesures et des limites, et, du seul fait qu'elles règlent l'âme, elles la rendent semblable à dieu. C'est ce qu'explique

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[2] Sur ce point, et pour une discussion des deux seuls exemples douteux (*Timée*, 69*a*, et *Philèbe*, 54*c*), consulter A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, p. 493.

[3] Dans son analyse du *Théétète*, A. E. Taylor classe toute cette partie du dialogue sous le titre de "Digression: la vie contemplative" (172*c*-176*c*). Cf. *Plato: The Man and his Work*, p. 334.

[4] Plotin, *Enn.* I, 2, 3, éd. E. Bréhier, I, p. 54, 1.5; I, 6, 6, I, p. 102: "Enfuyons-nous donc dans notre chère patrie, voilà le vrai conseil qu'on pourrait nous donner. Mais qu'est-ce que cette fuite, etc., I, 6, 8, I, p. 104 (Ulysse, fuyant Circé et Calypso pour revenir à Ithaque, est ici le modèle du sage). Cf. *Enn.* II, 3, 9; II, p. 35, 1.16-24 (noter, *loc. cit.*, p. 36, la doctrine selon laquelle tout être est double: un composé d'âme et de corps, et "lui-même").

[5] Plotin, *Enn.* I, 2, 2.

Plotin dans *Ennéade* I, 2, que nous venons de voir débuter par un rappel du *Théétète*, 176*a*, et qui continue par un commentaire de la *République* VI, 500*c-d*, où Platon présentait le philosophe qui vit avec le divin et l'ordonné, comme devenant lui-même divin et ordonné grâce à la pratique des vertus civiles, puis par celle des vertus supérieures. Vertus vraiment purificatrices, celles-ci, car elles séparent l'âme du corps, la libèrent par là même de ce qui est son mal et la rendent par conséquent semblable à dieu.[6] Il doit donc y avoir d'abord conversion de l'âme par ces intelligibles et possession consécutive de la vertu.[7] La ressemblance avec dieu, c'est cela.

On voit par là même en quel sens et de quelle manière le sage peut "fuir" vers sa patrie. Cette fuite, "ce n'est pas avec nos pieds qu'il faut l'accomplir".[8] Fuir ce bas monde, c'est simplement s'assimiler à dieu. Notons que Plotin a claire conscience de n'être ici que le porte-parole de Paton: "Comment donc fuir le mal? Il le dit: Non pas en changeant de lieu, mais en acquérant la vertu, et en se séparant du corps. Car ainsi on se sépare de la matière; car être avec le corps c'est aussi être avec la matière".[9] Mais qu'est-ce que la matière?

On sait assez avec quelle force Plotin s'est opposé à la doctrine stoïcienne qui confondait la notion de matière avec celle de corps. Ce qu'il nomme ὕλη n'est ni cela ni ce qu'Aristote désignait de ce nom. Sa pensée se rattache sur ce point directement à celle de Platon qui, s'il n'a laissé à ses disciples aucune doctrine de la matière, leur a du moins légué des principes qui leur permettaient de dire ce qu'eût été pour lui la matière, s'il en eût parlé.

"Dans une doctrine où l'être s'identifie au même, ce quasi non être qu'est la matière doit naturellement s'identifier à l'autre". Dans le monde intelligible, dit Plotin, l'altérité (ἡ ἐτερότης) produit perpétuellement la matière en même temps que le mouvement premier, le mouvement s'appelant aussi "altérité", parce que "mouvement et altérité sont nés ensemble".[10] La remarque est importante, car nous constaterons que cette étroite liaison entre les notions d'altérité, de changement et de mouvement s'est maintenue plus tard chez saint Augustin. Pour le moment, il nous suffira de noter avec quelle précision Plotin lui-même a su définir cette identification fondamentale de la matière et de l'autre. Car l'autre constitue, si l'on peut dire, la "forme" de la matière[11] et c'est pourquoi nous pouvons si difficilement la penser. Dès qu'on tente de le concevoir, on se représente inévitablement l'autre comme quelque chose qui s'opposerait au même, alors qu'en réalité l'autre, pris en tant que tel, n'est pas. Comment serait-il, s'il est l'opposé du même, qui est l'être? Le raisonnement bâtard par lequel seul on peut le saisir, ainsi que le disait déjà Platon, consiste précisément à le penser comme l'"autre que le même", c'est-à-dire dans et par l'être même. En ce sens précis, on ne dira pas que la matière est identique à l'altérité, comme si l'altérité était quelque chose, mais qu'elle est identique à ce qu'il y a d'altérité dans chaque être. Or c'est par la forme que chaque être est "un même être", donc aussi qu'il est purement et simplement. La matière d'un être se confond donc avec ce qui, en lui, est "autre" que sa forme et sa raison intelligible;[12] négation de toute limite généralement quelconque, elle est toujours ce par quoi chaque déterminé reste encore indéterminé[13] Mais n'allons pas imaginer une Indétermination en soi, qui serait la matière! On ne doit pas le penser, même s'il arrive qu'on le dise. L'Indétermination en soi ne serait pas ce quasi non être qu'est la matière; elle serait le non être absolu; exactement, elle ne serait rien.

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[6] Plotin, *Enn.* I, 2, 2-3; *éd. cit.*, I, pp. 53-54. Sur la réduction du mal à la matière comme à son principe, *Enn.* I, 8, 4-5; I, pp. 118-120.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, I, 2, 4; *éd. cit.*, I, p. 55.

[8] Plotin, *Enn.* I, 6, 8; I, p. 105.

[9] Plotin, *Enn.* I, 8, 7; I, p. 123.

[10] Plotin, *Enn.* II, 4, 5; II, p. 59. Les notes 2 et 3 rapprochent avec raison de *Sophiste*, 255*e*, et de *Sophiste* 256*c* combiné avec *Parménide*, 146*a*.

[11] Plotin, *Enn.* II, 4, 10; II, p. 63.

[12] Plotin, *Enn.* II, 4, 16; II, p. 70.

[13] Plotin, *Enn.* II, 4, 15; II, p. 70.

Si donc la matière est non être, elle l'est comme incapacité permanente de toute détermination propre et réceptacle perpétuel de déterminations formelles successives dont, en elle-même, elle ne possède pas même un reflet.[14] Tout cela se passe en elle sans qu'elle en soit rien, comme le miroir reflète indifféremment tous les objets qu'on lui présente sans devenir jamais aucun d'eux, et pas même leur reflet. Ne disons donc pas que la matière est passive, car afin de pâtir, il faut être, or elle n'est pas assez pour cela. Les formes qui s'y succèdent pâtissent les unes des autres, mais elle-même reste étrangère à leurs aventures, demeurant à leur départ telle que l'avait trouvée leur venue.[15] On n'en peut donc rien dire, parce qu'il ne lui arrive rien et que, selon la formule du langage familier, elle "ne ressemble à rien".

Dans une doctrine où la forme se tient du côté du bien, ce qui reçoit la forme sans jamais y participer se tient nécessairement du côté du mal. Dire qu'elle est absolument impassible et dire qu'elle est mauvaise, c'est la même chose,[16] mais sa malice tient précisément à son manque radical de toute détermination essentielle. Si elle ne "ressemble à rien", c'est que, pour ressembler à quelque chose, il lui fraudrait en posséder si peu que ce fût la forme, mais comme ce qui la caractérise est l'aptitude à recevoir indifféremment toutes les formes, elle ne saurait elle-même en posséder aucune. Supposons en effet qu'elle en possède une, la voici devenue "la même chose" que cette forme. Il y aura dès lors au moins une forme à l'égard de laquelle elle ne sera plus "autre", et puisque la matière est, par définition, autre que tout ce qui est, elle cessera du même coup d'être matière. C'est ce que Plotin veut exprimer en disant que la matière n'a que la forme de l'autre, c'est-à-dire que, par essence en quelque sorte, elle est l'"autre" et le "totalement différent". Participant à une forme d'être quelconque, elle perdra, avec son altérité totale, son aptitude à recevoir indifféremment toute forme.[17] Autre que tout, elle est dissemblable à tout, bref, elle est la dissemblance en soi.

Il s'agit à peine ici d'une déduction, car le "dissemblable" n'est qu'un deuxième nom de l'"autre". Notons pourtant que, ce deuxième nom, Plotin l'applique rarement à la matière. Décrivant cette dernière, il la définit par l'*ἑτερότης* plutôt que par l'*ἀναμοιότης*, qui semble avoir chez lui une connotation surtout morale. Ainsi, la vertu rend l'homme semblable à Dieu et nous avons vu que c'est le vice qui plonge l'âme dans la région de la dissemblance. Une fois pourtant, dans le texte d'*Enn.* I, 8, 13 que nous avons cité, il a identifié au "mal en soi" ce qui est au-dessous du vice. Or le mal en soi est la matière, qui, étant "pire que le vice" même, se confond avec cette dissemblance où, lorsqu'elle s'y engage, l'âme meurt comme une âme peut mourir.

On ne trouve sur ce point, chez Plotin lui-même, rien d'autre qui soit vraiment important pour l'histoire du thème doctrinal que nous étudions. Si, comme on le verra, Augustin l'a suivi sur ce point, on ne voit qu'un seul texte plotinien dont il ait pu s'inspirer, celui d'*Enn.* I, 8, 13. Il y trouvait trois notions principales: l'identification de la dissemblance et de la matière, l'identification de la dissemblance absolue, ou matière, et du mal; la formule même, enfin, de "région de la dissemblance", qui désigne par conséquent à la fois la région de la matière et celle du mal.

En revanche, Augustin pouvait trouver chez Plotin d'autres indications, non moins importantes, touchant la notion de "ressemblance". Ainsi, dans le traité *Sur les hypostases qui connaissent et l'au-delà de l'être*, Plotin parle de notre âme comme d'une image du νοῦς, qu'elle connaît en devenant, grâce d'ailleurs au νοῦς lui-même, une "ressemblance" de ce qu'il est.[18] Or on sait d'ailleurs que le νοῦς est "en quelque manière semblable à l'Un", dont il est l'image comme la lumière est celle du soleil;[19] image fidèle, mais pourtant imparfaite, puisque ce νοῦς est déjà quelque peu multiple et, par là même, inférieur à l'Un. Invitation précieuse à équilibrer par une Ressemblance absolue située au-dessus de la vertu, la Dissemblance absolue que Plotin situait au-dessous du vice. Simple invitation pourtant, car on ne voit pas que le philosophe grec soit allé jusque là, ni même comment il eût pu le faire. La distance qui sépare la seconde hypostase de la première reste chez lui infranchissable. Le νοῦς n'est pas consubstantiel à l'Un. Or il le serait s'il était la Ressemblance en soi, parfaite et identique en essence au modèle dont elle procède. L'Intelligence est une "trace" de l'Un, elle n'en est pas le Verbe.[20] Là, Augustin ne pourra plus se contenter d'accepter l'héritage de Plotin, il lui faudra créer.

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[14] Plotin, *Enn.* II, 5, 5; II, p. 81. Cf. le long commentaire de *Timée* 50c dans *Enn.* III, 6, 7; III, p. 105.

[15] Plotin, *Enn.* III, 6, 11; III, p. 109.

[16] Plotin, *Enn.* III, 6, 11; III, p. 110.

[17] Plotin, *Enn.* II, 4, 10; II, p. 63; III, 6, 13; III, pp. 113-114.

III. RESSEMBLANCE ET DISSEMBLANCE CHEZ SAINT AUGUSTIN

La formule *regio dissimilitudinis* dépend, dans son sens, de la notion de *dissimilitudo*, elle-même inséparable de la notion de *similitudo* à lequelle elle s'oppose. Puisque la formule appartient aux *Confessions*, c'est d'abord dans cette oeuvre qu'il convient d'en chercher le commentaire, quitte à nous adresser ensuite aux autres pour leur demander un supplément, ou même, s'il y a lieu, un complément d'informations.

Les renseignements les plus précis à ce sujet nous viennent du livre XII. Augustin s'y heurte au texte de la Genèse, i, 2: *terra erat invisibilis et incomposita.*[1] Que faut-il entendre par là? Une sorte d'abîme profond, sur lequel il n'y avait pas de lumière, parce qu'il n'avait aucune forme (XI, 3, 3). Notons cette formule: *nescio qua profunditas abyssi, super quam non erat lux, quia nulla species erat illi.* La notion de *species*, ou forme distincte, s'offre immédiatement comme la solution du problème. Se demander ce qu'était la "terre" que Dieu a créée "invisible", ce n'est assurément pas s'interroger sur un pur néant. Puisque Dieu l'a crée, elle est déjà quelque chose. D'autre part, puisqu'elle est invisible, c'est qu'elle est depourvue de toute forme distincte. Ce qui est, tout en étant de soi sans aucune forme, c'est la matière. Ainsi, en disant que Dieu fit d'abord la terre *invisibilis et incomposita*, l'Ecriture nous apprend que Dieu créa d'abord la matière informe (*informem materiam*). En effet, avant d'y introduire forme et distinction, Dieu n'a fait de cette matière rien de déterminé. Il n'y avait encore rien dont on pût dire que c'était "quelque chose" (*non erat aliquid*): une couleur, une figure, un corps, un esprit. Pourtant cette matière n'était pas absolument rien; elle était une *quaedam informitas sine ulla specie* (*Conf.* XI, 3, 3). Rien de plus convenable, pour un livre qui use de la langue commune comme fait l'Ecriture, que de nommer *terra* ou "abîme" cette *informitatem materiae,* que Dieu a faite *sine specie* pour en tirer le monde orné de formes que nous voyons (XI, 4, 4). C'est donc ainsi qu'il convient d'interpréter ce texte de la Genèse. N'imaginons pas, comme faisait Augustin avant d'avoir lu Plotin, que la matière soit le lieu de formes hideuses, horribles et désordonnées, mais qui seraient pourtant des formes. Elle ne se définit pas comme une informité relative, mais comme une informité totale. Exactement, elle se définit *privatione omnis formae* (XI, 6, 6), et l'on ne saurait en dire rien de plus.[2]

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[18] Plotin, *Enn.* V, 3, 8; V, pp. 59-60.

[19] Plotin, *Enn.* V, 1, 7; V, p. 23.

[20] Plotin, *Enn.* VI, 7, 17; VI^2, p. 90. Voir pourtant la curieuse formule dont use une fois Plotin, *Enn* V, 3, 15; V, p. 7, 1.16.

[1] Remarquons la présence du mot *abyssus* dans le texte biblique. Il apartient à la langue de l'Eglise, comme dérivé du grec *abyssos.* Augustin l'entendra en plusieurs sens, notamment comme désignant la *materia informis* (*Contra adversarium Legis et Prophetarum,* I, 13, 17; PL, 42, 612). C'est en ce sens qu'il le prend lorsqu'il commente le texte de *Gen.* i, 2. Il l'entend au contraire en un sens moral, lorsqu'il commente *Ps.* lxi, 8: Abyssus abyssum invocat, in voce cataractarum tuarum. Cf. *Conf.* XIII, 13, 14. Thème repris plus tard par Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *De amore Dei*, Prooemium, II.

Pourtant, nous l'avons dit, cette créature ne saurait être un pur néant. Disons, si l'on veut, qu'elle est un *nihil aliquid*, ou un *est non est*. Créée, il faut bien qu'elle soit d'une certaine manière. Elle est donc, et elle est en tant que faite par Dieu, à qui toutes choses doivent d'être, pour autant qu'elles sont. Seulement, elle est pour ainsi dire le degré minimum d'être. C'est ce que l'on exprime en disant qu'elle est, de tous les êtres, le plus éloigné de Dieu. Qu'est-ce à dire, éloigné? Il ne s'agit pas ici d'un éloignement dans l'espace: Dieu n'est pas dans l'espace, ni d'ailleurs la matière non plus, tant du moins qu'elle n'est pas encore ordonnée dans le lieu. Etre éloignée de Dieu, pour la matière, c'est en être dissemblable. Augustin l'affirme dans une de ses formules les plus elliptiques, mais dont le sens est pourtant clair: *sed tanto a te longius, quanto dissimilius: neque enim locis* (XI, 7, 7).

Il serait superflu d'accumuler ici d'autres textes pour établir qu'Augustin a bien identifié le rapport ressemblance—dissemblance au rapport proximité—éloignement dans l'ordre spirituel. Ces textes sont bien connus[3] et ne nous sortent d'ailleurs pas d'un ordre d'idées déjà familier à Plotin.[4] Ce qu'il y a ici de nouveau, c'est l'usage qu'en fait Augustin pour élucider ce problème spécifiquement chrétien: quel est le sens du récit de la Genèse? En disant: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram* (i, 1), en ajoutant que la terre était invisible, sans ordre et que les ténèbres étaient sur l'abîme, l'Ecriture lui semble désigner, sous le nom de *terra*, cette *informis materia* dont est fait le monde instable où nous sommes, mais dont on ne peut pourtant dire qu'elle-même soit instable, parce que le changement implique déjà le temps et le nombre dont, à cause de son informité même, elle est elle-même dépourvue (XII, 8, 8). En précisant que son informité totale en fait un *paene nihil*, Augustin suggère que, pour lui, être soit être un *aliquid*, c'est-à-dire une matière définie par une forme. Si donc la matière est ce qu'il y a de plus éloigné de Dieu, c'est-à-dire de plus dissemblable, il faut que Dieu lui-même soit suprêmement forme, et nous verrons en effet qu'il l'est. Si donc c'est bien là ce que pense Augustin, la dissemblance équivaut pour lui, comme déjà pour Plotin, à la matière, qui équivaut elle-même à l'informe. Etre dans la région de la dissemblance, c'est être dans la région de l'informité matérielle qui, en vertu de son informité même, est la plus dissemblable qui se puisse à celle de la forme absolue, Dieu.

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[2] Cette thèse, constante chez Augustin, lui a été suggéré par le livre de la *Sagesse*. Cf. Neque enim materies omnino nihil est, de qua in libro *Sapientiae* legitur, qui fecisti mundum de materia informi (*Sap*. xi, 18). Non ergo quia informis dicta est, omnino nihil est: nec Deo fuit vel ipsa coaeterna, tanquam a nullo facta; nec alius eam fecit, ut haberet Deus de qua faceret mundum. Absit enim ut dicatur omnipotens non potuisse facere, nisi unde faceret, inveniret. Ergo et ipsam Deus fecit. Nec mala est putanda, quia informis: sed bona est intelligenda, quia formabilis, id est, formationis capax. Quoniam si boni aliquid est forma, nonnihil est boni esse capacem boni. Sicut vox confusa est clamor sine verbis, vox vero articulata fit cum formatur in verba: est ergo illa formabilis, ista formata; illa quae formam capit, ista quae habet: nam quid horum unde fiat, in promptu est. Neque enim quisquam dixerit de verbis fieri sonum vocis, sed potius de voce fieri verba sonantia quis non intelligat?" Saint Augustin, *Contra adversarium Legis et Prophetarum*, I, 8, 11; P.L. 42, 609-610. Le texte actuel de la *Sagesse*, xi, 18, donne: manus tua, quae creavit orbem terrarum ex materia invisa... La traduction de Crampon donne, pour le même passage: Votre main toute puissante, qui a fait le monde d'une matière informe . . ." Ainsi introduite par l'Ecriture même, la notion technique de matière se trouvait justifiée aux yeux d'Augustin.

[3] On en trouvera plusieurs rassemblés par Fr. Chatillon, *'Regio dissimilitudinis'*, p. 95, n. 2.

[4] Voir plus haut, p. 117.

C'est assurément cela, mais c'est en même temps autre chose, qui s'en distingue si peu qu'Augustin l'y mêle fréquemment, bien que ce ne soit pas tout-à-fait la même chose.

On vient de dire que la matière n'est pas encore mutabilité, et cela est vrai en un sens, car elle est trop complètement informe pour être même cela. Mais elle est du moins le support et le principe immédiat de la mutabilité.[5] Si les êtres sensibles sont instables, c'est que leurs formes se remplacent les unes les autres. Elles se succèdent, et de là viennent à la fois le changement et le temps, qui ne seraient pas sans la succession des formes. Mais où les formes se succèdent elles? Dans la matière. Sans l'informité radicale de la matière qui, précisément parce qu'elle n'a d'elle-même aucune forme, peut successivement les recevoir toutes, leur succession serait impossible. Etre dans la région de la dissemblance, pour autant que la dissemblance équivaut à la matière, c'est donc être non seulement dans celle de l'informité, mais en outre et par là même, dans celles de la mutabilité et de la diversité qui l'accompagne. En ce sens, la dissemblance n'est plus simplement celle de l'informité à la forme, mais encore celle de l'instable au stable et du divers à l'identique. Or c'est précisément ainsi que saint Augustin lui-même interprète le texte dont nous sommes partis, et que nous reproduisons une deuxième fois en ajoutant les lignes qui le commentent:

> Et d'où venait qu'elle fût [*sc.* cette matière], en quelque sens qu'elle fût, à moins qu'elle ne fût par toi, par qui sont toutes choses, pour autant qu'elles sont? Mais elle est d'autant plus loin de toi qu'elle en est plus dissemblable, car il n'est pas ici question de lieux. C'est pourquoi, Seigneur, toi qui n'es pas tantôt ceci et tantôt cela, mais le même et le même, *saint, saint, saint, le Seigneur Dieu* tout puissant, dans le Principe, qui est de toi, dans ta Sagesse, qui est née de ta substance, tu as fait quelque chose, et tu l'as fait de rien (XII, 7, 7).

En d'autres termes, Dieu, qui est *id idipsum et id idipsum*[6] c'est-a-dire l'absolument identique à soi-même, n'a pas seulement engendré *de se* le Verbe, qui est Principe et Sagesse, mais, dans ce Principe et cette Sagesse née de sa substance, il a fait, créé de rien, quelque chose qui est la matière. Si cette matière lui est dissemblable, c'est qu'il est l'identique, au lieu qu'elle est le siège de la diversité. Supposant que cette interprétation soit correcte et que la pensée d'Augustin soit cohérente, on se trouve conduit à cette deuxième conclusion, que plus on se rapproche du stable et de l'identique en s'éloignant de l'instable et du divers, plus on se rapproche de la ressemblance pour s'éloigner de la dissemblance. La dissemblance n'est plus simplement ici l'absence de forme, mais l'instabilité et la variété essentielles qui en dérivent. Il nous reste à voir si le développement de la pensée d'Augustin, dans les *Confessions*, confirme cette interprétation.

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[5] Une fois au moins, pourtant, Augustin a presque identifié la matière à la mutabilité: Mutabilitas enim rerum mutabilium ipsa capax est formarum omnium, in quas mutantur res mutabiles. *Conf.* XIII, 6, 6. De la *mutabilitas*, prise comme sujet des formes, on peut dire au moins qu'elle fait fonction de matière.

[6] Cf. *Ps.* iv, 9: In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam. La traduction française de Crampon donne ici: En paix je me coucherai et je m'endormirai aussitôt, ce qui est clair. L'*in idipsum* de la Vulgate est moins clair et ne peut, en tout cas, se rapporter qu'a *Dominus,* c'est-à-dire à Dieu même à qui s'adresse le Psalmiste dans les versets précédents. Saint Augustin, qui a médité ce Psaume iv sous le coup d'une émotion violente (*Conf.* IX, 4, 8), a en outre désarticulé le texte, de manière à poser en quelque sorte à part l'*in idipsum. Par exemples* "Et clamabam in consequenti versu clamore alto cordis mei: o in pace! o in idipsum!" *In idipsum* tend ainsi à devenir un nom de Dieu, ce qu'il devient en effet bientôt dans la suite du même texte: et tu es id ipsum valde, qui non mutaris . . . (*Conf.* IX, 4, 11). Dans le récit de la contemplation d'Ostie, parlant de son effort pour atteindre Dieu, Augustin écrit: erigentes nos ardentiore affectu in id ipsum. . . . (*Conf.* IX, 10, 24). De Labriolle traduit par "l'Etre lui-même", ce qui est certainement le sens, sauf cette nuance que, pour Augustin, nommer le "cela même" dispense précisément de nommer l'être, puisque, pour lui, l'être et l'identique se confondent.

Nous sommes partis d'un texte de la Genèse (i, 1) qui relate la création du ciel et de la terre, mais nous n'avons encore rien dit du ciel. Que faut-il entendre par là? Evidemment pas le ciel astral avec le mouvement qui l'entraîne, sans quoi l'Ecriture aurait dû parler aussitôt de temps et de jours, ce qu'elle ne fait pas. Pour sortir de difficulté, Augustin propose d'entendre, par la création du ciel, celle des Anges. Nous n'avons pas à nous engager ici dans le problème où s'engage à ce propos Augustin lui-même: quel est le rapport de la créature angélique à la matière,[7] mais sa première remarque concernant les anges intéresse directement notre problème: "le *ciel du ciel*, que tu as fait dans le commencement, est une créature intellectuelle qui, bien qu'elle ne te soit aucunement, O Trinité, coéternelle, participant pourtant de ton éternité, maîtrise puissamment sa mutabilité par la douceur de la bienheureuse contemplation. Ainsi, fixée en toi sans aucun relâchement depuis qu'elle fut faite, elle échappe complètement à la vicissitude du temps qui passe" (XII, 8, 9). Voici donc au moins un ordre de créatures intellectuelles dont on peut dire qu'il a su, dès l'origine, éviter la chute dans l'instabilité du temps, et par là même dans la dissemblance.[8] L'ange pouvait détourner sa volonté de Dieu, qui *est*, vers ce qui *est moins*, par un mouvement qui est le péché même (XII, 11, 11). S'il l'eût fait, il eût été du même coup entraîné par la mutabilité de cet objet créé de rien, donc instable en vertu du non être dont il participe. L'ange ne l'a pas fait, et c'est pourquoi, parlant du moins de celui qui a évité la chute, cet être instable ne cède jamais à son instabilité (*mutabilitatem suam nusquam et nunquam exerit*). C'est que Dieu lui est toujours présent, lui qui est l'immutabilité même. Fixé perpétuellement dans l'Immuable par un amour total, l'ange n'a ni futur à attendre, ni présent s'écoulant dans le passé dont il lui faille se souvenir: *Nulla vice variatur nec in tempora ulla distenditur* (XII, 11, 12). Echapper à l'écartèlement du temps et à l'instabilité qui en est cause, voilà la béatitude.

Combien différent, hélas! l'état où nous sommes! L'âme humaine, elle, s'est engagée dans un lointain pèlerinage. Cette âme, *cujus peregrinatio longinqua facta est* (XII, 10, 13), doit donc revenir de loin vers celui dont l'Ecriture dit

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[7] Augustin ne pouvait éviter d'attribuer une matière aux anges, mais il pouvait le faire sans leur attribuer la corporéité. La matière se confondant pour lui avec le principe de l'altérité et de la mutabilité, qui sont liées elles-mêmes à l'état d'être créé, toute créature comporte par définition une matière, parce qu'elle est muable par définition. On voit ici pourquoi la doctrine de la composition hylémorphique des anges s'imposera à tant d'augustiniens du moyen âge. Elle était en effet liée à la doctrine augustinienne de l'être. Si l'être incréé est l'Immuable, l'être créé est le muable; or la matière est le principe de la mutabilité; donc il y a nécessairement matière, dès qu'il y a être créé. C'est pourquoi plusieurs augustiniens ont maintenu l'hylémorphisme universel dans l'ordre créé. En assignant l'*esse* comme l'acte suprême du créé, saint Thomas se libérait au contraire de cette nécessité. C'est donc la notion d'être qui, dans les deux positions du problème, décide de la solution.

[8] La pensée dernière d'Augustin sur la question semble être que, pour l'ange comme pour les corps, la matière a précédé, non pas, bien entendu, dans l'ordre du temps, ni dans celui de la causalité efficiente, mais dans l'ordre de l'origine. Elle est en vue de la forme comme le son en vue du chant. *Conf.* XII, 28, 40. Cf. cette formule de portée tout-a-fait générale: De nihilo enim a te, non de te facta sunt, non de aliqua non tua vel quae antea fuerit, sed de concreata, id est simul a te creata materia, quia ejus informitatem sine ulla temporis interpositione formasti. Nam cum aliud sit caeli et terrae materies, aliud caeli et terrae species, materiem quidem de omnino nihilo, mundi autem speciem de informi materia, simul tamen utrumque fecisti, ut materiam forma nulla morae intercapedine sequeretur. *Conf.* XIII, 33, 48.

(*Ps.* ci, 28) qu'il est l'Eternel parce qu'il est l'Identique: *idem ipse es.*[9] Qu'elle comprenne donc au moins combien l'éternité de Dieu transcende sur le temps, puisqu'elle l'emporte même sur la stabilité de cette cohorte spirituelle, *quae peregrinata non est*, et qui, bien que non coéternelle à son créateur, défie pourtant la vicissitude des temps en lui restant indéfectiblement unie (XII, 11, 13). Sur quoi, rassemblant en une seule phrase toute sa pensée, Augustin conclut:

> Ayant considéré cela, autant que tu me l'accordes, mon Dieu, autant que tu m'invites à frapper et que tu ouvres quand je frappe, je vois que tu as fait deux choses soustraites au temps, et dont pourtant aucune ne t'est coéternelle: l'une formée de telle sorte que, sans aucune déficience de contemplation, sans un seul instant de changement, bien que changeable, elle jouisse inchangée de ton éternité qui jamais ne change; l'autre, qui était tellement informe, qu'elle n'avait même pas de quoi changer en passant et s'arrêtant d'une forme à l'autre, ce qui l'aurait soumise au temps (XII, 12, 15).

Bref, l'ange surmonte le temps; la matière n'est même pas assez pour être dans le temps; l'homme, engagé dans le temps par sa matière, lutte pour s'en évader vers l'éternel et l'identique, c'est-à-dire vers ce qui *est*, purement et simplement.

Voici donc l'homme dans l'entre-deux, entre l'ange et la matière, le *primitus formatum* et le *penitus informe* (XII, 13, 16). Comment se fait-il qu'il en soit là? Jusqu'ici, bien qu'Augustin l'emploie dans une exégèse biblique à laquelle elle n'était pas destinée, la notion plotinienne de dissemblance reste assez liée à celle de matière pour qu'on la puisse encore reconnaître, mais elle va bientôt confluer avec une autre notion, spécifiquement scripturaire celle-là, qui va la contraindre à se reformer plus profondément du dedans.

On lit en effet, dans le livre de la *Genèse* (i, 26), que Dieu dit: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.* Ce texte introduisait, dans la réflexion d'Augustin, une notion de *similitudo* sans aucun rapport avec la *dissimilitudo* de la matière plotinienne, mais qui ne pouvait cependant manquer de nouer avec elle quelque rapport. C'est ce qu'elle a fait, dès les *Confessions*, dans une phrase dont la traduction et l'exégèse ont de quoi décourager, tant elle est dense:

> D'autres en effet . . . voient, en lisant ou entendant tes paroles, Dieu éternel, que ta perpétuelle stabilité domine tous les temps passés et futurs, et qu'il n'y a pourtant rien de la créature temporelle que tu n'aies fait, toi dont la volonté a fait toutes choses sans se modifier ni succéder à une autre, puisque ta volonté, c'est toi; toutes choses, c'est-à-dire non pas ta ressemblance née de toi et forme de tout, mais, tirée du néant, une dissemblance informe, qui serait formée par ta ressemblance en revenant vers toi, l'Un, selon la mesure prévue et autant que chaque être en est capable d'après son espèce[10] toutes choses devenant ainsi *bona valde* (*Gen.*

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[9] *Ps.* ci, 28: Tu autem idem ipse es, et anni non deficient. Affirmation conjointe de l'immutabilité et de l'éternité de Dieu, l'immutabilité se présentant ici comme l'identité à soi-même. Cité dans *Conf.* I, 6, 10; XI, 13, 16; XII, 11 13; XIII, 18, 22. Reparaît, incorporé au développement: et ut te, qui es semper idem . . . , *Conf.* VII, 21, 27 (cf. Deus semper idem, noverim me, noverim te. Oratum est. *Sol.* II, 1, 1, P.432, 885). La formule *semper idem* devient ainsi, dans la langue d'Augustin, le nom d'un véritable attribut essentiel de Dieu.

[10] La ressemblance interne de l'être créé est en effet le substitut de l'unité parfaite qui lui fait défaut. A quoi tient l'unité de l'espèce, sinon à la ressemblance des individus qui la composent? De même pour chaque individu pris en soi: de la terre, de l'eau, de l'air, du feu ne sont tels, et par suite ne "sont", que parce que toutes leurs parties sont semblables: in seipsis singulis non essent, nisi partes inter se similes haberent. Voir le long développement de *De Genesi liber imperfectus*, 16, 59; PL, 34, 243.

> i, 31), soit qu'elles restent autour de toi, soit que, s'en éloignant à des distances progressives, elles exécutent ou subissent leurs belles variations dans le temps et dans l'espace (XII, 28, 38).

Nous retrouvons, dans le dernier membre de cette période, la distinction déjà introduite entre les anges, qui se fixent immédiatement auprès de Dieu, et le monde des corps, qui s'étage dans le temps et le lieu, à des distances variables de son créateur. Mais ce qu'il faut examiner de près, comme portant directement sur notre problème, c'est la formule *fecisti omnia, non de te similitudinem tuam formam omnium, sed de nihilo dissimilitudinem informem, quae formaretur per similitudinem tuam recurrens in te unum . . .* Aucune hésitation sur la "dissemblance informe" créée par Dieu de rien: nous la connaissons déjà, c'est la matière. Par contre, la *similitudo* dont parle Augustin dans la même phrase est pour nous quelque chose de nouveau. Or on ne peut hésiter non plus à son sujet. A la matière faite par Dieu *de nihilo*, s'oppose ici une Ressemblance, qui est *de te*, c'est-à-dire née de Dieu lui-même, et qui est forme de toutes choses. Impossible de s'y tromper, c'est le Verbe, lui qui, comme l'ajoute ici-même Augustin, formera la dissemblance informe de la matière en ramenant tout à l'unité divine, qu'il s'agisse des anges fixés en Dieu à jamais par la contemplation, ou des corps que l'ordre du temps et de l'espace rachète, grâce au nombre, du désordre de la matière pure. La création ainsi conçue se trouve donc comme prise entre deux poles: le Verbe, qui est la Ressemblance absolue,[11] et la matière informe, qui est la dissemblance absolue, puisque, si elle l'était davantage, n'étant plus rien, elle ne serait même plus dissemblance. C'est donc entre ces deux termes que se déploie la vie de l'homme, sollicitée à la fois par l'un et l'autre, la dissemblance vers quoi l'entraîne le poids d'un corps lourd de matière, la Ressemblance vers quoi l'invite une pensée qui tend à remonter vers Dieu.

Comment n'y tendrait-elle pas? En créant l'homme "à son image et ressemblance", Dieu l'a fait supérieur aux autres vivants, car, ainsi que le dit en propres termes Augustin lui-même, cette image et ressemblance consistent en la raison et l'intelligence: *hominemque ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam cunctis irrationalibus animalibus ipsa tua imagine ac similitudine, hoc est rationis et intelligentiae virtute, praeponi . . .* (XIII, 32, 47). Par le péché, l'homme a détourné sa raison et sa volonté du bien immuable et éternel vers le bien muable, ce qui peut se traduire en deux langues, celle qu'Augustin tient de Plotin et celle qu'il tient de l'Ecriture: l'homme s'est détourné de l'intelligible et de l'un vers la matière et le multiple; il a obscurci, autant qu'il était en son pouvoir, sa ressemblance au Verbe, c'est-à-dire à la Ressemblance en soi. Dans quelque langue qu'on s'exprime, on se trouve ramené, pour décrire un tel état, à la notion de dissemblance. On l'est dans la langue de Plotin, puisque Plotin lui-même s'est servi de cette formule, et qu'il suffît de la lui emprunter. On l'est dans la langue de l'Ecriture puisque, même si la région de dissemblance n'y est pas mentionée, la perte de la ressemblance par l'homme y est vigoureusement dénoncée. Ce sont les *Confessions* elles-mêmes (XIII, 23, 33) qui citent le Psaume xlviii, 13: *homo in honore positus non intellexit; comparatus est jumentis insensatis et similis factus est eis.* Dans la mesure même où l'homme consent à préférer ainsi le muable à l'immuable, le matériel à l'intelligible, la créature au créateur, car ces formules s'équivalent, il reste dans l'éloignement de Dieu, ou dans la dissemblance, car ces formules aussi s'équivalent. Il se trouve alors, comme on l'a fait justement observer,[4] comparable au Fils Prodigue de la parabole, qui n'a pas eu besoin de voyager pour vivre *in longinqua regione* et y dissiper les dons du Père, car ce n'est pas en se déplaçant dans l'espace qu'on s'éloigne ou se rapproche de Dieu (I, 18, 28), mais en perdant ou recouvrant sa ressemblance. Cette *regio longinqua*, cette *regio egestatis* (II, 10, 18), cette *regio mortis* (IV, 12, 18) où Dieu lui-même est descendu pour nous en sauver, c'est toujours l'exil d'un homme errant hors de chez lui, dans l'instable, et absent de sa maison, l'éternité de Dieu (IV, 16, 31).

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[11] Cette doctrine du Verbe comme *Similitudo* en soi du Père est une des plus sûrement établies chez saint Augustin. Pour éviter des répétitions inutiles, nous nous permettons de renvoyer sur ce point à notre *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (2e éd., Paris, 1943), p. 276, notes 2 et 3, et p. 277, note 1. Sur le sens de la formule des *Confessions* que nous venons de citer; similitudinem tuam formam omnium, voir le texte du *De Vera Religione*, XXXVI, 66, reproduit *op. cit.*, p. 281, note 2 et celui du *De Trinitate*, IX, 7, 12, également reproduit *op. cit.*, p. 294, note 1. L'origine de cette doctrine peut remonter à la notion de sagesse comme image de Dieu (*Sap.* vii, 26) appliquée par *Coloss.*, i, 15 au Fils, donc au Verbe (*Coloss.* i, 16). Pourtant, la Vulgate parle d'*imago*, non de *similitudo*.

Tel est le contexte doctrinal dans lequel s'insère naturellement la *regio dissimilitudinis* de saint Augustin. Il suffit d'ailleurs de la replacer dans son contexte littéral pour le constater. Le début de *Conf.* VII, 10, 16 est une transition. Augustin vient de lire quelques traités néoplatoniciens, où il a trouvé certaines vérités mêlées à certaines erreurs. Procédant comme Dieu avait enjoint aux Juifs de le faire lorsqu'ils sortirent d'Egypte, Augustin s'est emparé des vérités et a méprisé les erreurs. Ici commence, avec notre texte, un nouveau développement: "Et averti par là revenir vers moi même, j'entrai dans l'intimité de mon coeur, sous ta conduite . . . ". Il s'agit donc, à partir de l'expérience qu'il vient de faire, de rentrer en lui-même, et c'est là que tout ce qui suit va se passer. Qu'y voit-il? Augustin y voit, grâce à Dieu cette fois, au-dessus de sa pensée, une lumière immuable et purement spirituelle, entièrement autre que la lumière corporelle. Soulevé pour un instant par Dieu, il discerne au moins qu'il y a quelque chose à voir, mais qu'il n'est pas encore capable de le voir. L'éclat même de cette lumière l'éblouit: "et je tremblai d'amour et d'effroi, et je m'aperçus que j'étais loin de toi, dans la région de la dissemblance, comme si j'entendais ta voix me dire d'en haut, je suis la nourriture des grands: grandis et tu me mangeras. Et tu ne me changeras pas en toi comme la nourriture de ta chair, mais c'est toi qui seras changé en moi". Il n'y a aucune raison de penser que la terminologie coutumière de saint Augustin change ici de sens. La dissemblance, c'est toujours la matière: si le regard d'Augustin ne peut rester fixé sur cette lumière purement spirituelle, qui est totalement différente de celle du soleil, où veut-on qu'il retombe au moment où elle le rejette sur lui-même, sinon dans le domaine de la lumière sensible et du corps? C'est bien ce que dit tout ce passage: *et inveni longe me esse a te in regione dissimilitudinis*, c'est-à-dire, je me suis aperçu que je ne pouvais rester fixé sur l'intelligible, mais que je me trouvais *longe a te*, donc aussi, puisque l'éloignement est la dissemblance, dans cette région de la dissemblance, qui est l'ordre du sensible. A ce mal, quel remède? Dieu lui-même l'indique: grandis, tu te nourriras alors de moi, la Vérité et l'Etre; alors aussi tu te changeras en moi, tu seras, véritablement. Il semble que ce texte, comme tous ceux où Augustin parle de *dissimilitudo*, s'explique suffisamment par la donnée technique d'origine plotinienne dont il fait usage, et par la modification chrétienne qu'il lui impose: égaré par sa faute dans le domaine de la matière, qui est celui de la dissemblance, l'homme doit se nourrir de la vérité intelligible, qui est la Ressemblance, pour recouvrer sa propre ressemblance perdue et, en la recouvrant, se retrouver.

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[4] Les formules de ce genre sont si fréquentes qu'on ne court aucun risque de se tromper sur leur sens. Dicant, *quid te promeruerant spiritalis corporalisque natura, quas fecisti in sapientia tua* (Ps. ciii, 24) *ut inde penderent etiam inchoata et informia quaeque in genere suo vel spiritali vel corporali* euntia in immoderationem et in *longinquam dissimilitudinem tuam* . . . *Conf.*, XIII, 2, 2. Noter ici la fusion, en une seule formule, des notions équivalentes d'éloignement et de dissemblance: Aut quid te promeruit inchoatio creaturae spiritalis, ut saltem tenebrosa fluitaret *similis abysso, tui dissimilis* . . . ? *Conf.* XIII, 2, 3.

IV. LA DISSEMBLANCE CHEZ SAINT BERNARD

Nous savons déjà que saint Bernard de Clairvaux a repris la formule *regio dissimilitudinis*. Il s'agit simplement de savoir si la manière dont il l'a reprise nous invite à penser que cette formule lui soit venue d'une autre source que les *Confessions* de saint Augustin. Nous reproduirons d'abord un texte qui nous semble dominer le débat et que nous empruntons au *Sermon 36*, 5, sur le Cantique des Cantiques, où saint Bernard compare à la science en général ce qu'il nomme la science de soi-même:

> Nisi enim super humilitatis stabile fundamentum, spirituale aedificium stare minime potest. Porro ad se humiliandum nihil anima invenire vivacius seu accommodatius potest, quam si se in veritate invenerit, tantum non dissimulet, non sit in spiritu ejus dolus, statuat se ante faciem suam, nec se a se avertere abducatur. Nonne se ita intuens clara luce veritatis inveniet se in regione dissimilitudinis, et suspirans misera quam jam latere non poterit, quod vero misera sit, nonne cum Propheta clamabit ad Dominum (*Ps.* cxviii, 75): *In veritate tua humiliasti me*?

Let mots *inveniet se in regione dissimilitudinis* présentent l'intérêt majeur de rappeler de près l'*inveni longe me esse a te in regione dissimilitudinis*. Il est difficile de ne pas voir dans l'*inveniet* de saint Bernard un écho de l'*inveni* de saint Augustin. En effet, rien de semblable ne se rencontre dans la formule de Platon ni dans celle de Plotin. Sans vouloir affirmer que la coïncidence ne puisse à la rigueur être fortuite, on admettra sans doute que son explication la plus vraisemblable soit celle d'une filiation quelconque reliant le texte de Bernard à celui d'Augustin.

Si l'on compare le sens de l'expression chez les deux auteurs spirituels, rien ne s'oppose à cette hypothèse. La dissemblance dont Bernard se plaint est bien celle due au péché, qui provient elle-même de l'assujettissement de l'âme au corps. L'âme se trouve en cette région, lorsqu'elle se voit *oneratam peccatis, mole hujus mortalis corporis aggravatam, terrenis intricatam curis, carnalium desideriorum faece infectam* . . . L'esprit du texte ne contredit donc pas l'explication que suggère sa lettre. A moins, bien entendu, qu'on ne cite un autre texte que celui d'Augustin, qui contienne à la fois le verbe *invenire* et la formule *regio dissimilitudinis*, c'est-à-dire l'idée précise de se trouver soi-même dans cette région, il ne semble guère possible de douter que le texte de saint Augustin ne soit la source du texte analogue qui se lit dans le sermon de saint Bernard. Jusqu'à plus ample information qui vienne modifier les données actuellement connues du problème, il est purement gratuit de le nier.

La seule raison qu'on puisse faire valoir en faveur d'une autre source, est la présence de la même formule dans un texte de Guillaume de St. Thierry qui, lui, semble bien avoir été écrit sous l'influence directe d'une source grecque. Origène est allégué dans ce passage,[1] et cela seul suffit à nous rappeler opportunément que ce condisciple probable de Plotin peut avoir cité quelque part la formule des *Ennéades* ou même celle de Platon lue dans ce texte d'Eusèbe. On n'a pas dépouillé ses oeuvres, que nous sachions, en vue de l'y chercher.

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[1] Voir J. M. Déchanet, *Oeuvres choisies de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry* (Paris, 1944), p. 145.

Elle peut y être. On ne l'a pas signalée non plus chez Grégoire de Nysse, mais elle peut s'y rencontrer et nous savons du moins que Grégoire fut une haute autorité spirituelle aux yeux de saint Bernard de Clairvaux.[2] Bien d'autres sources encore restent possibles, mais, quand tout est dit, rien n'autorise à soutenir que la source d'une certaine formule chez Guillaume de St. Thierry soit nécessairement celle de la même formule chez saint Bernard de Clairvaux. On soutendrait tout aussi gratuitement le contraire, car si étroite qu'ait été l'intimité spirituelle de ces deux hommes, ils restent deux hommes distincts et leurs oeuvres deux oeuvres distinctes. En outre et surtout, ce n'est pas seulement *regio dissimilitudinis* qu'il s'agit de retrouver ailleurs que chez saint Augustin, mais *inveni*, ce qui sera beaucoup plus difficile. En attendant qu'on l'y trouve, il n'est pas dans le texte de Guillaume et cela suffit à faire que les deux problèmes soient différents.

Resterait à savoir si Bernard a directement puisé sa formule dans les *Confessions* d'Augustin. C'est un autre problème, auquel rien ne permet de donner avec assurance une réponse affirmative. Sans doute, Bernard peut avoir lu les *Confessions* et s'être souvenu de ce passage, mais rien ne prouve qu'il l'ait fait. Il est vrai que, prise dans son contexte original, la formule augustinienne était trop étroitement liée à l'histoire personnelle de son auteur pour être aisément transportable, mais, précisément, c'est ce qui rend très difficile de dire, lorsqu'on la rencontre ailleurs, qu'elle vient de là. Telle qu'elle apparaît chez Bernard, elle semble plutôt y arriver toute seule et sans avoir gardé contact avec son origine. Dans le *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, X, 32, ou elle se retrouve, elle semble cousue à un contexte qui rappelle Grégoire de Nysse plutôt qu'Augustin.[3]

Dans le *Sermo 42 De Diversis, art.* 2 et 3, où se rencontre pareillement la formule, la "région de la dissemblance" se trouve opposée à une "région de la ressemblance" qui, à supposer qu'elle ne soit pas une trouvaille de Bernard lui-même, ne se trouve, à notre connaissance, ni chez Platon, ni chez Plotin, ni chez Augustin. C'est le *Sermon 82* sur le Cantique des Cantiques, qui livre dans son intégrité la doctrine de la ressemblance et de la dissemblance spirituelles à laquelle, dans la pensée de Bernard lui-même, notre formule est liée. Comment s'en étonner? Platonicienne chez Platon, plotinienne chez Plotin et augustinienne chez Augustin, elle devient cistercienne chez Bernard de Clairvaux. Pourtant, de l'une à l'autre doctrine, c'est bien la même formule qui se transmet et, avec elle, un certain thème doctrinal que ne rendent jamais méconnaissable les transformations qu'il a subies. Nous l'avons dit, l'existence d'intermédiaires encore inconnus reste possible et l'on pourrait presque dire probable.[4] Saint Bernard peut avoir lu la formule d'Augustin ailleurs que chez saint Augustin lui-même, mais deux conclusions positives n'en restent pas moins certaines. D'abord, directement ou indirectement, c'est bien des *Confessions* que lui est venue cette formule et rien n'autorise actuellement une hypothèse différente. Ensuite, il est inexact que l'expression *regio dissimilitudinis* fasse "figure de corps étranger" dans l'oeuvre bernardine, car elle s'y rencontre au moins trois fois, et quant à contester qu'elle doive être interprêtée en fonction de la théorie bernardine de l'image et de la ressemblance,[5] on ne peut le faire qu'en supprimant les textes où le saint l'interprête ainsi lui-même. Qu'on relise les trois textes actuellement connus où saint Bernard a fait usage de la formule, on constatera, sans discussion possible, qu'il l'a entendue en ce sens trois fois sur trois.

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[2] Voir sur ce point l'important travail de J. Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique. Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris, 1944), pp. 7, 116 et 161-162. Sur le thème de la ressemblance à Dieu, pp. 18-19. Cf. F. Chatillon, *art. cit.* p. 99, n. 2; note juste, mais il n'est pas exact que *regio dissimilitudinis* ne se trouve pas dans le *De Gratia* auquel renvoie l'auteur. Ajouter *In. Cant. Cant.*, 36, 5, cité plus haut.

[3] Comparer la "peau du péché" et J. Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Cf. pp. 60-61, 64 et 68, le curieux rapprochement avec Proclus.

[4] Nous sommes informé de l'une de ces sources possibles, mais elle demande encore quelques confirmations chronologiques.

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[5] F. Chatillon, *art. cit.*, p. 99, n. 2 Pour notre propre conclusion, la seule hesitation possible touchant le "trois fois sur trois" concernerait le texte *In Cant. Cant.*, 36, 5, mais si l'on pousse jusqu'à l'*art.* 6, on verra qu'il ne fait pas exception: et ex imagine sua . . . *etc.*

The Old-Norse Homily on the Assumption and the *Maríu Saga*

G. TURVILLE-PETRE

THE Old-Norse homily on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin is found both in the Stockholm Homily Book[1] and in the Norwegian Homily Book.[2] In the Stockholm book this homily bears the title *Assumptio Sancte Marie*, in the Norwegian book it is called simply *Sermo de Sancta Maria.* The Stockholm book, which is now preserved in the Royal Library of Stockholm, is the work of several hands, and it is commonly believed that it was written about the beginning of the 13th century, or perhaps in the latter years of the 12th century.[3] It is thus one of the oldest of Icelandic manuscripts apart from small fragments.

The Norwegian Homily Book is thought to be rather younger than the Stockholm book. Three hands can be distinguished in it, and it was probably written in the neighbourhood of Bergen, although the scribes who made it appear to be following older manuscripts written in other dialects of Norwegian, notably in those of Trondheim, Eastern and South-Western Norway.[4]

The Stockholm book contains fifty-six homilies, and the Norwegian book thirty-four. Eleven homilies, or parts of them, are found in both books. G. Indrebø[5] has compared the parallel texts of these eleven homilies. He decided that the texts in the Norwegian book, although younger, were closer to the originals than those of the Stockholm book. He also concluded that the homilies found in both books were first written in Norway and were later transcribed in Iceland. The validity of this last conclusion will not be discussed here, even though some of the examples of differences between Norwegian and Icelandic texts, which Indrebø quotes to show the superiority of the Norwegian, are of doubtful significance.[6] There are good reasons to believe that homilies were written in Norway in the vernacular before the middle of the 12th century.[7]

Indrebø[8] has shown that the scribes of the Norwegian and Stockholm books have not followed identical copies of the texts which appear in both of them, and that their relationship is more distant than that. This implies that the eleven homilies found in both books must be considerably older than either of them. It may be suggested that they go back to originals written about the middle of the 12th century.

The two texts of the homily on the Assumption differ little. The chief difference between them is that the text of the Stockholm book contains a passage of fifty-six lines which is not in the Norwegian book.[9] The subject of this homily and its treatment are somewhat conventional. At the beginning the homilist alludes to

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[1] *Homiliu-Bok*, ed. T. Wisén (Lund, 1872), pp. 4-10; also published in facsimile as vol. VIII of the series *Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi*, with an introduction by F. Paasche (Copenhagen, 1935).

[2] The Norwegian Homily Book has been edited three times: *Gammel norsk homiliebog*, ed. C. R. Unger, (Oslo, 1864); *Codex A.M. 619 quarto*, ed. G. T. Flom, (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1929); *Gamal norsk homiliebok*, ed. G. Indrebo (Oslo, 1931). References in this paper apply to Indebo's edition.

[3] See A. Holtsmark, *En islandsk scholasticus fra det 12 arhundre*, (Oslo, 1936), pp. 49 ff.

[4] Cf. Indrebo, *op. cit.*, introduction, pp. 39 ff., and works mentioned there.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

[6] I hope to allude to this question in a short paper on the homily *In dedicatione tempeli.*

[7] Cf. Indrebo, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 40 ff.

[8] *Op. cit.* pp. 47 ff.

[9] *Stockholm Homily Book*, ed. Wisén, p. 8, l. 32-p. 10, l. 13.

Mary's descent from Abraham, and says a few words about her childhood and early youth. He then speaks in general terms about her sanctity and sufferings, and explains why she is superior to all other saints. In the middle passages the homilist departs from this general praise of the Virgin, and describes her virtues in symbols. As in many medieval texts, Mary is the glass through which the rays of the sun shine.[10] Towards the end, the homilist speaks of Mary's death and burial, and of the Assumption of her soul, and perhaps also of her body, into heaven. Finally he speaks, again in general terms, of her virtues, and explains that she is superior, not only to the saints, but even to the angels. He urges his listeners to model their lives on her life, and recommends them to implore her intercession, for she is more merciful than other saints.

K. Vrátný[11] first showed that this homily on the Assumption was closely related to the *Maríu saga*,[12] in which the life of the Virgin was told from beginning to end, with many digressions and a fair proportion of theological discussion. Vrátný listed sixteen passages which appeared, with but slight differences, both in the homily and in the saga. Some of these passages amounted to as much as twenty lines of the printed text of the *Maríu saga*, while others consisted of no more than a single sentence. In the saga the symbolism which depicted Mary as the glass pierced by the rays of the sun is not developed as it is in the homily, and most of the parallel passages consist of reflections on Mary's sanctity, on her sufferings, death, burial and assumption. The following examples will show how closely passages in the two works resemble each other:

(1) þau (Joachim and Anna) kostgæfðu meirr, at þau hefði mikit kraptalán af guði þar fyrir, en því minna auralán af heimi þaðan í frá (*Maríu saga*, p. 2, ll. 12-3).

. . . ok hǫfðu mikit kraptalán af goði, en lítit auralán af heimi (Homily, *Stockholm Book*, p. 4, ll. 24-5).

(2) þat finnsk opt í sǫgum heilagra manna, at guðs englar koma ok vitrask þeim í andláti þeirra með miklum ilm ok ljósi, ok þeir, er hjá standa kenna himneskan ilm eða heyra fagran sǫng eða sjá bjart ljós. En ef dróttinn Jesus Kristr veitir opt mikla dýrð í andláti þræla sinna eða þjóna, þá megum vér at líkendum ráða þaðan af, hversu mikla dýrð hann mundi veita í andláti móður sinnar, er dróttning er allra heilagra manna, eða elligar hefði hann eigi haldit lǫg sín sjálfr, þau er hann setti, fyrir því at hann bauð hverjum manni at vegsama fǫður sinn ok móður. Af því skulum vér trúa, at sá, er kom lǫgin at fylla en eigi at eyða þeim, dróttinn sjálfr Jesus Kristr, fór í mót ǫnd móður sinnar með allri himna dýrð ok óumrœðiligum ilm, ok var af þeim mǫnnum, er við andlát guðs móður váru staddir, at sumra manna frásǫgn, þeirra er hjá váru, en allra manna trú, sén ok heyrð ok kennd ǫll sú dýrð himneskra fagnaða, er menn megu bera eða standask at sjá eða heyra líkamliga. (*Maríu saga*, p. 51, ll. 6-23).

þat finnsk opt í sǫgum heilagra manna, at englar guðs vitrask í andláti þeirra með ljósi, eða þeir er hjá standa kenna himneskan ilm eða heyra

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[10] Numerous examples of this are known from Middle English poetry and from Latin hymns. Cf. C. M. Dursche, *Symbolik der christlichen Lehre*, 1859, II, 144; Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the 13th Century*, 1932, p. 10.

[11] *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, vol. XXXII (Lund, 1916), p. 42.

[12] *Mariu saga*, ed. C. R. Unger (Oslo, 1871). Unger prints two texts of the saga, but the differences between them are slight. There are numerous *mss.* of the *Mariu saga* (see Unger's introduction pp. XI ff.), but the relationship between them has not been studied systematically.

> fagran sǫng. En ef dróttinn Jesus Kristr veitir opt slíka dýrð í andláti þræla sinna, þá megum vér at glíkendum marka, hversu mikla dýrð hann myndi sýna í andláti móður sinnar, er dróttning er omnium sanctorum, eða ella hefði hann eigi haldin þau lǫg, es hann bauð hverjum manni at gǫfga fǫður sinn ok móður. Af því skulum vér trúa, at dróttinn Jesus Kristr fór í gegn ǫnd móður sinnar með allri himna dýrð ok góðum ilm, ok vas sén í andláti hennar ok heyrð ǫll sú dýrð, es menn máttu standask at sjá eða heyra. (Homily, *Stockholm Book*, p. 8, ll. 3-13).

Vrátný did not compare the homily with the saga in detail, nor did he discuss the problems raised by the relationship between them. He was, however, satisfied that the homily was a compilation, and that the saga was one of its sources. Indrebø[13] seemed to accept this conclusion, but it has led to serious difficulties. Since it is found both in the Stockholm and Norwegian books, the homily on the Assumption must have been written a considerable time before the end of the 13th century. But most critics have assigned the *Maríu saga* to the 13th century.[14] Indeed, it cannot have been written in its present form before 1215, because in Chapter 23 reference is made to the Lateran Council convoked by Innocent III in that year. Moreover, according to an old tradition, the compiler of the *Maríu saga* was the distinguished clergyman Kygri-Bjǫrn Hjaltason. Some details about Bjǫrn's career are recorded in several sources, and especially in the various versions of the Saga of Guðmundr the Good. Shortly after the election of Guðmundr as Bishop in 1201, Kolbeinn Tumason appointed Kygri-Bjǫrn secretary at the See of Hólar.[15] This was contrary to the will of Guðmundr himself, and it is said that relations between him and Bjǫrn were unfriendly. Bjǫrn was always among the friends of Guðmundr's enemies, first of Kolbeinn Tumason, and later of Sighvatr Sturluson. In 1214 Bjǫrn went abroad, first to Norway and then to Rome. It was suspected that he had given the ecclesiastical dignitaries abroad an unfavourable account of Guðmundr's conduct as Bishop, and this was perhaps one of the reasons why Guðmundr was ultimately suspended from office.[16] It is not known how long Bjǫrn remained abroad on this occasion, but it is recorded that he landed in Iceland in 1224.[17] It cannot be said whether he had been in Iceland in the meantime, or whether he stayed abroad for ten years. In 1236 Bjǫrn was himself elected Bishop of Hólar in succession to Guðmundr. He then went abroad again, and apparently to Rome to have his election confirmed, but he died on the way back in 1237 or 1238 and never took up office as Bishop.[18]

The ascription of the *Maríu saga* to Bjǫrn is based upon a statement found in a version of Abbot Arngrímr's Saga of Bishop Guðmundr, which was written about the middle of the 14th century. After speaking of Bjǫrn's enmity with his hero, Guðmundr, the author attempts to estimate Bjǫrn's character. He writes:

> Var Kygri-Bjǫrn mikilsháttar klerkr, sem auðsýnask má í því, at hann hefir samsett Maríu sǫgu.[19]

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[13] *Op. cit.* p. 62, footnote 2.

[14] Cf. F. Paasche: *Norges og Islands litteratur* I (Oslo, 1924), pp. 277 f.; Finnur Jonsson, *den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, ed. 2 (Copenhagen, 1920-4), pp. 868-9.

[15] *Biskupa sögur* I (Copenhagen, 1858-78), pp. 475-6.

[16] *Biskupa sögur* II (Copenhagen, 1878), pp. 92-3.

[17] See *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Guthbrandur Vigfusson (Oxford, 1878) I, p. 266. It has been suggested that Björn was among the signatories of a diplomatic document made in Iceland about 1218, but this is by no means certain. See *Diplomatarium Islandicum* I (Copenhagen, 1857-76), pp. 394 ff.

[18] See *Sturlunga saga* I, p. 364; cf. *Islandske Annaler*, ed. G. Storm (Oslo, 1888), index *s.v.* Kygribiörn.

[19] *Biskupa sögur* II (Copenhagen, 1878), p. 186.

Another reason to suppose that Bjǫrn was, in fact, the compiler of the *Maríu saga* may be seen in the assertion of this same saga of Guðmundr, that Bjǫrn arrived in Rome shortly before the Lateran Council of 1215[20] and he was probably there while it was sitting. It is not recorded that Bjǫrn himself took any part in this Council, but his presence in Rome at that time could well account for the interest shown in Chapter 23 of the *Maríu saga* for details of the decisions taken, and for the eloquent description of the delegates present.[21] If Bjǫrn compiled the *Maríu saga*, he most probably did so between 1216 and 1236. If it is right to suppose that he stayed abroad until 1224, he probably compiled it between that date and 1236.

Indrebø[22] was aware of the difficulties involved by Vrátný's explanation of the relationship between the *Maríu saga* and the homily on the Assumption. It would seem to imply that the *Maríu saga* must have been written before Bjǫrn's time. Moreover, according to Indrebø's explanation of the relationship between the two texts of the homily, the *Maríu saga* must be a Norwegian rather than an Icelandic work. For the homily, which was influenced by it, was a Norwegian work which was later transcribed in Iceland.

Indrebø suggested two possible explanations of these difficulties. The *Maríu saga*, which Bjǫrn compiled, may have been another and later one than that which is now preserved. Alternatively, Bjǫrn may have worked over and revised an older *Maríu saga*, which was the basis for the homily. In that case the saga survives only in the revised form which Bjǫrn gave it.

It will certainly be agreed that the *Maríu saga* cannot be derived from the homily in its present form. In nearly every case the parallel passages are fuller and more detailed in the saga than they are in the homily, which often gives no more than a summary of them. At the same time it is hard to believe that the homilist has eclectically copied passages from the saga. As was noted above, the homilist writes the sentence: *ok hǫfðu mikit kraptalán af goði en lítit auralán af heimi* (*Stockholm Book*, p. 4, l. 4), almost in the same words as the *Maríu saga* (p. 2, ll. 12-13). But the passage in which this sentence is found in the *Maríu saga* is a close translation of the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, with the exception of the sentence quoted, which cannot be traced to that book. Similarly, the whole of Chapter 21 of the *Maríu saga* appears in the homily, although in different order and in shortened form. But neither Chapter 20 nor Chapter 22 of the *Maríu saga* has had any influence on the homily. In Chapter 20 the compiler of the *Maríu saga* had mainly followed the *Antiquities of the Jews* of Josephus,[23] and had included a few sentences from the *Gospel of St. Matthew* (Ch. II). At the beginning of Chapter 22 the compiler of the *Maríu saga* returned to Josephus, but the sources of the intervening Chapter 21 seem at first to be more difficult to trace. Why should the homilist have picked out from the *Maríu saga* those passages whose sources were obscure? It should be mentioned that the sources of the *Maríu saga* are not, in most instances, difficult to trace.

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[20] *Biskupa sögur* II, p. 92.

[21] Interesting problems arise from the latter part of Ch. 23 of the *Mariu saga*. The author there describes the Lateran Council in some detail, and not inaccurately. He goes on to say that certain decisions about the chronology of the life of Christ were taken at this Council. This passage is closely related to another, printed in *Alfrœdi islenzk* I, p. 33, where it is also said that the author of the approved chronology was Meistari Gallterius of Paris, who was himself present at the Council. Gallterius and his book are repeatedly cited in the chronological texts of Iceland (cf. N. Beckman, *Alfrœdi islenzk* II (Copenhagen 1914-6), p. 237, footnote 4; see also *Flateyjarbok* III (Oslo, 1868), p. 524, and *Islandske Annaler* (Oslo, 1888) index *s.v.* Gallterus), but I have not been able to identify him or his book in the literature of any other land. I should welcome such information as any reader could give me on this subject.

[22] *Op. cit.*, introduction p. 62, footnote 2.

[23] See below p. 139.

Neither Vrátný nor Indrebø attempted to find sources for the passages which the *Maríu saga* shares with the homily. It will be agreed that they cannot be derived independently from a source in Latin, for the verbal similarity between the saga and the homily is too close to allow such a conclusion. It might, in fact, be thought that the content of the passages common to both works is of so general a kind that it is unnecessary to suppose that they had any foreign source. Most of the sentiments expressed in these passages might be no more than the pious reflections of a Norwegian or Icelandic clergyman.

It will be noticed that, in Chapter 27 of the *Maríu saga*, the question whether the body of the Virgin was taken up into heaven as well as her soul is discussed, and no conclusion is reached. The author writes:

> En þar kveðr Jeronimus prestr skýrt á, at hon andaðisk ok var jǫrðuð, en hann segir eigi víst, hvárt var heldr, at hon tók upprisu líkama síns litlu eptir andlát sitt, eða væri folginn líkami hennar, til þess at syndugir menn næði eigi at sjá né hǫndla. (*Maríu saga*, p. 57, ll. 12-17).

The homilist discusses the question in similar terms, and he writes:

> Jeronimus prestr segir skýrt, at hon andaðisk ok var grafin, en hann segir eigi víst hvárt heldr vas, at hon tók upprisu líkams síns litlu eptir andlát sitt, eða guð fal líkam hennar, at syndgir menn megi eigi ejá (*Stockholm Book*, p. 8, ll. 19-22).

In these words the saga and the homily give a clue to the source of most, though not of all, of the passages which appear in both of them. Many of the sentiments expressed in these passages are, in fact, to be found in a letter on the feast of the Assumption, which is popularly ascribed to St. Jerome, and addressed to the holy women Paula and Eustochium.[24] A part of this letter was also translated into Old English by Ælfric, who made it the basis of his homily on the Assumption.[25] After he has described how Mary was buried, Jerome says that her grave is now empty. He continues:

> Hæc idcirco dixerim, quia multi nostrorum dubitant, utrum assumpta fuerit simul cum corpore, an abierit relicto corpore. Quomodo autem, vel quo tempore, aut a quibus personis sanctissimum corpus inde ablatum fuerit, . . . nescitur . . . (123 D).

If the Norse homily and the *Maríu saga* are compared with Jerome's letter, it will be found that the saga follows the letter more closely than the homily does. The following passage found in the letter may be compared with the second example from the saga and the homily quoted on page 132 above:

> Legimus enim quam sæpe ad funera et ad sepultras quorumlibet sanctorum angelos advenisse, et exsequis eorum obsequia præstitisse: necnon et animas electorum usque ad cælos, cum hymnis et laudibus detulisse: ubi et utriusque sexus chori commemorantur frequenter auditi, laudesque cecinisse: interea et quod perspicacius est, multo nonnumquam lumine eosdem resplenduisse; insuper et adhuc viventes in carne, ibidem miri odoris fragrantiam diutius persensisse . . . quod si ad recreandam spem . . . Salvator noster Jesus Christus . . . talia et tanta dignetus est exhibere per suos cæli ministros circa defunctos: Quanto magis credendum est hodierna die militiam cælorum

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[24] *S. Eusebii Hieronymi opera omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne, vol. XI (Paris, 1846), columns 122-42. On the origin of this letter see D. G. Morin in *Revue Bénédictine* IX (1892), pp. 496-7.

[25] Published in *The Homilies of Aelfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, I (1843-4), pp. 437 ff.

> cum suis agminibus festive obviam venisse genitrici Dei, eamque ingenti lumine circumfulsisse, et usque ad thronum olim sibi etiam ante mundi constitutionem paratum, cum laudibus et canticis perduxisse. (130 B f.).

Early in his letter Jerome warns the holy women against an apocryphal book *De transitu eiusdem Virginis* (123 C), and says that nothing is known about the passing of the Virgin, except that on this day she left her body. He continues:

> Monstratur autem sepulcrum ejus cernentibus nobis usque ad præsens in Vallis Josaphat medio, quæ vallis est inter montem Sion et montem Oliveti posita . . . ubi in ejus honore fabricata est ecclesia miro lapide tabulata: in qua sepulta fuisse (ut scire potestis) ab omnibus ibidem prædicatur: sed nunc vacuum esse mausoleum cernentibus ostenditur (123 C-D).

The Norse homilist says:

> En líkamr hennar var grafin í dal þeim, es heitir Vallis Josaph*at*, ok vas þar gǫr síðan kirkja dýrlig henni til vegs, en nú es þar tóm fundin grǫfin. (*Stockholm Book*, p. 8, ll. 15-17).

The *Maríu saga* says:

> En líkami sællar Marie var jarðaðr í dal þeim, er heitir Vallis Josaphat. Þar var síðan dýrlig kirkja gǫr henni til dýrðar. En nú er grǫf hennar tóm fundin.
>
> Staðr sá er en helga María andaðisk í, heitir, sem áðr var sagt, Vallis Josaphat. Hann liggr á milli fjalla þeirra, er annat heitir Oliveti en annat Sion (*Maríu saga*, p. 51, ll. 25-32).

In this last example Jerome's letter is more fully represented by the saga than by the homily. There are, in fact, a number of passages in the letter which reappear in the saga, but not in the homily. In Chapter 27 (p. 57, ll. 27 ff.) the saga quotes the words of Solomon (*Song of Songs* vi, 9): *Que est ista que ascendit sicut aurora consurgens, pulcra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*. Jerome also quotes these words (130 A), but the saga devotes no less than three and a half pages (pp. 58-61) to symbolical interpretation of them, which is not found in Jerome's letter.

It was remarked above that the whole of Chapter 21 of the *Maríu saga* appears in the homily, although in different order and in compressed form. In this chapter the author speaks especially of Mary's humility. He then contrasts Mary with those martyrs who endured bodily suffering. Mary suffered spiritually when she saw her son crucified, and she is greater than the other martyrs. He goes on to explain that Mary worked no miracles in this life. Most of these thoughts can also be traced to Jerome's letter. The following examples from Chapter 21 of the saga and the corresponding passage of the homily will help to show the relationship between these works and Jerome's letter:

> . . . aðrir helgir menn tóku píning á líkam sínum, . . . en ǫnd sancte Maríe var pínd, þá er hon sá augum sínum á, er sonr hennar várr dróttinn var . . . krossfestr (*Maríu saga* p. 43, ll. 12-16).

> Þeir menn eru ok mikils virðir af guði es píningar taka af vándum mǫnnum fyrir hans sakar, en þó hefir María þessa dýrð framar en aðrir, þvíat aðrir helgir menn tóku píningar á líkami sína, en ǫnd Maríu var pínd, es hon sá augum sínum á píning dróttins várs (*Stockholm Book* p. 5, ll. 20-24).

> Alii namque sancti, etsi passi sunt pro Christo in carne, tamen in anima, quia immortalis est, pati non potuerunt. Beata vero Dei genitrix, quia in

> ea parte passa est . . . quia spiritualiter in caro ejus passa est gladio passionis Christi, plus quam martyr fuit (138 A).

Although Jerome's letter is represented more fully by the saga than by the homily, some passages from the letter appear in the homily, but not in the saga. The homilist says:

> Ef dróttinn sagði fǫgnuð vesa englum á himni yfir einum manni, þeim er iðrask synda sinna, þá má sjá at glíkendum hversu mikill fǫgnuðr þeim myndi þá verða, es þangat kom dróttning þeirra ok móðir dróttins þeirra (*Stockholm Book*, p. 8, ll. 24-7).

Jerome writes:

> Quod si gaudium fit in cælo de quolibet peccatore converso, multo magis putandum pro tantæ virginis exaltatione et gloria, quod exsultatio fiat in supernis . . . (137 B).

Like the letter, the homily is designed to be read on the feast of the Assumption. The homilist says:

> Hátíð uppnumningar móður guðs veitir mikinn fǫgnuð englum á himni ok mǫnnum á jǫrðu . . . á jǫrðu es mǫnnum skylt at fagna dýrð hennar . . . (*Stockholm Book*, p. 8, ll. 22-27).

This passage cannot be traced exclusively to one passage in the letter, for Jerome repeatedly calls on his readers to rejoice in this feast of the Assumption (e.g. columns 128 C, 126 C, etc.), and there can be little doubt that the expression of this thought in the homily is due to the influence of the letter.

Similarly, the homilist advises his audience to model their lives on the life of the Virgin:

> En sá dýrkar réttliga guðs móður, er líf sitt myndir eptir hennar atferð . . . (*Stockholm Book*, p. 8, ll. 29-30).

St. Jerome repeatedly urges Paula and Eustochium to imitate the Virgin and to follow her example, although in rhetorical language which would be altogether unsuitable for an early Norse homily (e.g. columns 139 D, 140 C-D, etc.).

Other passages which demonstrate the similarity between Jerome's letter on the one hand and the *Maríu saga* and homily on the Assumption on the other could be quoted. Enough has been said to show that a great proportion of the passages which the saga shares with the homily are derived ultimately from Jerome's letter on the feast of the Assumption. This letter is represented more fully by the saga than it is by the homily, although each of them contains passages from the letter which are not in the other. This implies that the two works are derived partly from a common source, for which Jerome's letter was the basis. Verbal similarity between the saga and the homily shows that this common source was in the vernacular and not in Latin.

It has also been shown that the homily and the saga have certain passages in common which cannot be traced to Jerome's letter.[26] These passages are found especially at the beginning of the homily and in the early chapters of the saga, where Mary's childhood and youth are described. This shows that the source used by the *Maríu saga* and the homily was not simply a version of Jerome's letter in Old Norse. It contained a considerable amount of material which is not in the letter, at any rate, not in the form of it now known.

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[26] See above p. 132, example 1. One passage which appears both in the saga (p. 14, ll. 16-23) and the homily (*Stockholm Book* p. 4, ll. 28-30), but not in Jerome's letter, is related to the apocryphal Acts of S. Bartholomew (i.e. the *Apostolic History of Abdias*, ed. J. A. Fabricius in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, (Hamburg, 1719-43) II, pp. 675 ff.) Verbal similarity between the saga and the homily on the one hand and the Icelandic version of the Acts of Bartholomew (*Postola sögur*, ed. C. R. Unger

It may be surmised that this early vernacular source for the *Maríu saga* and the homily was itself a homily, based largely, though not exclusively, on Jerome's letter and designed to be read on the feast of the Assumption. The *Maríu saga*, as now preserved, reproduces a greater proportion of this lost homily than the existing homily on the Assumption does. But since it is designed to be read on the feast of the Assumption, the existing homily is, in form, a truer representative of the lost homily than the *Maríu saga* is.[27]

So far as I am able to see there is no reason to doubt the traditional ascription of the *Maríu saga* to Kygri-Bjǫrn. I hope to discuss the sources of this saga in a later article, but a few words should be said about them here. It seems that Kygri-Bjǫrn "put this saga together" (hann hefir samsett Maríu Sǫgu), and that the material which he used for it was of many different kinds.

As C. R. Unger[28] pointed out, the chief source for the first twelve chapters of the saga is the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, nearly all of which appears in close translation in these chapters. The *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, in its turn, appears to be based upon the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*,[29] and like the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* it was commonly attributed to St. Jerome. This explains the reference to Jerome made in the Prologue to the *Maríu saga* (p. 1, ll. 5 f.):

> eptir því sem segir enn gǫfgi kennimaðr ok enn dýrligi prestr Jeronimus, ok tók þat af frásǫgn Matheus guðspjallamanns . . .

Unger says that the compiler of the saga did not know the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. It seems probable, however, that he did, although he used it sparingly, perhaps believing it heretical. The following sentences resemble the *Pseudo-Matthew* more closely than they do the *Birth of Mary*:

> Hvern dag kómu englar guðs hana at finna ok fœrðu henni himneska fœzlu. En alla þá vist gaf hon fátœkjum mǫnnum, er biskup gaf henni (*Maríu saga*, p. 14, ll. 28 f.).

These words may be compared with *Pseudo-Matthew* (Ch. VII):

> Cotidie esca quam de manu angeli accibiebat ipsa tantum reficiebatur; escam vero quam a pontificibus consequabatur pauperibus dividebat.

In his first twelve chapters the compiler of the *Maríu saga* has used several sources besides the apocryphal gospels already mentioned. These include the canonical gospels of St. Luke and St. Matthew. In Chapter 8 he follows a late apocryphal work known as the *Trinubium Annae*, which tells how Anna, the mother of Mary, was married three times, first to Joachim, secondly to Cleophas, the brother of Joseph, and thirdly to Saloma. A complete translation of the *Trinubium* into Icelandic was made at an early date,[30] and a version of it in

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1874, pp. 746 and 759) on the other may perhaps suggest that the passage in the saga and the homily was taken from the vernacular version of the Acts, and not from the Latin text.

[27] The influence of Jerome's letter can also be seen in another Icelandic homily on the Assumption (*Stockholm Book*, pp. 2-4).

[28] Introduction to *Mariu saga* p. III.

[29] For the texts of the Gospels of *Pseudo-Matthew* and of the *Birth of Mary* see *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. C. de Tischendorf, ed. 2 (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 51 and 113 ff.; cf. *Liber de Infantia Mariae et Christi Salvatoris*, ed. O. Schade (Halle, 1869).

[30] Published in *Alfrœdi islenzk* I, ed. K. Kalund (Copenhagen, 1908), p. 56.

English, dating from the first decades of the 12th century, has been published.[21]

The *Gospel of the Birth of Mary* ends with the birth of Christ, and after that the sources of the *Maríu saga* become more varied. The description of the birth of Christ (Ch. 13) resembles that of *Pseudo-Matthew* (XIII) in several features. One of the most interesting chapters is Chapter 18, in which the flight into Egypt is described. Here the compiler seems chiefly to follow the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, or a source which resembled it closely. As in *Pseudo-Matthew* (XXIII), the Egyptian idols are said to fall from their pedestals when the Lord and his mother approach. On their way into Egypt the holy family came to an old, withered fig-tree, which suddenly became green with leaves and heavy with fruit (epli) when they came near (cf. *Pseudo-Matthew* XX). Like many other apocryphal texts, the *Maríu saga* describes how Christ met the good thief, Dismas, then a child in arms, on his way into Egypt. Once, when the Virgin was left alone with Dismas, he began to cry, and she gave him suck.[22]

Among the sources which the compiler of the *Maríu saga* used most were the 16th and 17th books of the *Antiquities of the Jews* of Josephus. These books supplement the canonical gospels and enable the compiler of the *Maríu saga* to give a fairly detailed background of Jewish history. It is interesting to see how, in Chapter 20 of the *Maríu saga*, the work of Josephus (*Ant. Jews*, Book XVII, Chs. VI-VIII, XI) is interwoven with the Gospel of St. Matthew (II). The compiler of the *Maríu saga* chiefly follows Josephus in his descriptions of Jewish politics, cruelty and intrigue in the time of Christ.[23] It is not known in what form the work of Josephus reached the compiler of the *Maríu saga*, but it is known that versions of Josephus's works in Latin circulated during the middle ages. Brandr Jónsson, who died in 1264, also used the *Antiquities of the Jews*, and probably the *War of the Jews*, for his *Gyðinga saga*.[24] Both of these works might be expected to interest the Icelanders in the 13th century. Josephus's descriptions of the ruthless ambition, cruelty and deceit which flourished in Palestine in the time of Christ, are not unlike passages in the *Sturlunga saga*.

In addition to the historical and pseudo-historical works already mentioned, the compiler of the *Maríu saga* has made extensive use of the fathers and commentators, some of whom he names, *viz.* Augustine, John Chrysostom, Gregory. Like many teachers of his age, he delights in symbolism. The fifteen steps of the temple, up which Mary runs unaided at the age of three, are symbolised in two ways (Chs. 4-5). The gifts of the Kings from the East have each a symbolical meaning (Ch. 15),[25] as have the words of the *Magnificat* (Ch. 11) and of the *Song of Songs* (Ch. 27). In Chapter 26 the Last Judgement is described in a way which recalls the *Lucidarius*, attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis.[26]

The compiler of the *Maríu saga* was a man of immense learning, and he could rightly be described as *mikilsháttar klerkr*. The method which he employed in compiling the *Maríu saga* was similar to that used by Snorri for his books of Norse history. Like Snorri he used various sources, but while the sources for the *Heimskringla* were native ones, those for the *Maríu saga* were foreign. Like Snorri, the compiler of the *Maríu saga* has put his own stamp on his work. He is cautious and restrained in his religious beliefs, and perhaps even a little sceptical. He condemns the belief in the Immaculate Conception (Ch. 3), and follows the letter attributed to Jerome in his doubts about the assumption of Mary's body (Chapter 27), although it may be deduced from Chapter 25 that he knew some version of the *Transitus Mariae*. He is aware that the fathers do not always agree in their interpretations of Holy Writ, and in such cases he thinks it wiser to refrain from drawing conclusions:

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[21] See M. Forster, *Englische Studien* LIV, pp. 96 ff.

[22] Cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 116, 161.

[23] The influence of Josephus is strongest in Chs. 20 and 22 of the *Maríu saga*.

[24] Cf. *Gyðinga saga*, ed. Guðmundur Þorláksson, introduction pp. V ff.

[25] On the symbolical meaning of these gifts see O. Schade, *op. cit.* p. 35, footnote 213.

[26] See *The Elucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh*, ed. J. Morris Jones and J. Rhys (Oxford, 1894), Latin text pp. 217-8; cf. *Alfræði íslenzk* III, ed. K. Kalund (Copenhagen, 1917-18), p. 8.

> En þar, sem á þykkir greina í frásǫgnum heilagra feðra, þar er sá háttr tekinn af vitrum mǫnnum, at segja hváratveggju frásǫgn, en dœma hvárki ómætt, en þó þpkkir þat bjartast ok óerfiðast, at hafa fleiri manna vitni til máls sǫnnunar. (p. 38, ll. 8-12).

In one passage (p. 22, ll. 20 f.) the compiler alludes to the faulty Latin of his countrymen. He rebukes those who are so careless that they render:

Magnificat anima mea dominum
by: miklar dróttinn ǫnd mína

It would not be surprising if so thoughtful and careful a scholar as this one had little in common with a fanatic like Bishop Guðmundr of Hólar.

Did Remigius of Auxerre Comment on Bede's *De Schematibus et Tropis?*

J. P. ELDER

PROFESSOR BEESON, in a recent and highly instructive study inspired by the admirable *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* compiled by Professors Laistner and King,[1] has properly emphasized the amount of light shed on the cultural movements of western Europe by an examination of the diaspora of the manuscripts of Bede. He would, I am sure, attach similar importance for similar reasons to manuscripts containing commentaries on Bede. For the commentaries, first of all, reveal the particular works of Bede which in particular periods appeared to need special exegesis. Then, too, the nature of the expositions, as well as the number of their copies, the scriptoria that produced them, and the libraries which possessed them, add a not unimportant bit to our total picture of thought and letters in western Europe from the Carolingian age up to the Italian Renaissance. The present study deals with one such commentary, a ninth century affair, on Bede's *De Schematibus et Tropis* (*Sacrae Scripturae*).[2]

But Bede's two little companion pieces, the *De Arte Metrica*[3] and the *De Schematibus et Tropis*, like the anonymous commentary on the latter which is treated in this study, are also of value for the illumination they cast on the attitude of a number of the Fathers toward the ancient pagan literature. Naturally, one cannot speak of an 'official' attitude of 'the Church' for the early Christian centuries. How one looked upon the Classics then was purely an individual matter, and great names can be enrolled on either side of the controversy or, if one prefer a more peaceful word, on either side of the issue. But this much is plain, that by the sixth century the Fathers, had they felt unanimously so inclined, could have destroyed with some effort a very considerable portion of the pagan writings which they did not wish to see saved. To put it positively, it was a victorious Christianity which was mainly responsible for preserving most of our Latin Classics.[4] This act of salvation was not inspired by aesthetic or cultural considerations only, but by such ruggedly practical ones as what arguments one might dig out of the pagan authors which might be used to make Christianity more palatable to non-Christians. Cassiodorus, following such Fathers as St. Jerome and St. Augustine, had firmly declared: *Verumtamen nec illud Patres sanctissimi decreverunt, ut saecularium litterarum studia respuantur, quia non exinde minimum ad sacras Scripturas intellegendas sensus noster instruitur.*[5] The later Fathers, with few exceptions, followed Cassiodorus's advice to emulate the shrewd Moses who, we are told, was *eruditus—omni sapientia Aegyptiorum* and—an important additional virtue—*potens in verbis.*

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[1] C. H. Beeson, 'The Manuscripts of Bede', *Class. Philol.* XLII (1947), 73-87; M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Cornell, 1943).

[2] Edited by H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1857-80, I-VIII; hereafter referred to as *KGL*), VII, pp. 227-60.

[3] Edited by C. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863; hereafter referred to as *Halm*), pp. 607-18. On this work, as on the *De Schematibus*, see M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters* I (1911), pp. 74-75.

[4] See the excellent study by A. C. Clark, 'The Reappearance of the Texts of the Classics', *The Library*, 4th ser., II (1921), 13-42. Fr. J. Reginald O'Donnell has kindly called my attention to a more recent study, not available to me, on the same subject by P. Lehmann in *Philobiblon* 1934, Heft 5, pp. 209-28. On this whole matter of the descent of the Latin Classics, I do not wish to overlook the passive rôles of luck and human inertia (which probably explain the preservation of Lucretius and Catullus), nor the great services of the Irish monks of the seventh century or of the Carolingians (our debt to whom is amply demonstrated by the dates of most of our earliest classical manuscripts), nor the fact that certain writers like Virgil and Statius were doubtless preserved with the compliment of a Christian benediction both because of their inherent charm and because they mirrored a culture whose later growth, however much modified, was still green. Other authors, too, were doubtless saved out of a deep respect for the erudition of a great past; St. Augustine, for example, would hardly have destroyed his Varro *paganitatis causa*, though unhappily no scholar of his stamp was to follow him for too long a time. In this connection, however, one may wonder if St. Augustine himself did not indirectly contribute to our loss of Varro quite as much as did the much-emphasized shift from roll to codex or any general disinterest in pagan scholarship. Did later ages, in which scholarship became systematic instead of discursive, perhaps feel that the master had excerpted from the learned Roman all that was worthy of preservation?

The Venerable Bede, composing at Jarrow in 701 or 702 his two little tracts *De Metrica Arte* and *De Schematibus* for the reader of Christian literature, had certainly taken to heart St. Jerome's admonition *Ama scientiam Scripturarum et carnis vitia non amabis.*[6] Yet, like Moses, he 'spoiled the Egyptian' by deriving for his treatises his basic concepts from the pagan grammarians and from Isidore, a Christian storehouse of pagan learning. The first of Bede's two essays treats the metres which the ancients had used, but the illustrations are generally drawn from Christian poets.[7] The second deals with the figures of speech which the Greeks and Romans had developed and codified, but only as these figures are employed in Holy Writ. Pagan metres, Christian poetry, pagan figures, and the Scriptures—a truly humanistic treatment of past forms for present purposes!

It is not surprising, then, that these two youthful works of Bede achieved a high popularity in the classrooms of the Carolingian and later periods, as the list of their extant manuscripts attests.[8] What could be more natural, too, than that some Carolingian schoolmaster should compose commentaries on them for his classroom? For Cassiodorus's spirit was flourishing, thanks to men like Alcuin. As an unknown Carolingian grammarian declared *à propos* of a grammatical tract which he was sending to a friend:

> His omnibus perspectis et intellectis, eo liquidius potueris sacras perscrutari paginas, quia peritia grammaticae artis in sacrosancto scrutinio laborantibus ad subtiliorem intellectum, qui frequenter in sacris Scripturis inseritur, valde utilis esse dinoscitur.[9]

In this spirit the most prolific of Carolingian schoolmasters, Remigius of Auxerre (ca. 841-908),[10] pupil of Lupus of Ferrières and Heiric of Auxerre and consequently heir to the wealth of both the Irish and the Continental cultures, wrote a commentary on the *De Metrica Arte*. In the eleventh century the Gorze library possessed a copy entered in its catalogue as *Expositio Remigii . . . super Bedam de arte metrica* and, in that same century, Puy had another; in the twelfth century Anchin, too, had a copy.[11] Today excerpts of this work are preserved in a manuscript now at Munich, *Monac.* 19456, *s.* X, fol. 164^a-174^a, and in marginal and interlinear form in another at Rouen, *Rotomag.* 1470, *s.* X/XI, fol. 39^a-54^b. There exists a third source for the text, or at least for the last third of the text, preserved in what is apparently a full and complete form for its section, in a Vatican manuscript, *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1560, *s.* IX/X, fol. 125^a-127^b.[12] Each of these three books is a veritable storehouse of *Remigiana* and merits most careful scrutiny. The Munich manuscript contains Remigius's commentary on Sedulius (possibly his notes on the lectures of Heiric decked out in more elegant garb), and also anonymous glosses on the *De Metrica Arte* and *De Schematibus.* Of these glosses Huemer correctly remarked: "Diese Glossen sind von derselben Hand geschrieben und stammen höchst wahrscheinlich von demselben Verfasser wie der Seduliuscommentar".[13] The Rouen book is even richer. Thanks to Manitius, we know that it gives us Remigius on Priscian, Phocas, Eutyches, Bede's *De Metrica Arte*, and on the *Disticha Catonis.*[14] The third manuscript, *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1560, contains Remigius's commentaries on Persius and the *Disticha Catonis* and also anonymous commentaries, now shown to be Remigius's work, on Donatus's *Ars Maior*, *Phocas*, and Bede's De Metrica Arte.[15] It also contains on fol. 127^b-137^a an anonymous commentary on Bede's *De Schematibus* which, as I shall now attempt to show, is also a work of Remigius.

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[5] *Inst.* I, 28, 3.

[6] *Ep.* 125, 11, 2.

[7] Cf. M. Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', *Wiener SB* CXII (1886), pp. 614-26.

[8] Cf. Laistner and King, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 132-6.

[9] Quoted by C. Thurot, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* XXII, 2 (1868), pp. 61-2.

[10] To the bibliography on Remigius given by M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters* I (1911), pp. 504-19, II (1923), pp. 808-9, and III (1931), p. 1063, add: H. F. Stewart, 'A commentary by Remigius Autissiodorensis on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius', *The Journal of Theological Studies* XVII (1916), pp. 23-5; Dom M. Cappuyns, 'Le plus ancien commentaire des *Opuscula Sacra* et son origine', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* III (1931), pp. 263-70 and his *Jean Scot Erigène, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain, 1933), *passim*; E. K. Rand, 'The Supposed Commentary of John the Scot on the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius', *Hommage à Monsieur Maurice de Wulf* (Louvain, 1934), 67-77; E. T. Silk, *Saeculi Noni Auctoris in Boetii Consolationem Philosophiae Commentarius* (Papers and Monogr., Amer. Acad. Rome, IX, 1935), pp. IX-L and 305-43; C. E. Lutz, *Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum* (Med. Acad. Amer., Publ. 34, 1939), pp. IX-XIII; J. P. Elder, 'The Missing Portions of the *Commentum Einsidlense* on Donatus's *Ars Grammatica*', *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.* LVI (1945-6), 129-60, and, 'A Mediaeval Cornutus on Persius' *Speculum, XXII* (April, 1947), 240-48.

Bede himself linked together these two of his works. At the close of the *De Metrica Arte* he carefully announces his intention of adding a sequel: *cui etiam de figuris vel modis locutionum, quae a Graecis schemata vel tropi dicuntur, parvum subicere libellum non incongruum duxi.*[16] It would be natural, then, for the Carolingians to lecture on them both together; probably the author of the commentary on the one also commented on the other.

To approach the matter from another quarter, the fact that *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1560 contains two commentaries attributed to Remigius and three anonymous ones, identified as his work, strongly suggests that the only other unnamed commentary in this manuscript, that on the *De Schematibus*, is probably also by him. It should be remembered that Huemer reached this conclusion for similar reasons when he dealt with the anonymous glosses on the *De Schematibus* in *Monac.* 19456.[17]

In this series of inferences, a comparison of Huemer's excerpts from the Munich glosses on the *De Schematibus* with the commentary on this work in the Vatican book is illuminating. Each version is found in a veritable *nidus Remigianus* and each, as the following examples show, is plainly derived from the same archetypal work:[18]

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[11] See M. Manitius, 'Geschichtliches aus mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen', *Neues Archiv* XXXII (1907), 681-2.

[12] From 'cui contraria est dieresis. *Secta* id est dolata' (*KGL* VII, 248, 30) to the end of the work (*KGL* VII, 260, 11) '*Duxi* id est didici. *Operam* id est studium. *Impensas* id est des. *Illarum* ad divinam Scripturam eum provocat'. In 1938 the learned and much-lamented Dom A. Wilmart, to whom I applied for information about this book, agreed that the two commentaries which it contained on Bede were doubtless by Remigius, and added that he knew of no other manuscript giving a full version of this particular commentary on the *De Schematibus.* He further suggested to me that the portion of this highly complex manuscript which contains this commentary was probably written at Fleury in the late ninth or early tenth century. The script is Carolingian minuscule; the ruling is 'New Style'. I possess photostats or microfilms of the entire book and have published some of its contents; see note 10. A full palaeographical description of this highly interesting manuscript must await a later reexamination.

[13] J. Huemer, 'Ueber ein Glossenwerk zum Dichter Sedulius', *Wiener SB* (philos.-hist. Classe) XCVI (1880; hereafter referred to as *Huemer*), 509.

[14] 'Zur karolingischen Literatur', *Neues Archiv* XXXVI (1910-11), 43-55, and 'Remigiusscholien', *Münchener Museum* II (1913-14), 79-113.

[15] See my studies cited in note 10.

[16] *KGL* VII, 260, 7.

[17] See above, note 13.

[18] In the following quotations, italicized words are lemmata taken from the text on which the comment is made.

Monac. 19456	*Vat. Reg. lat.* 1560
fol. 169 (*Halm* 607, 8; *Huemer* 526) *Et q. gl. G.* saepius invenisse has figuras: unde hic revincit eos dicens in sancta Scriptura, quae antiquior est omnibus humanis scripturis, eas esse factas et ipsa exempla ponit in sequentibus, quae etiam dicunt se fabulas invenisse. Nam pergentes cum Alexandro in Hierusalem et videntes in templo Domini picturas occasionem quarundam sumpserunt. Viderunt enim in porticu eiusdem templi Heliam depictum, cuius (cui *cod.*) nomen legentes quod etiam solis nomen signatur, quia elios Graece sol dicitur, fabulam solis inde composuerunt dicentes eum habere equos propter quattuor tempora anni.	fol. 128^{a} *Greci* sepius invenisse has figuras *gloriantur*: sed hic revincit eos dicens in sancta Scriptura, quae antiquior est humanis omnibus scripturis, eas esse factas et ex ipsa ponit exempla in sequentibus. 'Qui etiam se fabulas invenisse dicunt': nam cum Alexandro euntes in Ierusalem et videntes in templo Domini picturas occasionem quarundam fabularum sumpserunt. Viderunt in porticu eiusdem templi Heliam depictum in curru suo, cuius nomen legentes quo etiam solis nomen signatur, quia helios Grece sol dicitur, fabulam solis inde composuerunt, dicentes eum habere quattuor equos propter quattuor anni tempora.
fol. 171 (*Halm* 609, 23; *Huemer* 527) *Epizeuxis* id est superconiunctio.	fol. 129^{a} *Epizeusis* id est superconiunctio.
fol. 171 (*Halm* 609, 28; *Huemer* 527) *Palinlogia* id est repetitio sermonis, palin iterum, logos sermo; id est iteratus sermo.	fol. 129^{a} *Palinlogie* palin id est iterum, logos sermo (sermo *ss.*); inde palinlogia iteratus sermo.
fol. 171 (*Halm* 609, 30; *Huemer* 530) *Semen*, seminis utrumque significat tam annonae quam hominis, sed seminium (et seminum *cod.*) hominis, haec sementis (his semitis *cod.*) frugum, hoc seminarium: origo cuiusque rei.	fol. 129^{a} semen, sementis, seminarium; hoc semen, huius seminis; dicitur de omnibus annonis et animalibus; haec sementis (semitis *cod.*), huius sementis, de frugibus; hoc seminarium vero cuiuscumque rei origo et initium.[19]
fol. 172 (*Halm* 610, 3; *Huemer* 527) *Schesis* (scescis *cod.*) *onomaton* onomanon (nominum?) scessis multitudo.	fol. 129^{b} *Scesis* multitudo; onoma nomen.[20]
fol. 172 (*Halm* 610, 38; *Huemer* 536) *Nive dealbabuntur in Selmon*: Selmon interpretatur umbra et est mons in Galilea; Selmon ergo significat Christum qui umbra protectionis suae sanctos custodit et ab aestu temptationum protegit. Mons dei Christus appellatur . . . quique est mons uber ob fertilitatem donorum Spiritus sancti, ipse est et mons pinguis,	fol. 129^{b} *Selmon*: interpretatur umbra et significat Christum qui umbra protectionis suae sanctos custodit et ab estu temptationum protegit. Mons dei Christus appellatur ob celsitudinem virtutum, quique est mons uber ob fertilitatem donorum Spiritus sancti, ipse est et mons pinguis,

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[19] Cf. *Glossaria Latina* (Paris, 1926) I, p. 516, items 256-7.

[20] Cf. Isid., *Orig.* I, 36, 13.

There exist coincidences in both thought and expression between passages in our anonymous commentary on the *De Schematibus* and certain works definitely known to be by Remigius so striking as to establish a strong presumption that the author of this work, too, is none other than the learned monk of Auxerre. Few of these coincidences are to be found between our Vatican commentary and Remigius's commentaries on either Sedulius or on Bede's *De Metrica Arte*. Perhaps this lack of parallels is to be accounted for by difference in subject matter; more probably, however, it is owing to the fact that not enough of Remigius's explanations of these two texts has yet been published to allow for much comparison. Nor have I discovered many parallels between our work and Remigius's exegesis of secular authors like Terence, Juvenal and Persius, or Donatus,[21] Priscian,[22] Phocas and Eutyches, or Boethius and Martianus. However, Remigius in commenting on secular authors quite naturally employed for the most part examples from secular writers, whereas the author of the commentary on the *De Schematibus*, like Bede himself, draws his examples almost entirely from Holy Scripture. Also there are again few published excerpts of Remigius's commentaries on these authors. A number of trivial parallels can be found between Remigius's *Commentum Einsidlense in Donati Barbarismum*, in the short sections *De Schematibus* and *De Tropis*, but these grammatical definitions were traditional and common knowledge to most of the mediaeval learned world. Naturally Donatus's own examples, drawn mostly from poets of the early Empire, offer no coincidences with Bede's exegesis. But Remigius's commentaries on *Genesis* and on *Psalms*[23] tell quite another story. Here the similar subject matter offers a good field for coincidences, and the results are not disappointing, even though a great portion of mediaeval Biblical exegesis was as traditional as grammatical lore. In these fields, one must always reckon with St. Jerome and Donatus. Yet such parallels as the following are persuasive:

Remigius	*Vat. Reg. lat. 1560*
In Gen. 1, 11 (*Migne* 131, p. 56) Haec sementis est frugum et arborum: semen vero hominum, et animalium seminium vel sementum exordium cuiuscunque rei.	fol. 129^{a} (*Halm* 609, 30) *diversa* id est varia, ut amans et amens, semen, sementis, seminarium; hoc semen, huius seminis; dicitur de omnibus annonis et animalibus; haec sementis (semitis *cod.*), huius sementis, de frugibus; hoc seminarium vero cuiuscumque rei origo et initium.
In Gen. 36, 3 (*Migne* 131, p. 114) *Tunicam polymitam.* Id est glutinatam, vel orbiculatam.	fol. 135^{a} (*Halm* 617, 15) *Polimita* id est orbiculata, glutinata (glitinata *cod.*).
In Gen. 49, 9 (*Migne* 131, p. 126) *Requievit ut catulus leonis,* quia tribus	fol. 134^{b}-135^{a} (*Halm* 617, 12) Item *de Christo* ita intelligitur; vicit

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[21] Cf. Remigius (J. P. Elder, 'Commentum Einsidlense', *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.* LVI, 1945-6) on Donatus's *Ars Major* (*KGL* IV, 370, 35): '*spurius* de ignobili patre et nobili matre' with the gloss in *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1560, fol. 131^{a}, on Bede's *De Schematibus* (*Halm* 613, 8): '*spurius* est ex ignobili patre et nobili matre'.

[22] Cf. Remigius (M. Manitius, 'Remigiusscholien', *Münchener Museum* II, 1913-4, 94) on Priscian (*KGL* III, 490, 23): '*feniceo* id est rubicundo colore' with the gloss in *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1560, fol. 132^{b}, on Bede's *De Schematibus* (*Halm* 615, 13): '*fenicius* id est rubicundus'.

[23] The first work is edited in J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Ser. lat., (hereafter referred to as *Migne*, with volume numbers henceforth given in Arabic numerals) CXXXI (1853), pp. 51-134; the second in *Migne* CXXXI (1853), pp. 134-844.

diebus in sepulcro jacuit. Ferunt enim physici de catulo leonis quod natus tribus diebus dormiat, tertio tandem die magno rugitu patris excitatur. Sic et Christus tribus diebus dormivit in sepulcro, et tandem tertia die a Deo Patre excitatus est, cujus rugitum Psalmista describit dicens: *Exsurge, gloria mea, exsurge psalterium et cithara* (*Psa.* 107, 3). Et respondit ipse: *Exsurgam, diluculo. Quis suscitavit eum?*	diabolum, sicut . . .[24] res rerum naturalium dicunt; spacio trium dierum dormit et tertia die tandem rugitu patris excitatus, et Christus similiter tribus diebus iacuit in sepulcro dieque tertia voce Patris excitatus est psalmista testante: *Exurge, gloria mea*, et Christus respondit ei: *Exurgam, diluculo*, quod factum est mane die sancto Pascae.
In Psa. 28, 3 (*Migne* 131, p. 282) In hoc quod vox Domini septies repetitur possunt notari septem dona sancti Spiritus, . . . *Vox Domini*, id est praedicatio Filii Dei . . .	fol. 129^{a} (*Halm* 609, 16) *Vox* id est praedicatio; iste psalmus de Spiritu sancto canitur, et ideo *vox* in eo septies iteratur.
In Psa. 57, 5 (*Migne* 131, p. 432) Aspis enim ab incantatore de tenebrosa caverna in lucem evocatur, recusans audire voces quibus se cogi sentit, allidit unam aurem terrae, et de cauda obturat alteram.	fol. 129^{b} (*Halm* 610, 13) Aspis surda dicitur quia dum incantatur unam aurem cauda sua obturat, alteram terrae opprimit, ut non audiat incantantis vocem.[25]
In Psa. 67, 14 (*Migne* 131, p. 483) *Si dormiatis inter medios cleros*, id est, si quiescatis inter duo testamenta.	fol. 132^{a} (*Halm* 614, 30) *Inter medios cleros* id est inter duo testamenta.[26]
In Psa. 67, 14 (*Migne* 131, p. 483) *Pennae columbae*, id est, Ecclesiae quae est columba, quia innocua et sine felle amaritudinis.	fol. 132^{a} (*Halm* 614, 30) Columba est simplex avis carens felle amaritudinis per quam sancta designatur Ecclesia ex fidelibus constructa.[27]
In Psa. 67, 15 (*Migne* 131, p. 484) *dealbabuntur in Selmon*, id est, in umbra Christi. Ipse enim eos obumbrabit et proteget ab incentivis vitiorum.	fol. 129^{b} (*Halm* 611, 1) *Selmon* interpretatur umbra, et significat Christum qui umbra protectionis suae sanctos custodit et ab estu temptationum protegit.[28]
In Psa. 67, 16 (*Migne* 131, p. 484) *Mons* iste est *mons pinguis*, habens videlicet omnem pinguedinem . . . Et quandoquidem iste mons tantum est *mons pinguis et coagulatus, ut* quid ergo alios *suspicamini montes coagulatos? Alii* enim dicunt *Joannem Baptistam*,	fol. 129^{b}-130^{a} (*Halm* 611, 1) Ipse est et *mons pinguis*, pinguedine spirituali (spiritali *cod.*) plenus quia, ut apostulus ait, *in eo* habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter. *Ut quid suspicamini montes coagulatos* propheta increpat Iudeos qui Ieremiam

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[24] This top-line of the manuscript was omitted by the photographer in making my photostat. I imagine that it ended <scripto> res rerum, etc.

[25] Cf. Isid., *Orig.* XII, 4, 12.

[26] Cf. St. Jerome on Psalm 67 (*Migne* 26, p. 1076).

[27] Cf. Remigius on Boethius's *Cons.*, Silk (*op. cit.* note 10), p. 337: 'homo . . . fellae (*sic*) amaritudinis plenus'.

[28] Cf. St. Jerome on Psalm 67 (*Migne* 26, p. 1076).

alii Eliam, alii Jeremiam, aut unum ex prophetis (Matth. 16, 14); et hoc frustra: nam iste est *mons in quo beneplacitum est Deo habitare*, id est, in quo habitat Deus: et ut habeat inhabitationem superiorem aliis habitationibus, subjungit: *in eo* quia sic inhabitat, ut in eo sit omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter.	et Haeliam atque Iohannem putabant esse Christum. Dicit ergo propheta 'O Iudei, *ut quid suspicamini montes* uberes fore Christum'? Nam et prophetae uberes montes erant participatione donorum spiritualium (spiritalium *cod.*), sed unus erat mons uberrimus in quo non admissuri (-ram *cod.*) erant Spiritus sancti. De quo sequitur *mons in quo* placuit *Deo habitare* non ad tempus sed aeternaliter. Nam in sanctis habitat Deus sed aliquando recedit cum eos aliqua carnis fragilitas aut temptatio titillat, id est permovet. In Christo vero ita habitat ut aeternaliter *in eo* habitans maneat. Ipse est *mons coagulatus* et solidatus plenitudine omnium virtutum sicut lac coagulatus in caseum.
In Psa. 77, 45 (*Migne* 131, p. 556) Cynomyiae sunt muscae caninae.[29]	fol. 129^{a} (*Halm* 608, 35) Inde chinomia dicitur musca canina.

The style and exegetical method of the author of our commentary on the *De Schematibus* is very similar to that found in Remigius's works on both holy and secular authors. First of all, the topic of discussion is analyzed if possible into its Greek components, or into parts that dreamily remind one of Greek. Then the topic is defined, and finally Bede's numerous examples are explained from the most varying points of view. A perfect shower of grammatical, rhetorical, metrical and theological notes rained down on the Carolingian schoolboy, as the examples below will illustrate. Most of the quotations come from the Old or New Testament. Once Terence breaks in (fol. 133^{a}; *Halm* 615, 40)[30] and once Virgil again is indebted to old Ennius, this time in furnishing an example of tmesis (fol. 132^{a}, *Halm* 614,23): *ut: o Io versiculos clausos quia despicis hannes, et Virgilius: saxo cere comminuit brum.*[31] Once, too, Virgil appears (fol. 131^{a}) in his own right with the opening line of the Aeneid.

Remigius's chief source, if it was he who wrote this little work, was Gregory the Great.[32] Indeed, Gregory is thrice mentioned and in two of the cases we know the very passage which Remigius had in mind:

Vat. Reg. lat. 1560	*Gregory the Great*
fol. 128^{b} (*Halm* 608, 11) *Ezechiel*, sicut beatus dicit Gregorius, ab *et* coniunctione inchoans his, quae de (de *ss.*) Deo mente videbat, coniunxit ea, quae foris loquebatur. Nam audierat divinum sibi Spiritum in corde loquentem, et illi locutioni invisibili	*Homil. in Ezech.* I, 2 (*Migne* 76, p. 796) *Et* namque sermo conjunctionis est . . . Unde fit ut in mente prophetarum ita conjuncta sint exterioribus interiora, quatenus simul utraque videant, simulque in eis fiat et intus verbum quod audiunt, et foras quod dicunt. . . . Sub-

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[29] Cf. St. Jerome on Psalm 77 (*Migne* 26, p. 1115).

[30] His 'O bone vir' is cited; cf. his *Ad.* 556; *An.* 616, 846; *E.* 850.

[31] I have not been able to locate the source of the 'Io . . . hannes' line; a study of mediaeval usages of tmesis would be highly instructive.

[32] For whose works, see Migne 75 and 76.

subiunxit hanc coniunctionem, id est *et*.	jungit enim hoc quod exterius loqui inchoat, ac si et illud foris sit quod intus videt.
fol. 135^{a} (*Halm* 617, 14) *Talaris* dicitur vestis a capite usque ad talos descendens. Beatus ergo Gregorius tunicam appellat talarem boni operis virtutem ab initio vite usque ad finem.	*Moral.* I, 37 (*Migne* 75, p. 554) Nam quid est talaris tunica, nisi actio consummata? Quasi enim protensa (*vel* propensa) tunica talum corporis operit, cum bona actio ante Dei oculos usque ad vitae nos terminum tegit.
fol. 135^{b} (*Halm* 617, 28) *Tropologia* et allegoria pene idem est. Unde et Gregorius quicquid de Christo tractabat per tropologiam in Libris Moralibus.	Cf. *Homil. in Evangel.* II, 40 (*Migne* 76, p. 1302) In verbis sacri eloquii, fratres charissimi, prius servanda est veritas historiae, et postmodum requirenda spiritalis intelligentia allegoriae, *e.q.s.*

Donatus is once directly quoted, as one might expect in the case of a commentator who had labored so long over that grammarian.[33] Once, too, Cassiodorus is quoted,[34] and once St. Jerome is mentioned in connection with a textual matter, as he often is in Remigius's commentaries on *Genesis* and *Psalms*:

Vat. Reg. lat. 1560, fol. 131^{a}	*St. Jerome, Ep.* 34, 5, 2
fructuum: nostra translatio habet 'manuum'; beatus Ieronimus Grecum quondam habuit presbyterum qui ambiguitate verbi ductus *fructuum* posuit pro 'manuum'.	in hoc loco non septuaginta interpretes, sed Latini de Graeci verbi ambiguitate decepti καρπούς 'fructus' magis quam 'manus' interpretati sunt, cum καρποί 'manus' quoque dicantur, quod in Hebraeo ponitur 'chaffach', et Symmachus quintaque editio transtulerunt 'manuum tuarum', ut ambiguitatem prioris sermonis effugerent.

Plainly Remigius was familiar with St. Jerome's *Letters*.

The general nature of this commentary on the *De Schematibus* has already been illustrated in the excerpts quoted. The following passages will give a clearer idea of its character. They have been selected not so much because they represent the more interesting elements in the work as because they are typical enough to offer a fair picture of the commentary as a whole and, if this discussion has succeeded in identifying Remigius as its author, they add considerably to our appreciation of the talents and interests of that industrious Carolingian scholar:

fol. 127^{b} (*Halm* 607, 3): HVC FINIT DE ARTE METRICA. II LIBER. *Aliquotiens* id est aliquantis vicibus. *Decoris* id est pulcritudinis. *Vulgaris* id est comminis (*in* communis *corr.*). *Via* id est ratio. *Figuratus* id est tipicus. *Quod* s. genus locutionis. *Scema* id est figuram. (fol. 128^{a}) *Habitum* id est decorem. *Quia*: his talibus locutionibus. *Quodam modo vestitur et ornatur oratio*: sicut aurum

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[33] On fol 130^{b}; see *KGL* IV, 399, 29.

[34] '*Calix* dicitur a calidis aquis vel secundum Cassiodorum *calix* dicitur quasi chilix quia chilices primum reppererunt calicem', on fol. 130^{b}. Possibly *Cilix* should be read for *chilix*, and *Cilices* for *chilices*. Possibly, too, the reference is to Cassiodorus's *Expos. in Psalmum* 10 (*Migne* 70, p. 95), but I feel no certainty about this matter.

preciosis ornatur lapidibus et gemma carbunculi auro decoratur arabico, ita et divina Scriptura scematibus et tropis. *Tropica* id est figurata. *A propria* id est a proprio sensu et intellectu (*spatio duo litt. relicto; fort.* ut *suppl.*) quando mons dicitur habere caput et barbam et cetera. *Ornatus* id est decoris et pulcritudinis. *Cognoscas*: *Greci* sepius invenisse has figuras *gloriantur*: sed hic revincit eos dicens in sancta Scriptura, quae antiquior est humanis omnibus scripturis, eas esse factas et ex ipsa ponit exempla in sequentibus. 'Qui etiam se fabulas invenisse dicunt': nam cum Alexandro euntes in Ierusalem et videntes in templo Domini picturas occasionem quarundam fabularum sumpserunt. Viderunt in porticu eiusdem templi Heliam depictum in curru suo, cuius nomen legentes quo etiam solis nomen signatur, quia helios grece sol dicitur, fabulam solis inde composuerunt, dicentes eum habere quattuor equos propter quattuor anni tempora.[35] *Auctoritate, utilitate* id est adiutorio. *Antiquitate* id est quia antiquior est omnibus scripturis. *Praeeminet* (praeminet *cod.*) id est superexcellet. *Positione* id est a litteratura loquendi. *Ostendere, huiusmodi scematum* id est figurarum. *Praetendere* id est monstrare. *Secularis eloquentiae* (*Halm* 608, 1) id est litteraturae. *In illa* s. sancta Scriptura. *Prolensis*: grece praeoccupatio; praeoccupare dicitur antecapere. *Fundamenta eius*: *eius* pronomen est nec adhuc positum nomen cum debet praeponi et pronomen sequi. *Fundamenta Sion*: pluraliter patriarcas significat et prophetas, singulariter ipsum Dominum sicut apostolus ait:[36] 'fundamentum nemo aliud potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, hoc est Christus'. Porte *Sion* s. apostoli per quos ingredimur ad celestem vitam. *In montibus* (montis *cod.*) id est apostolis et prophetis, super omnia tabernacula (id est super omnem populum Iudaicum *ss.*) Iacob. *Sion* interpretatur speculatio; significat aecclesiam in qua sunt sancti (fol. 128^{b}) qui, quasi de alta specula, bonos et malos speculantur. Erat autem Syon turris altissima in Ierusalem in monte Moria de qua adventum speculabantur hostium. *Diviserunt*: hic praeoccupavit tempus quia de futuro praeteritus fecit; quod antea dixerat ille, impletum est in passione Domini. IIII fuerunt milites qui *vestimenta* Domini partiti sunt; super tunicam vero, quae erat inconsutilis, *sortem miserunt* ut unus eam *sortem* acciperet integram.

fol. 129^{a} (*Halm* 609, 8): *Cisternas* id est falsos prophetas et idola. Fons est aquam vivam habens semper manentem; cisterna autem non habet nisi de pluviis quae cito exsiccatur; significat ergo hereticos. Inde dicit Dominus: '*me derelinquerunt* qui sum aquae vivae fons et *foderunt sibi cisternas*',[37] id est in opera hereticorum corruerunt.

fol. 129^{a}-129^{b} (*Halm* 609, 31): *Hebraicam* id est quia quod dicimus 'in te speraverunt', Hebrei dicunt 'in te confisi sunt', id est securi. *Confusi* id est verecundati quomodo fur quando deprehenditur. (fol. 129^{b}) *Confisi* et *confusi* concisio et *circumcisio*: in sono pene idem sunt; in sensu vero distant. Nam *circumcisio* Iudeorum in carne fit; nostra vero *circumcisio* in baptismo et Spiritu sancto.

fol. 129^{b} (*Halm* 609, 36): *Iudicium iniquitas iustitia clamor*: super haec nomina currit figura aput Hebreos quia pene idem sunt in sono, aput Latinos vero nec sensu neque litteratura concordant quia ille non potuit.

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[35] I have been unable to locate in either the mediaeval Alexander lore or in notices on Solomon's temple the source of this interesting bit of romancing. Someone, I hope, will be luckier than I, and tell us its origin and development. At least Alexander's visit to Jerusalem (cf. Joseph., *Antiquitates*, XI, 325 ff., ed. Naber III, pp. 60 ff.) was known in the ninth century (cf. the account given by Freculph, abbot of Fulda, in his *Chronica; Migne* 106, pp. 1016-7).

[36] I *Cor.* iii, 11.

[37] *Jer.* ii, 13.

fol. 130^{a} (*Halm* 611, 18): DE TROPIS. Tropos Grece conversio. Inde *tropus* conversa locutio eo quod vertitur *a propria significatione ad non propriam similitudinem*; verbi gratia hominis est habere (hebere *cod.*) caput et verticem; ecce propriam significationem. Sed quod monti dantur, non est propria similitudo. *Dictio* id est pars; *translata*: omnia verba aut propria sunt quae naturaliter dicuntur, ut 'lapis', 'terra', 'arbor' aut aliena sunt quae bifaria distinguntur, videlicet necessitate et decore, cum dicimus 'piscinam' vel 'pedem scamni' et cum dicimus 'gemmare vites'[38] et 'letas segetes'. Ergo omnia quae loquimur aut aliena sunt aut propria.

fol. 130^{b} (*Halm* 612, 13): *Vectes* dicuntur a vehendo quibus aliquid portetur. Vectes erant fustes qui in circulis inter se pro positione (positionis *cod.*) ponebantur.

fol. 132^{a}-132^{b} (*Halm* 615, 1): *Domus* id est aecclesiae. (fol. 132^{b}) *Spolia* vocat homines qui olim erant *spolia* (splolia *cod.*) diaboli; nunc autem nudato diabolo aecclesiae sunt *spolia* (splolia *cod.*) *O vos* s. homines. *Dividimini* id est separamini. *Manifestationem* id est per demonstrationem quia quidam sunt episcopi in aecclesia, quidam presbyteri vel diaconi, ceterique iuxta suum ordinem (ordinem *bis*), doctores videlicet aut sapientes. *Si ergo vos* s. qui *dividimini* tamquam *spolia* (splolia *cod.*) *speciei domus in Selmon*, id est in umbra divinae protectionis. *Dealbabuntur* s. fideles sicut rex regum et sollemnitas sollemnitatum. Ita dicuntur cantica canticorum quia verba sunt aecclesiae de Christo et sunt meliora aliis carminibus. *Dealbata* quae antea fusca erat. Licet pluraliter columbas superius posuit, tamen una aecclesia est et non est divisa hereticorum sectis. *Fenicius* id est rubicundus, sanguineum habens colorem et ideo comparatur peccatis; similiter et coccinus sanguinei coloris est.

fol. 133^{b} (*Halm* 616, 12): *Imposuisti* id est decepisti vel fraudasti. 'Impono' aliquando significat 'decipio'; inde impostor dicitur deceptor. Sunt autem impostores qui purissimis metallis scoriam et rubiginem miscent. Inde factum est ut simulatores vel ypocrite dicuntur impostores.

fol. 134^{b} (*Halm* 617, 6): Tropos Grece conversio, logos sermo vel ratio. Inde *tropologicam* moraliter eo quod ad mores hominum pertinet. 'Ana' sursum, 'gogo' duco. Inde *anagogen* dicitur allegoria ducens ad superiora.

fol. 134^{b} (*Halm* 617, 10): Catulos dicimus ferarum bestiarumque natos quae dentibus seviunt et unguibus; fetos vero vocamus pullos equorum et ovium quae mansuetae sunt. Historialiter Iudas non fecit, sed de David figurate dictum est. Qui David *catulus leonis* dictus est propter fortitudinem; ipse interfecit leonem. *Ad praedam* autem ascendisse dicitur quia multas gentes devicit ac suo imperio subiugavit. Item de Christo ita intelligitur; vicit diabolum (for rest of passage, see above p. 146).

fol. 137^{a} (*Halm* 618, 25): *Uxoris Loth*: hoc exemplo deterret nos ne iterum ad mala quae omisimus recurramus. Uxor Loth ignem Sodomitae cum fugeret respiciens retro versa est in statuam salis. Et bene in statuam salis, quia sale cibi condiuntur, et fidelium corda isto exemplo. HIC FINEM PONIMVS.

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[38] Cf. Isid., *Orig.* I, 37, 2.

Saint Peter Damiani and the Sermons of Nicholas of Clairvaux: a Clarification

J. JOSEPH RYAN

ST. PETER Damiani[1] (1007-1072), honored as a Doctor of the Church since 1823, is universally recognized as one of the outstanding figures in the pre-Gregorian period of the XIth century reform. His writings are not only an important source for the moving history of his times, but are also of major moment in the history of doctrinal development and of mediaeval Latin literature.

The defects of the only edition of his collected works, executed in the early XVIIth century by Dom Costantino Gaetani, O.S.B.[2] (d. 1650), have long been recognized by scholars and the need for a critical edition is often expressed.[3] Nevertheless, the fact remains that it will undoubtedly be a long time before such a task is undertaken for the *Opera omnia* of Damiani.[4] This was pointed out by the late Dom Wilmart, who, at the same time, indicated the immediate utility of controlling the present edition and made his own valuable contribution, based on the manuscript evidence, for the control of the *Preces et Carmina*.[5]

These notes, although less definitive and of a much more restricted character, are made public in the same spirit, as a contribution towards a similar control for the *Sermones*.[6] Their primary concern is with certain aspects of the printed tradition and the question of identification.[7] They propose little that is new but may serve to recall some facts long recognized regarding these texts, which appear to have become obscured, and to show the lines along which the confusion that has resulted continues to influence the study of Damiani's teaching, chiefly in the domains of sacramentary theology and political theory, in some significant details. To do no more than this at present seems warranted by the circumstances, in a field where much remains to be done.[8]

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[1] There are three full-length modern biographies, all now out of date: A. Capecelatro, *Storia di San Pier Damiano e del suo tempo*, Florence, 1862. Latest edition, Tournai, 1889.—J. Kleinermanns, *Der heil. Petrus Damiani, Mönch, Bischof, Cardinal, Kirchenlehrer. In seinem Leben u. Wirken nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Steyl, 1882. This is unobtainable in U.S. libraries.—R. Biron, *St. Pierre Damien* (Collection "Les Saints"), Paris, 1908.

The critical modern studies include the following, all with helpful bibliographical notices: F. Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani* (Teil 1: bis zur Ostersynode 1059) *nebst einem Anhang: Damianis Schriften chronologisch geordnet*, Göttingen, 1875 (Diss.). Unfortunately never continued, this remains indispensable.—L. Kühn, *Petrus Damiani u. seine Anschauungen über Staat u. Kirche*, Karlsruhe, 1913 (Diss.).—M. Mende, *Petrus Damiani* (1. Teil), Breslau, 1933 (Diss.). The notes here require caution. —F. Seekel, *Geistige Grundlagen Petrus Damianis untersucht am Liber Gratissimus*, Jena, 1933 (Diss.). This valuable study includes a critical appraisal of earlier works.

[2] C. Cajetanus, *S. Petri Damiani Opera Omnia*, Rome, I (1606), II (1608), III (1615), IV (1640), fol.; Lyons (1623), 3 tom. fol.; Paris (1642), Paris (1663), Paris and Venice (1743), 4 tom. fol.; Bassano (1783), 4 tom. in 2 vols. 4°. This last was reproduced by Migne PL 144-145 (Paris, 1853), with additions from A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (Rome, 1825-1838), VI, 193-244 (PL 145, 863-910).

[3] E.g., Neukirch, *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 1; H. von Schubert, *Petrus Damiani als Kirchenpolitiker*, in *Festgabe von Fachgenossen u. Freunden Karl Müller* (Tübingen, 1922), p. 83, note 1: 'Alle Darstellungen beruhen auf der Ausgabe Cajetans, die Migne mit dem Funde Mais abdruckt, die aber dringend eines Ersatzes bedarf'; more recently, and with full justice to Gaetani, A. Wilmart, 'Une lettre de S. Pierre Damien à l'impératrice Agnès', *Revue Bénédictine*, XLIV (1932), 125, note 1: 'Bien qu'elle doive être refaite entièrement suivant les méthodes de la critique moderne, l'édition de Gaetani mérite l'estime, j'oserai même dire: s'impose à l'admiration, étant le résultat d'un labeur considérable'; and most recently, J. Leclerq, 'Une lettre inédite de Saint Pierre Damien sur la vie érémitique', *Studia Anselmiana*, fasc. XVIII-XIX (Rome, 1947), 283-284.

[4] This has been done for *Opusc.* IV, *Disceptatio synodalis* (PL 145, 67-87); and *Opusc.* VI, *Liber gratissimus* (*ibid.*, 99-156), by L. Heinemann, MGH *Libelli de lite* I (Hannover, 1891). For some criticisms of this edition of *Lib. grat.* cf. Seekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 69.

[5] A. Wilmart, 'Le receuil des poèmes et des prières de S. Pierre Damien', *Rev. Bén.*, XLI (1929), 342-357. This is indispensable for the use of *Operum tom.* IV (PL 145, 911-986).

[6] *Operum tom.* II (PL 144, 505-924). The Migne ed. will be cited.

[7] Helpful notes on the manuscript tradition are given by Dom Wilmart, *opp. cit.*; Capecelatro, *Storia* (1862), *Schiarimento* III, pp. 580 ff.; *Schiar.* IV, **pp.** 593 f.

I. THE SERMONS OF NICHOLAS OF CLAIRVAUX[9] IN THE DAMIANI EDITION

The Sermons of Damiani are an important part of his literary legacy and are especially valuable for a knowledge of his spiritual doctrine and of his character.[10] Among the first of his works to be printed,[11] critics soon recognized that some unauthentic items were included by the early editors.[12]

Jean Picard (d. 1617 *ca.*), canon regular of St. Victor at Paris, appears to have been the first to call attention to the presence of the 19 Sermons of Nicholas of Clairvaux in the Damiani edition.[13] Somewhat later, Théophile Raynaud, S.J.

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[8] Calling attention to the fact that Damiani remains poorly known, Seekel, *op. cit.*, p. 6, writes: 'Erst wenn eine kritische Ausgabe der Opera Damianis vorliegt, kann die Biographie geschrieben werden.'

[9] Born in the early XIIth century, Nicholas left the Benedictine abbey of Montièramey (*monasterium Arremarense*), near Troyes, in 1145 to join the Cistercians at Clairvaux. He served as secretary of St. Bernard, whose confidence he abused, and in 1151 left Clairvaux under serious charges of dishonesty. He was in Rome more than once during his career, was back at Montiéramey in his later years and drops out of sight after 1176. For his life and writings cf. J. Mabillon, *Praef. in tom. III Opp. S. Bernardi, cap.* 26-29, 33-52 (PL 183, 21-34); *Histoire littéraire de la France* XIII (2nd ed., Paris, 1869), pp. 553 ff; A. Steiger, 'Nikolaus, Mönch in Clairvaux, Sekretär des hl. Bernhard', *Studien u. Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens u. seiner Zweige,* XXXVIII (1917), 41-50; E. Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard* II (4th ed., Paris, 1927), pp. 395-397, 512-514; P. Rassow, 'Die Kanzlei St. Bernhards von Clairvaux', *Stud. u. Mitt. OSB* XXIV (1913), 279-290.

[10] Capecelatro, after pointing out the similarity of Damiani's qualities as a theologian as revealed in his Letters and Sermons, writes of the latter, *op. cit.*, p. 488: 'Nondimeno però è da notare che essi in generale sono meno battaglieri delle epistole, e rivelano meglio la parte ascetica dell'anima del nostro Santo.' Biron, *op. cit.*, p. 192, comments: 'Théologien remarquable, notre saint fut aussi un maître en ascétisme. Plus encore qu'un lutteur, en effet, il était par tempérament un contemplatif. Si c'est plus spécialement dans ses Sermons qu'il se révèle tel, il n'est pas difficile de découvrir aussi ce côté de son génie dans ses autres écrits.' Cf. also K. Werner, *Gerbert von Aurillac, die Kirche u. Wissenschaft seiner Zeit* (new ed., Vienna, 1881), pp. 197 f.; A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne* I (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, études et documents, VI, Louvain, 1924), pp. 251-256.

[11] L. Lipomani published several Sermons of Damiani in his *Historia de vitis Sanctorum* (8 vols., Rome, 1551-1560), tom. VIII, but erroneously included the Sermons of Nicholas of Clairvaux. Gaetani perpetuated the error by giving them a place in his edition, which Dom Wilmart criticizes justly, *Rev. Bén.* XLIV (1932), 125, note 1: ' . . son défaut le plus saillant, outre l'arbitraire de la distribution, aggravé par Raynaud, est de proposer au lecteur non averti, sous le nom de Pierre Damien, des sermons apocryphes, notamment ceux de Nicolas de Clairvaux; mais le vrai coupable, en la circonstance, est Lipomani.'

I have been unable to see Lipomani, but the 19 Sermons of Nicholas may be identified with reasonable certainty in the notice given in the *Prolegomena ad Opp. Damiani* (PL 144, 189-190), which also provides some information on the manuscripts used by Lipomani. 8 of the 19 were reprinted from Lipomani in his first edition by L. Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum historiis* (Cologne, 1570-1575), as indicated below in the *Inventarium.* It is thus clear that the printed tradition was vitiated at the outset. It was also to undergo some unexpected complications.

[12] Doubts relative to individual pieces were voiced before the Gaetani edition and are reflected in Surius, *op. cit.*, III, 803, for the *Sermo de S. Joan. Bapt.* (PL *S.* 23), and *ibid.*, VI, 953, for the *Sermo de Nativ. Dni.* (PL 144, 848), in which St. Bernard is mentioned.

[13] Picard is the only editor of the Letters of Nicholas, first published in *Auctario Biblioth. Patrum* (Paris, 1610), finally in *Biblioth. Max. PP.* XXI (Lyons, 1677), cols. 517 ff., and reprinted, with additions from S. Baluze, *Miscellaneorum libri VII*, in PL 196, 1589-1654. The *Notitia historica* (PL 196, 1589), explaining the omission of Nicholas' 19 Sermons in the edition because they were already printed in Damiani's works, is reprinted from *Biblioth. Max.* XXI, col. 518 D. The 1610 ed. is not available to me to confirm Picard's authorship of this *Notitia.* However, J. Fabricius, *Biblioth. latina mediae et infimae aetatis* V (Hamburg, 1736), p. 328, *s.v. Nicolai Claraev.*, states: 'Atque Sermones XIX inter Petri Dam. opera tom. II reperiri, a Jo. Picardo jam notatum.'

(d. 1663) advanced serious doubts about the authenticity of five of the Sermons but was apparently unaware of the authorship claimed for Nicholas.[14] Not long after this, Dom Bertrand Tissier (d. 1672) edited the Sermons of Nicholas[15] and pointed out their earlier appearance among the printed works of Damiani and St. Bernard.[16]

From this time on, it was a simple matter to solve the doubts of the earlier critics and to control the Sermons of Nicholas in the Damiani edition. The first of the literary historians to correlate the two editions was Casimir Oudin (d. 1717), who lists the 19 Sermons of Nicholas, by title and subject, as they appear in Tissier, and identifies them in the Gaetani edition of Damiani.[17] J. A. Fabricius (d. 1736) is content to refer without further comment to the earlier criticism of Picard, Raynaud and Oudin.[18]

Finally, in the Venice edition (1743) of the works of Damiani, cognizance was taken of the then generally accepted fact of the presence of the 19 Sermons of Nicholas in the edition, and in the Preface they are listed in the order in which they appear among the Sermons of Damiani.[19] From this date to the present time, literary historians and other scholars treating of Damiani and Nicholas of Clairvaux have, with almost perfect unanimity,[20] accepted the judgment of the earlier critics and recognize Nicholas as the author of these Sermons.[21]

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[14] *Erotemata de malis ac de bonis libris* (Lyons, 1650), in *Opera* XI (ed. P. Bertet, 19 vols., Lyons, 1665), p. 292, col. 2: 'Petro Damiani suppositus est sermo *de S. Martino* [*S.* 56], qui manifeste est hominis Galli; ait enim, *providit Deus Regibus, et Regno nostro Martinum* [PL 144, 816A]. Ex duplici sententia, Tullii, (ut vocat,) suorum temporum quam Autor eo sermone p. 282 [*ibid.*, 820D], et p. 293 [*ibid.*, 822A] profert, constare poterit de aevo illius, Tullius quippe ille, est Fulbertus Carnotensis, qui floruit sub seculi XI initium, et obiit a. 1028 cum Petrus Dam. sub a. 1050 florere coeperit.

'Sermo *de Rivis fluminis* [*S.* 60], in vigil. Nativ. est item manifeste Petro Dam. suppositus, vereque est D. Bernardi, et apud eum habetur inter sermones additos p. 1270.

'Ibidem consequenter, habetur sermo de S. Stephano [*S.* 62], qui est apud eundem Petrum Dam.

'Sermo 2 Petri Dam. de S. Andrea [*S.* 58], est apud Bernardum; tertius in eodem fest.

'Sermo item Petri Dam. de S. Nicolao [*S.* 59], est apud Bernardum.'

This illustrates the early doubts and confusion relative to these Sermons. For the changes introduced by Raynaud in the Lyons ed. (1623) of the *Opp. Dam.*, cf. Wilmart, *loc. cit.* (note 11, *supra*).

[15] *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium, etc.* (Bonnefont and Paris, 1660-1669), III, pp. 193-236. The passage of the *Epistola nuncupatoria* in which Nicholas mentions his 19 Sermons, is quoted by Mabillon, *Praef. in t. III Opp. S. Bern., cap.* 27 (PL 183, 21).

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 193, *Adnotatio editoris.*

[17] *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis, etc.* II (Leipzig, 1772), cols. 689 f. Not content with this, however, Oudin charged Gaetani with partiality for his own order (*ibid.*, col. 689), questioned the authenticity of the whole collection (*ibid.*, col. 691), and expressed his suspicion of bad faith on the part of Gaetani (*ibid.*, col. 692). This added little light to the question.

[18] Cf. *Biblioth. lat.* II (1734), pp. 22 f., for his comment on Damiani's Sermons; *ibid.*, V, p. 328 for those of Nicholas.

[19] This list is reprinted in the Bassano ed. I (1783), pp. xi f., in the *Admonitio typographi Veneti ed. a.* 1743, where the editor identifies the 19 Sermons of Nicholas by title and page in his own edition. Migne reprints this *Admonitio* with its list (PL 144, 11-12), but omits any page references to his edition. Asterisks were also used in the Venice ed. for identification, and this device was adopted in both the Bassano ed., in the Index, and in the Migne ed., in the text. But here the errant asterisks only add to the confusion and are completely unreliable.

[20] To my knowledge, the single exception is Card. Mai, who not only defended Gaetani against the unwarranted personal charges of Oudin, but also stated that all the works questioned by Oudin were authentic, adding the reason: '. . . etenim Codices Vaticani, qui multi sunt, cum editione Cajetani prorsus conspirant' (*SS. veterum collectio nova* VI, p. xxxiii, as in PL 145, 863 *ad finem*). This disconcertingly general statement is no guarantee of authenticity as it stands and has had no effect on the attribution of the 19 Sermons to Nicholas.

[21] E.g., the following treatments of Damiani call attention to the unauthentic Sermons in the Gaetani ed. of his works: R. Ceillier (d. 1763), *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques* (new ed., Paris, 1858-1864), XIII, p. 308, col. B. where Nicholas' Sermons are listed by title as in Tissier; Capecelatro, *Storia*, pp. 568 f., lists Nicholas' Sermons, from Tissier, and adds, with regard to the doubts cast by Oudin on the rest, *ibid.*, p. 570: '. . . sin tanto non si dimostra l'opposto, la presunzione è in favore di san Pier Damiano.' Briefer notices are given by Neukirch, *Das Leben*, p. 5, note 1; Werner, *Gerbert*, p. 197; C. Mirbt, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theol. u. Kirche* IV (3rd ed., 1898), p. 431; G. Bareille, *Dict. de théol.*

Inventarium Sermonum XIX Nicolai Claraevallensis

Sermo in:	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Nativ. S. Joan. Bapt.:				
Hodie, dilectissimi, dies illuxit insignis	1	*S*.23	III,803	PL 184,991
Natal. SS. Petri et Pauli:				
Hodierna dies, dilectissimi, clara est	2	*S*.27	—	—
Natal. S. Benedicti:				
Dixit Simon Petrus ad Jesum	3	*S*.9	—	—
Fest. S. Mariae Magd.:				
Hodie misericordia et veritas	4	*S*.29	IV,297	PL 185,213
Fest. S. Petri ad vinc.:				
Adolescentulae dilexerunt te nimis	5	*S*.26	—	—
Assumptione B. Mariae:				
Hic totum decurrat ingenium	6	*S*.40	—	—
Nativ. B. Mariae:				
De gaudiis properamus ad gaudia[a]	7	*S*.44	V,112	—
Exaltatione S. Crucis:				
De virga Jesse devenimus ad virgam crucis[a]	8	*S*.47	V,215	—
Fest. Angelorum:				
Circa rerum cardinem versamur	9	*S*.52	—	—
Dedicatione ecclesiae:				
Post Crucem, post Virginem, post Angelos[a]	10	*S*.69	—	—
Fest. S. Victoris:				
Ad manum est S. P. n. Victoris solemnitas[b]	11	*S*.43 (¶2)	—	—
Fest. Omnium Sanctorum:				
Hodie dies serenior arrisit nobis	12	*S*.55	VI,6	—
Fest. S. Martini:				
Nobilis ille confessor, sacerdotum gloria	13	*S*.56	—	—
Fest. S. Andreae:				
Et quietum studium et attentum silentium	14	*S*.58	VI,624	PL 184,1049
Fest. B. Nicolai:				
Nicolaus iste meus, imo et vester	15	*S*.59	—	*ibid.*, 1055
Adventu Domini, de BMV:				
Exsultate fratres in Domino	16	*S*.11	—	*ibid.*, 832
Vigil. Nativ. Domini:				
Tandem de mari ad portum	17	*S*.60	VI,946	*ibid.*, 839
Nativ. Domini:				
Non poterit explicari sermone	18	*Anon.*	VI,953	*ibid.*, 827
Fest. B. Protom. Stephani:				
Adhuc Filium Virginis habemus in manibus	19	*S*.62	—	*ibid.*, 845

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catholique IV, 1 (Paris, 1924), col. 50; H. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius, etc.*, I (4th ed., Innsbruck, 1926), cols. 1000 f.; F. Cayré, *Précis de Patrologie* II (Paris, 1930), p. 388, note 6; A. Zimmermann, *Lexikon für Theol. u. Kirche* VIII (2nd ed., Fr. i. Br., 1936), col. 159.

The following treatments of Nicholas affirm his authorship of the Sermons: *Hist. litt. de la France* XIII (1869), pp. 565-567, uses the Tissier ed., but notes their presence in the *Opp. Damiani; Nouvelle biographie générale* XXXVII (Paris, 1863), col. 983 cites Tissier; Hurter, *op. cit.*, II (3rd ed., 1906), col. 88, note 1, cites Tissier, but notes their presence in *Opp. Dam.*; Steiger, *Stud. u. Mitt. OSB* XXXVIII (1917), 41, note 1, refers his readers only to *Opp. Dam.* PL 144, for Nicholas' Sermons; E. Amann, *Dict. de théol. cath.* XI, 1 (Paris, 1931), cols. 596 f., cites Tissier and notes that all had been published under the name of Damiani; G. Wellenstein, *Lex. für Theol. u. Kirche* VII (1935), col. 574, cites only the Tissier ed. for the Sermons.

It may be noted that none of these several references provides the *incipit* of the Sermons of Nicholas.

Explanation:

col. A = The order of the Sermons in Tissier, *Biblioth. PP. Cisterciensium*, III, 193 ff., whose title and *incipit* are given.
col. B = The designation of the Sermons in the Migne (PL 144, 505 ff.) and Bassano eds. of *Operum Damiani t. II.*
col. C = The location of the Sermons reprinted from Lipomani in Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum historiis, etc.*, tom. I-VI (Cologne, 1570-1575).
col. D = The location of the Sermons published in *Operum S. Bernardi t. V-VI: Aliena et supposititia.*
note a. In each case the *incipit* refers to the sermon, or sermons, immediately preceding.
note b. The feast is 26 February. Cf. AA.SS.Boll. Febr. III (Paris, 1865), 669 ff., *S. Victor. presb. Archiaci in Campania Gallica* (Arcis-sur-Aube). The reference to the cult and the relics at Montiéramey (PL 144, 732D-733A) shows the error of the Sermon's location, Sept. 1, in *Opp. Damiani.*

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I have concluded this summary with the foregoing table in order to locate the Sermons in various editions of them available to me, where they appear with certain minor, but noteworthy variations. This provides a means of identification for those who do not have access to Tissier.[22] It will also facilitate our consideration of the confusion in the use of these Sermons which has resulted, I believe, precisely from their faulty identification in the widely used Migne edition of the *Opera Damiani.*

II. THE MODERN USE OF THE SERMONS OF NICHOLAS AS TEXTS OF DAMIANI

The fact is that, despite the constant attribution of these Sermons to Nicholas of Clairvaux, which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been seriously challenged, some of them have been used in modern critical studies as texts of Damiani of unquestioned authenticity.[23] But it is the *Sermo in ded. eccl.*: *Post Crucem* (*Sermo 69*)[24] which has been drawn on most widely for a variety of subjects and, as a consequence, has assumed a prominent place in the history of many theological and political questions. The following examples may be taken to illustrate the nature and extent of its use.

Sacramentary Theology:

The novel enumeration of twelve Sacraments has quite naturally attracted attention to *Sermo 69*.[25] In the history of the number of the Sacraments it is frequently cited to illustrate the superseptenary enumeration.[26] It is also cited for its explicit mention of *Confessio* as a Sacrament,[27] and its use in his name has made Damiani noteworthy as a point of departure for the frequent use of this designation.[28] Similarly, use is made of it for Matrimony,[29] as well as with reference to Confirmation.[30]

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[22] Unable to find the *Biblioth. PP. Cist.* in the U.S. or Canada, I am indebted to Prof. R. Klibansky for his kind intervention, and to Miss Lotti Labowsky, Somerville College, Oxford, for her generous assistance in obtaining the material from Tissier used here.

[23] E.g., Kühn, *Petrus Damiani*, pp. 8, 18, cites *S.* 9; *ibid.*, p. 36, cites *S.* 55, in a summary of the highlights of Damiani's life and work; J. de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle* (Etudes d'hist. des dogmes et d'ancienne litt. ecclésiastique, Paris, 1914), p. 177, cites *S.* 11 for its disparagement of *subtilitas aristotelica* (PL 144, 562A), in discussing the opposition of Damiani to the dialecticians; R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* III (4th ed., Leipzig, 1930), pp. 72, 266, cites *S.* 40 with reference to Mariology; P. Galtier, *De paenitentia tractatus dogmatico-historicus* (new ed., Paris, 1931), p. 232, cites *S.* 58 for its designation of *Confessio* as a sacrament; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne* I, p. 253, cites *S.* 55, on the Beatitudes; *ibid.*, p. 254, note 2, cites *S.* 11, *S.* 40, *S.* 44 on the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[24] PL 144, 897C-902B. The text is too long to reproduce. For present purposes, its chief interest lies in 1) the list of 12 sacraments, 2) the passage on the *inunctio regis* as the 5th sacrament, 3) the use made of *Luke* xxii, 38.

Political Doctrine:

Even more notable is the use of *Sermo 69* in the domain of political theory. The passage which treats the *inunctio regis* as the fifth Sacrament[31] has provided not only key texts for an understanding of Damiani's own position[32] (about which there is a wide divergence of opinion) on the relation of the spiritual and temporal powers, but also *loci communes* for certain aspects of mediaeval political theory in general.[33]

Attention is called to the designation of the *inunctio regis* as a Sacrament, in the wide and somewhat indeterminate sense of the author, and certain political implications of such a conception are noted.[34] Of particular interest in this respect is the exegesis employed for *Luke* xxii, 38 in our text.[35] The doctrine of the Two Swords, as it has come to be known, which occupies such an important place in the later discussions of canonists, legists and theologians on the nature of the relations of the spiritual and temporal authority,[36] has its exegetical basis in the allegorical interpretation of this gospel text which makes the two swords the symbols of the two powers. It is this exegesis which we find here. And in the controversies to follow on the question: *Habetne papa utrumque gladium*, the Scriptural authority of *Luke* xxii, 38 was sought with great ingenuity by the defenders of opposing positions, while the exegetical basis of the argument remained undisputed until the beginning of the XIVth century.[37] It is not surprising then that *Sermo 69* has attached the name of Damiani to the history of the classical Two Swords argument.[38]

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[25] Cf., e.g., Werner, *Gerbert*, pp. 155 f.; Bareille, *Dict. de théol. cath.* IV, 1, col. 51. The author (Gaetani?) of the *Scholia* appended to *S.* 69 in the edition (PL 144, 902) explains at some length the use of "sacrament" here and vindicates the orthodoxy of the author. Cf. also Biron, *St. Pierre Damien*, p. 190.

[26] E.g., P. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments* (4th ed., St. Louis and London, 1930. Trans. from 3rd Fr. ed.), pp. 266 f.; D. Kennedy, *Cath. Encyc.* XIII (New York, 1912), p. 305; Seeberg, *Lehrb.* III, p. 283; A. Michel, *Dict. de théol. cath.* XIV, 1 (Paris, 1939), col. 546; E. Doronzo, *De sacramentis in genere* (Milwaukee, 1946), p. 515.

[27] PL 144, 901A.

[28] Thus A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* III (1st and 2nd ed., Freiburg i. Br., 1890), p. 464, note 3 (later eds. unavailable); Seeberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100. Cf. also Pourrat, *op. cit.*, p. 264, note 18; Doronzo, *op. cit.*, p. 43. On the other hand, Galtier, *op. cit.*, p. 232, attributes to Nicholas the designation of *sacr. confessionis* of *S.* 69, although, by an evident slip, it is cited as *S.* 99 *inter Sermon. Damiani.*

[29] PL 144, 902A. Cf., e.g., Seeberg, *op. cit.*, p. 290. Compare Dam., *Opusc.* XLI (PL 145,661).

[30] PL 144, 898C. Cf. e.g., J. Pohle, *The Sacraments* I (Eng. version of 5th German ed. St. Louis, 1915), p. 305; E. Doronzo, *De Baptismo et Confirmatione* (Milwaukee, 1947), pp. 294, 367.

[31] PL 144, 899D-900B.

[32] E.g., H. X. Arquillière, *Saint Grégoire VII: Essai sur sa conception du pouvoir pontifical* (L'Eglise et l'Etat au moyen âge, IV, Paris, 1934), p. 306, quoting a section of this passage, writes: 'Nous touchons ici à l'idée essentielle, qui met une sorte d'unité dans les dissertations variées du saint cardinal . . .'

[33] C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums u. des römischen Katholizismus* (5th ed., Tübingen, 1934), p. 145, I. 44; J. Lo Grasso, *Ecclesia et Status: de mutuis officiis et juribus fontes selecti* (Rome, 1939), pp. 110 f., nos. 245, 246. It may be noted that the extract *Felix autem . . . confoederatione junguntur* (PL 144, 900B), as given in both these collections, is not integral.

[34] Kühn, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f., commenting on this passage, quotes *Ep.* VII, 3, to show the constancy of Damiani's view that both the priestly and kingly office proceed from Christ and are hallowed *by sacramental consecration*—'durch sakramentale Weihe.' The text quoted (*ibid.*, note 13) reads: 'Utraque praeterea dignitas, et regalis scilicet, et sacerdotalis, sicut principaliter in Christo sibimet invicem singulari sacramenti veritate connectitur, sic in Christiano populo mutuo quodam sibi foedere copulatur' (PL 144, 440A). I would only point out that *sacramentum* here signifies, in a general sense, *mysterium*, a usage found commonly in Damiani's writings, which is quite different from the meaning of the same word in *S.* 69. Cf. also Bareille, *op. cit.*, col. 49; G. de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laique au déclin du moyen âge* I (Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, 1934), p. 59; J. Whitney, *St. Peter Damiani and Humbert*, in *Hildebrandine Essays* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 132, note 2.

[35] PL 144, 900B.

[36] A. Scharnagl, *Lex. für Theol. u. Kirche* IX (1937), col. 751: 'Die mittelalterl. Theorien über das Verhältnis von Staat u. Kirche haben seit dem Investiturstreit an das Bild der 2 Schwerter (*Lk.* xxii, 38) angeknüpft (Zweischwerterlehre).'

One is thus confronted with two sets of facts which, at first sight, seem to defy explanation. On the one hand, there is the undisputed attribution of these 19 Sermons to Nicholas of Clairvaux, and the recognition of their presence in the edition of Damiani's works. On the other, there is the use of these Sermons as texts of Damiani, especially notable in the case of *Sermo 69*, without the least suspicion of their authenticity,[39] although, at least since their separate edition by Tissier, they were easily identifiable. In reality, the nature of the problem itself suggests the only possible explanation. For the very extent of their use and the scientific standing of the scholars who have used them, point to a common source for the confusion.

I believe this source to be the list of numbers which was drawn up to identify the Sermons of Nicholas in the Gaetani edition of the *Opera Damiani*, but which does not correspond to their actual numbering in the Bassano and Migne editions.[40] At least for the Sermons involved in this discrepancy, it was this positive misinformation, and not simply a lack of caution in the presence of a defective edition, which provided the source of error.

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[37] Cf. the enlightening study of J. Lecler, 'L'argument des deux glaives (*Luc* xxii, 38) dans les controverses politiques du moyen âge', *Recherches de science religeuse*, XXI (1931), 299-339 (to the end of XIIIth cent.); XXII (1932), 151-177; 280-303 (XIV-XVIIth cent.).

[38] E.g., Neukirch, *Das Leben*, p. 86, note 2. The use of *S.* 69 in this painstaking and justly esteemed work undoubtedly influenced its subsequent use and attribution to Damiani. Cf. also C. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 547, note 6; p. 577, note 5; O. Pfülf, 'Damiani's Zwist mit Hildebrand', *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLI (1891), 302 f.; Kühn, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Seeberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 116; 294, note 3.

R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* IV (Edinburgh and London, 1922), pp. 44-48, presents a judicious exposition of the position of Damiani, who is chosen to illustrate the complexity of the conception in men's minds on the relation of the temporal and spiritual powers. In a chapter on the position of Gregory VII, texts of Damiani are again discussed (*ibid.*, pp. 168 f.), where the author concludes: 'We have already considered these phrases in Part I . . . and we can only repeat that it is very difficult to say what P. Damiani may have meant by them.' The Two Swords passage of *S.* 69 is quoted with commentary in both places (*ibid.*, pp. 48, 168). Its rejection at least eliminates one element of the difficulty to which the author refers with such admirable frankness.

J. Lecler, *op. cit.*, XXI, 306, cites *S.* 69 as the first text in which the symbolism of the two swords for the two powers, already current, is explicitly applied to *Luke* xxii, 38. Its relocation in the XIIth cent. leaves open the question of the first use of the celebrated argument. It is of interest to note that the next text adduced by Lecler (*ibid.*, 307 f.) is from Henry IV's *Encyclica ad episcopos de conventu Wormatiae habendo* of April, 1076 (MGH *Constit. et Acta publica* I, 112, l. 35 ff.). Is it then in the *curia regis* that we are to see the inspiration for the Two Swords argument, and in Henry IV its original sponsor? It is at least certain that its use in *S.* 69 was no precedent for Henry's letter.

[39] In more than one instance, the presence of Nicholas' Sermons in the Damiani edition is noted in the same studies in which they are used as texts of Damiani.

[40] This list appears in the Migne ed. of Damiani's Sermons (PL 144, 505, note 109); and in the same ed. of the Letters of Nicholas (PL 196, 1653). It also appears in Ceillier, *Hist. générale* XIV, 2 (1863), p. 737, col. A, in the article on Nicholas, based on *Hist. litt. de la France* and added by the editor to the work of Dom Ceillier, which is without independent value, but perpetuates the erroneous list (omitting *S.* 60, one of the correct numbers) by using it to identify the Sermons of Nicholas in Migne. Mirbt, *Realencyklopädie* IV (1898), p. 431, stating that he cites from the 1642 ed. of *Opp. Dam.*, gives a list of numbers identical with that in Migne (*loc. cit.*). It appears probable, then, that this list corresponds with the Sermons of Nicholas in some edition of *Opp. Dam.* prior to the Bassano (1783) ed., but, in such case, its validity required a uniformity in the numbering of subsequent editions, which seems not to have been maintained. E.g., the Bassano ed. designates two Sermons as *S.* 18. Migne calls the first *S.* 17 *bis*, but otherwise conforms with his archetype. It is also pos-

III. OBSERVATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

It will be clear from what has been said that the authenticity of these Sermons has not been involved directly in this modern use of them. Even if the authorship of Nicholas were in need of vindication, which does not appear to be the case, it would be beyond my present purpose and competence to undertake it here in detail. Any adequate discussion of this question, if it is to be reopened at all, must include the manuscript evidence. It remains to say a word, however, about two opinions which, if valid, would not only cast doubts on the traditional authorship of Nicholas, but might appear to provide evidence in favor of the adventitious attribution to Damiani, which is my primary concern. Both have been advanced in relation to the prominent *Sermo 69* and therefore merit attention.

At an early date, Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028) was named as the person referred to in the passage which treats the *sacramentum dedicationis ecclesiae* and this opinion enjoys authoritative modern support.[41] In both instances, however, this identification was made when the authorship of Damiani was accepted on other grounds. Once this was assumed, it became necessary to find someone to meet the requirements of place, time and doctrine according to the internal data of the text. I believe that this was the process that led to see Fulbert here. Such identification not only fails to favor, but presents such serious difficulties against the authorship of Damiani, that it is surprising that it could have passed unchallenged.[42]

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sible that the *Sermo Anonymi* (PL 144, 848) once bore a number. Access to the earlier editions would render these conjectures as unnecessary as they are tedious. Whatever the explanation, the fact is that this list contains six erroneous numbers according to the actual Bassano-Migne enumeration, *viz.*, 28, 53, 57, 61, 63 and 70. The list of Nicholas' Sermons by titles (PL 144, 11-12) did provide a safer guide but did not make possible the identification of all the items.

[41] Omitting an explicit treatment of the *sacrificium singulare*, which terminates the rite of dedication, the author explains: 'Attigissemus tamen quantulumcunque, nisi nostris temporibus quidam, qui Carnotensi praesedit ecclesiae, vivacissimo mentis igne lucidius omnia declarasset. Ad illum igitur plenissimum fontem sitientem mittimus, ubi plenissimam hauriat veritatem' (PL 144, 900D). In the *Scholia*, Gaetani (?) comments (*ibid.*, 903A): 'Hisce autem verbis lectorem videtur remittere ad epistolam Fulberti Carnotensis episcopi, Adeodato scriptam.' Neukirch, *Das Leben*, p. 86, note 2, with less caution and without reference to the earlier opinion, considers this identification certain, and on this basis dates the sermon in the early years of Damiani.

[42] Fulbert's letter suggested in the *Scholia* is *Ep.* 5, *De tribus quae sunt necessaria ad profectum Christianae religionis* (PL 141, 196-204; for the Eucharistic passage, cf. *ibid.*, 201B-204B). It is most unlikely that a mid-XIth cent. audience could have been referred to this letter in the terms of *S.* 69, certainly not after the Berengarian controversies, which were known in Italy from *ca.* 1050. Damiani, moreover, was familiar with older and fuller sources. Cf., e.g., *Opusc.* VI. *cap.* 9 (PL 145, 109D), with its reference to Paschasius; and *Opusc.* XIV (*ibid.*, 334D), for the authors in the library of Fonte Avellana. Nor could Fulbert's interesting *Ep.* 3, *ad Einardum* (PL 141, 192), also on the Eucharist, be the object of reference.

The chronological difficulties are also real. Both letters of Fulbert were written before he became bishop of Chartres, in 1007, and he was dead several years before Damiani entered Fonte Avellana, in 1035. It will be recalled that Raynaud (*v.* note 14 *supra*) rejects Damiani's authorship for *S.* 56, and would date the text earlier in the XIth cent., on the supposed identification of the same Fulbert as its *alter nostrorum temporum Tullius* (PL 144, 820D, 822A), although he rightly claims for it a French author on the basis of another passage. In this case our doubts are easily solved, for the author's Tullius is Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133), and the adapted quotations of *S.* 56 (*loc. cit.*) are from his Letters, *Lib.* I, *Ep.* 11 (PL 171, 169D); and *Ep.* 6 (*ibid.*, 152C-D).

But who is the *praesidens Carnotensis* of *S.* 69? Yvo (d. 1117) comes to mind at once and admirably satisfies the doctrinal requirements. The chronological data accord less readily but are plausible. It would require Ms. evidence to confirm my own conjecture that Hildebert may here again be meant by Nicholas. It is just possible that the one who was successively *Cenomanen.* and *Turonen.* became *Carnoten.* at the hands of some copyist or editor. Nicholas admired this Benedictine confrere and contemporary, and in *Ep.* 17, to the Dean of Troyes, he asks: 'Epistolas domini Cenomanensis mitte nobis, quia volumus eas transcribere' (PL 196, 1616A; Picard saw

Support for Damiani's authorship might also be seen in the explicit relation of the passage of *Sermo 69* describing the rite of the *inunctio regis*[43] to the imperial coronation of Henry III in the extraordinary ceremony in Rome, Dec. 25, 1046, in the Basilica of St. Peter.[44] The first thing to be made clear here is that the text treats the consecration of a king, not that of an emperor, and I see no reason to assume that the two rites, which were quite distinct in fact, were not equally distinct in the mind of the author.[45] Moreover, there are serious difficulties in the way of seeing in this text any reflection of the imperial coronation of 1046. There is solid reason to believe that the ritual used at Rome on this occasion followed the so-called *Ordo Romanus*,[46] which provided a rite of striking simplicity for the consecration of an emperor, in contrast to the more elaborate rite for the consecration of a king.[47] The absence here of significant elements, which are included in *Sermo 69*, makes it most doubtful that we may seek the source of the author's inspiration either in the text of this *Ordo ad benedicendum imperatorem*, or in any ceremony which followed its provisions.[48] On the other hand, considered in its proper category, it is highly problematical that the provenance of the *inunctio regis* text can be confirmed on the basis of its liturgical data alone.[49]

Hildebert here, *ibid.*, note 3). Moreover, Hildebert's *Ep.* II, 18 with its use of *Luke* xxii, 38 (PL 171, 227B-C), suggests comparison with *S.* 69. The texts of both Yvo and Hildebert on the Sacrifice of the Mass are indicated by M. Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la messe d'après les théologiens* (2nd ed., Paris, 1926), pp. 22 ff. Given the sentiments of Nicholas, he could well have spoken in the terms of *S.* 69 of the Eucharistic writings of Hildebert, although, in themselves, they are less noteworthy than those of Yvo.

[43] PL 144, 899D-900B.

[44] This is done by H. von Schubert, *P. Damiani als Kirchenpolitiker*, p. 99: 'Wir schliessen mit zwei weiteren Ausführungen, die ganz in die Tiefe der Anschauung reichen. Die eine, in dem undatierbaren *S.* 69 über die 12 Sakramente, reiht an 5. Stelle zwischen Priester—und Kirchweihe die Königsweihe ein. [*loc. cit.*] Was Damiani in Rom 1046 bei der Krönung Heinrichs III gesehen, steht wohl vor seinem geistigen Auge . . . etc.' [The second text cited is *Ep.* IV, 9.]

[45] The phrase: 'Prius autem quam *imperatoriis* cultibus vestiatur . . .' (PL 144, 900A), does not alter the whole tenor of the text. For other uses of this adjective by Nicholas, cf. *S.* 9 (PL 144, 548D); *S.* 52 (*ibid.*, 795A, 796C); *S.* 58 (*ibid.*, 832A). Nevertheless, this text has been widely accepted as referring to the rite of imperial coronation. Cf., e.g., Lo Grasso, *Ecclesia et Status*, p. 110.

[46] This is the opinion of E. Steindorff, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III* I (Leipzig, 1874), p. 476, with full documentation.

[47] A critical edition, with introductory studies, is given by G. Waitz, *Die Formeln der Deutschen Königs— u. der Römischen Kaiser-Krönung vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (from *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, XVIII) (Göttingen, 1872), pp. 33-44: (A) *Incipit ordo ad regem benedicendum*; pp. 62-64: (B) *Ordo Romanus ad benedicendum imperatorem quando coronam accipit.* The texts are also in M. Hittorp, *De divinis officiis* (Paris, 1610), cols. 147-152 (text A); col. 153 (text B).

For a discussion of the importance and rapid diffusion throughout the whole Latin West of the archaic Mainz Pontifical, from which these formulas derive, and which is called 'le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle' by the author, cf. the valuable work of M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au moyen âge* I (Studi e Testi, LXXXVI, Vatican City, 1938), p. 4. On the origin of the misnomer, *Ordo Romanus*, for this Pontifical, cf. *ibid.*, note 3.

[48] Neither sword, nor scepter, has any place in this ceremony, which represents an early stage in the evolution of the liturgy of imperial consecration. The same simplicity is seen at Rome in the earliest recension of the XIIth cent. Roman Pontifical, based directly on the Rhenish model; and, although the sole representative of the longer and later recension of the same Roman Pontifical (Pont. of Apamea) does prescribe the *traditio gladii et sceptri*, M. Andrieu (*op. cit.*, p. 104, note 1) doubts that these two additional liturgical actions corresponded to the actual practice even at this epoch. The texts may be compared, *ibid.*, pp. 251-254.

[49] It is doubtful how far we may seek the exact reflection of liturgical details in a text of this character, although the author would hardly invent elements not currently in use. In any case, the rite for the consecration of a king was fully developed at an early date, and was very similar in the regions that interest us here. This is borne out by even a cursory examination of the pertinent texts in V. Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (3 tom., Paris, 1937). Of particular interest is the presence of a Xth cent. Pontifical of the province of Mainz in the library of Clairvaux from the date of foundation. (*Ibid.*, II, 384 f.).

It may not be superfluous to point out that the internal evidence is entirely compatible with the authorship of Nicholas. From the point of view of sacramentary theology, the tenor of *Sermo 69* accords admirably with the theological milieu of the early XIIth century. At this time, with the renewed theological activity characteristic of the period, there were not only the uncertainties common to the earlier period with regard to definition, but, more important, repeated efforts at enumeration which rendered the need for precise definition more urgent. This need played no small part in the elucidation of Peter Lombard in the IVth Book of the Sentences (1148) at the term of so much fruitful labor.[50]

The same is true of the political aspects of *Sermo 69*. The France of Louis VI (1108-1137) and Abbot Suger (d. 1151), of Louis VII (1137-1180) and St. Bernard (d. 1153), suggests an historical setting entirely congruous for its author. This period, marked by the ascending fortunes of the Capetians, was highly favorable to the development of the *mystique du roi*, which, if not peculiar to, is strongly reflected in *Sermo 69*.[51] At this time, too, the text of *Luke* xxii, 38 was being more widely exploited according to the new exegesis given it by its sponsors in the XIth century polemical literature and was eventually used by St. Bernard, in quite a different sense, to mark a new epoch in the history of the Two Swords argument.[52]

It can be said, in general, that the use of some of these Sermons in the name of Damiani in no way weakens their traditional attribution to the monk of Montiéramey and one-time secretary of St. Bernard. His authorship remains confirmed by many details of internal evidence. In brief, considered as texts not anterior to, but later than, or contemporaneous with the work of such influential writers as, e.g., Yvo of Chartres, Hildebert of Le Mans, Godfrey of Vendôme, Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard, the anachronism of their location in the mid-XIth century disappears, their literary and doctrinal milieu is more readily understood, and their own significance is considerably diminished. A detailed examination of their contents would, I believe, confirm their dependence for whatever merit might be in them on the literary labors of the great churchmen, from XIIth century France, who made such a contribution to a renascent Christendom.[53]

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[50] Cf. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments*, pp. 263 ff.

[51] Since the transmission of royal power was not fixed by constitutional guarantees, the Capetians sought to maintain the dynasty by assuring the succession through the association of the son with the royal power of the father. Thus, for the years that interest us, Philip, oldest son of Louis VI and *rex designatus* from 1121, was *in regem consecratus* by his sacre at Rheims in 1129, at the age of twelve. After his premature death by accident, his brother, Louis, then age eleven, was sacred at Rheims, Oct. 25, 1131, by Pope Innocent II. In the adult life-time of Nicholas (Louis VI was consecrated in 1108), the royal power was transmitted by consecration only on these two occasions, although, in addition to this initial and essential rite, similar ceremonies of a secondary order were frequent, e.g., at the *curiae coronatae*, and Louis le Jeune was again crowned in 1137, at Bourges, when he began his personal rule after the death of his father. The documentation and an exposition of the significance of these institutions in this period of conflict between the hereditary and elective principles may be seen in H. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens 987-1180* I (Paris, 1883), pp. 59-71.

This background, I believe , permits a much more accurate and realistic exegesis of the *inunctio regis* text of *S.* 69. While it is perhaps too much to say that its immediate inspiration was the sacre of 1131, Suger's account of that unusually impressive event is worth reading, at least for its lights on the contemporaneous setting of its author. See his *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis, cap.* 32 (ed. H. Waquet 'Les classiques de l'hist. de France au moyen âge, XI, Paris, 1929', pp. 266, 268).

[52] Cf. Lecler, *Recherches de science rel.* XXI (1931), 309 ff., where the texts are cited.

[53] It is hardly necessary to add that these Sermons retain their interest for the historian.

IV. CONCLUSION

It is beyond the scope of these notes to attempt to assess the relative influence of this confusion. It may well be felt that, considered separately, the uses made of these Sermons in the name of Damiani do not alter materially either the figure of the heroic reformer, or the general history of the several questions they have served to illustrate. Whatever the final judgment here, which must await further study, I am convinced that, at least, the cumulative effect of their use as texts of the pre-Gregorian period has been to blur the historical perspective in both cases, and, in some respects, to a notable degree. That the personal prestige of Damiani and his influential position, as Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and close collaborator of the Holy See, have contributed to their prominence, seems beyond question.

There has been no change in the appraisal of these texts considered as Sermons of Nicholas of Clairvaux. In general, the critics have dealt rather severely with them from the point of view of style and content.[54] An eminent contemporary theologian says of them: ". . . *ils ne présentent au point de vue théologique rien de bien particulier*".[55] Through an unfortunate error these same Sermons have provided texts widely circulated in the name of a celebrated theologian[56] in a manner curiously reminiscent of the growth of some mediaeval *auctoritates*. It is for this reason that at least a first step towards clarification seemed opportune and, it may be hoped, useful for the interim use of these texts.

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[54] E.g., *Hist. litt. de la France* XIII (1869), p. 566: 'Il dit les avoir composés dans son jeune âge, et on s'en aperçoit bien à la manière superficielle avec laquelle il traite ses sujets. C'est un jeune orateur qui court après les phrases, qui fait des amplifications de rhétorique, en entassant les lieux communs.'

[55] E. Amann, *Dict. de théol. cath.* XI, 1 (1931), col. 596.

[56] For an authoritative evaluation of Damiani's position as a theologian, cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* I (Freiburg i. Br., 1909), pp. 231 ff.

* A copy of the following new study, which has come to my attention since my manuscript was submitted to *Mediaeval Studies*, reaches me while the final proofs are at hand, and thus enables me to add this brief mention here: Owen J. Blum, O.F.M., *St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life* (The Catholic Univ. of America Studies in Mediaeval History, n.s. X), Washington, 1947 (Diss.). The authenticity of the Sermons of Damiani is treated, pp. 42-45. Dr. Blum's conclusions, based on a fresh examination of the oldest Vatican MSS of Damiani's works which revealed the absence of the 19 Sermons of Nicholas, remove the possibility of any doubt on the grounds of Card. Mai's statement (*v.* note 20 *supra*), and entirely coincide with the position taken by Nicholas' editors and the later critics, as reported here. The author also calls attention to the special significance assumed by *Sermo* 69, pp. 44 f.

Deus Non Vult: A Critic of the Third Crusade

GEORGE B. FLAHIFF, C.S.B.

I

BY the latter part of the thirteenth century currents of opinion hostile to the crusades have crystallized. Abundant evidence of this is to be found in the reports sent to Pope Gregory X at his own request when he was preparing the work of the second council of Lyons, one matter on the agenda of which was to be the launching of a new crusade. While the criticism expressed at that moment is particularly frank and widespread,[1] it is but the culmination of an attitude that had been growing throughout the thirteenth century, as disappointment and disillusionment followed upon repeated failures and turned finally to open opposition.[2] All this is far removed from the universal zeal and fervour which accompanied the First Crusade and carried over into the twelfth century. The question naturally arises: at what precise moment do we first meet opinions adverse to the idea of a crusade? To be sure, dissenting voices were to be heard almost from the time of the First Crusade; the denunciation of military blunders, of treachery and of all manner of abuses was openly proclaimed likewise from that same time, although more especially after the failure of the Second Crusade; enthusiasm for the cause of the Holy Land waned noticeably in the latter half of the twelfth century and individuals easily found reasons why they should not go on a crusade or why they might both justifiably and repeatedly postpone a projected departure. But these *ad hoc* carpings, criticisms and excuses do not necessarily constitute an opposition to crusades as such; they make no attempt to weigh the whole question whether a crusade should be undertaken at all or, at least, under what conditions and by whom it should be undertaken. Later thirteenth century criticism will be characterized by just this sort of systematic and rational approach, but no evidence of it in the twelfth century had so far come to light. It is the purpose of the present article to call attention to a more or less methodical examination of such questions by Ralph Niger about the year 1189,[3] to analyze his opinion on the matter and to publish the pertinent passages. His views, which are, on the whole, unfavorable to a crusade, are all the more intriguing in that they are voiced by a cleric and voiced by him at the very height of recruiting for the Third Crusade, the one moment perhaps when, as a result of the deep impression made on Western Europe by the fall of Jerusalem (October 2, 1187), an enthusiasm at all comparable to that of the First Crusade was aroused, and certainly one of the moments when the most serious and systematic efforts were being made to enlist support for an armed expedition to the Holy Land.

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[1] P. A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940). So abundant is the evidence that, far from having to prove the existence of the criticism, Dr. Throop is able to use it and the efforts to combat it as a field of investigation into another problem: the growth and influence of public opinion. Much of his material is supplied by the reports sent to Gregory X in preparation for the council of Lyons.

[2] P. A. Throop, *op. cit.*, especially ch. II (pp. 26-28), where he has drawn on an earlier article of his, 'Criticism of the Papal Crusade Policy in Old French and Provencal,' *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 379-412.

[3] On Ralph Niger, see G. B. Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger, An Introduction to His Life and Works,' *Mediaeval Studies*, II (1940), 104-126. The year 1189 would seem to be the probable date of writing. The fall of Jerusalem (Oct. 2, 1187) is mentioned, but the references to preparations already made for the new crusade force us to place the date some time later. On the other hand, Philip Augustus has not yet set out, hence

Contemporary opinion, in so far as it has been recorded and preserved for us, is in distinct contrast with that of Niger. His position appears to have been unique among those who expressed themselves at the time of the Third Crusade. Narrative sources, whether general chronicles or special histories of the crusade from whatever country they may emanate, recount both the preliminaries and the actual events more or less impersonally; certainly there is no suggestion of disapproval of the crusade, on the contrary laments over the fall of Jerusalem and repeated condemnation of delays in departure would indicate quite other sentiments on the part of the authors.[4] If popular literature voices a certain criticism, it is criticism levelled not against the idea of a crusade but against those who fail to promote it.[5] Songs on crusading themes are numerous in both Latin and vernacular and they serve regularly as the vehicle for a strong emotional appeal to potential crusaders.[6] Certain literary figures of the time constitute themselves propagandists of the movement and address veritable *excitatoria* to their contemporaries.[7] Papal letters, as might be expected, are multiplied; Gregory VIII and Clement III fairly plead with Christians to rally to the cause of the Holy Land and they hold out advantages both spiritual and temporal to those who will go on the crusade or will aid it.[8] All this recorded enthusiasm

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the work must be earlier than June 24, 1190, the day of the French king's departure from St. Denis.

[4] The best list of the narrative sources for the Third Crusade is still that of A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France,* III (Paris, 1903), pp. 29-38; it includes the sources for the different countries of Europe.

[5] P. A. Throop, 'Criticism of Papal Crusading Policy . . . , ' *Speculum,* XIII (1938), 382-383.

[6] Typical Latin ones from the period of the Third Crusade have been published by C. Blume in his great collection, *Analecta Hymnica,* XXIII (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 315-320. Roger of Hoveden has included one of Berter of Orleans' in his *Chronica* for the year 1187 with a comment as to how many were persuaded thereby to take the cross (ed. Stubbs, II, Rolls Series, 1869, pp. 330-332). As to vernacular songs, a considerable number are listed, commented upon and, in some cases, published in the following works: H. Schindler, *Die Kreuzzüge in der altprovenzalischen und mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik* (Dresden, 1889), pp. 22-24; K. Lewent, *Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 19-22; F. Oeding, *Das altfranzösische Kreuzlied* (Brunswick, 1910), pp. 11, 37-44. The chief ones have been published by J. Bédier and P. Aubry, *Les Chansons de Croisade avec leurs Mélodies* (Paris, 1909), pp. 20, 32, 44, 62, 70, 78, 92, 101, 112.

The failure of the Third Crusade called forth caustic remarks from some vernacular writers. Hugues d'Oisy, the aged chatelain of Cambrai, who had been criticized by his younger cousin Conon de Béthune for not joining the crusaders when they were departing, took full revenge in a poem written after Conon's inglorious return; J. Bédier and P. Aubry, *op. cit.,* pp. 62-63; cf. *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* XXIII, 625, and cf. XVIII, 848. The well nigh blasphemous reproaches of two poets at the close of the century are noted by Throop, *op. cit.,* p. 173. There is no evidence, however, of like sentiments in poems written before the crusade or in the period of its launching. H. Pflaum has published a Latin fragment of a parody on a crusader's song, in which the author warns against taking part in the crusade, but the date of the piece is uncertain; it is 'written by a thirteenth-century hand;' see *Speculum,* X (1935), 337-339.

[7] Most prominent among these is Peter of Blois. His *De Hierosolimitana Peregrinatione Acceleranda* (PL 207, 1057-1070), written in 1188 or 1189, is an impassioned appeal for support of the crusade and a severe indictment of the princes and others who are responsible for the delay; his *De Passione Reginaldi Principis Antiocheni* (PL 207, 957-976), of approximately the same date, exalts Renaud de Châtillon and with gross exaggeration depicts him as a paragon of virtue and a glorious martyr in order that others may be persuaded to take up the cross (cf. *The Chronicles of Ralph Niger,* ed. R. Anstruther, London, 1851, p. 94: '*beatus* Reinaldus, princeps Antiochiae'). Finally in one of his letters, Peter denounces those who neither take the cross nor preach the crusade (PL 207, 529-534). Gerald of Wales is likewise an ardent supporter; he accompanied Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury when the latter preached the crusade in Wales; Gerald's works, contemporary with these events, reflect his attitude: e.g. *Expugnatio Hibernica* in *Opera Giraldi Cambrensis,* ed. Dimock, V (Rolls Series, London, 1867), pp. 361-368; the *Itinerarium Cambriae* and the *De Rebus a Se Gestis* which record the great successes of the preaching tour are of a later date.

[8] Popes Alexander III (1159-1181), Lucius III (1181-1185) and Urban III (1185-1187) had written letters in favour of aid to the Holy Land, but it is only after the fall of Jerusalem that Gregory VIII (Oct. 21-Dec. 17, 1187) and Clement III (1187-1191) make an urgent appeal for a new armed crusade. Their letters on the subject will be found listed in Jaffe, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum,* II (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1888, nos. 16013,

need not lead to the conclusion that there was no opposition whatsoever. The very inertia that was encountered and the delays that ensued in getting the crusade under weigh argue the contrary. It remains true, nevertheless, that, whatever degree of opposition may have been felt, articulate expression of it is lacking. No dissenting voice is raised to criticize or even seriously to question, let alone openly to contest, the advisability of a new expedition against the Saracens. In later crusades this is not always the case, but the third one, at least in the period of its launching, follows the pattern of earlier crusades with their absence of declared opposition.

Undoubtedly from the very inception of the crusades there had been reasons why certain individuals could not or would not take part. A man's sovereign or feudal lord might not permit it.[9] Family ties, lack of means, ill health, defence of one's possessions, all these things and many others might legitimately prevent a man from going, while less valid reasons such as fear, laziness, self-interest, might likewise keep him at home.[10] But cases of clearly formulated opposition are rarely to be found in the sources for the first crusades.[11] Attempts to account for failure are often mixed with sharp criticism of leaders and their policies, of crusaders and their conduct, of Eastern Christians and their perfidy.[12] These

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16014, 16018, 16019, 16073, 16075, 16078 for Gregory VIII, and nos. 16106, 16252, 16373, 16433, 16461, 16462, 16619, 16634 for Clement III.

[9] C. W. David has noted that the unfavorable attitude of William II and Henry I helps to explain the very meagre support of early crusades by the upper classes of England; *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (New York, 1936), Introd., pp. 9-10. Abbot Samson was not allowed to depart in 1188, because his presence in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk was felt to be necessary; Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronica de Rebus Gestis Samsonis Abbatis*, ed. J. G. Rokewode (London, 1840), p. 39. Pope Clement III was willing in 1189 to release from a crusading vow any subjects of Richard I whom the king needed to keep at home for affairs of the country; Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, III (Rolls Series, London, 1870), p. 17. The king took advantage of the privilege; see B. N. Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades 1150-1220* (Bryn Mawr College Thesis, privately printed, 1939), pp. 92-93.

[10] The Anglo-Norman aristocracy were generally little drawn to the crusades because of their concern with consolidating their estates at home and with promoting their own personal interests (C. W. David, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12). Examples of family ties, defence of possessions, fear, self interest etc., at the time of the Third Crusade, are cited by Siedschlag, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95.

[11] Ekkehard of Aura recounts how the German people made fun of the expedition from France, Normandy and Lorraine in the course of the First Crusade; the Germans regarded the whole thing as utterly foolish. This is not really opposition, however, for, as Ekkehard himself points out, it was merely ignorance: the crusade had not been preached to the Germans and they could not understand why the crusaders were going to Palestine (*Chronicon Universale* in MGH, SS XVII, 214). At the time of the Second Crusade, certain North Germans, especially Saxons, were reluctant to go off to Palestine, but only because they viewed as more pressing the matter of a crusade closer to home against the Wends, and St. Bernard finally encouraged them in this; see A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, IV (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 604-605 and E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard* (4th ed., Paris, 1927), II, 305-306. German annals of the time voice bitter criticism of the Second Crusade, but these are written *after* the debacle (see next note). A phrase in the *Vita Sugeri* is sometimes cited to prove that the abbot of St. Denis was opposed to the Second Crusade: 'Porro providus hic et praescius futurorum nec illud (iter peregrinationis) principi suggessit, nec auditum approbavit' (Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres Complètes de Suger*, Paris, 1867, p. 394); in the sense of deeming it inexpedient, this is undoubtedly true, but a very few years later death was to overtake him in the midst of preparations for a new crusade which he was busily promoting (*op. cit.*, pp. 399-400).

[12] The magnitude of St. Bernard's role in the launching of the Second Crusade could not but leave him open to the attacks of undiscerning critics when it failed so miserably. German annals were particularly bitter in their denunciation of 'false prophets' (*Annales Herbipolenses*, MGH, SS XVI, 3; *Annales Brunwilarenses*, MGH, SS XVI, 727; cf. *Annales S. Jacobi Leodensis*, MGH, SS XVI, 641). So sharp was the criticism that friends of Bernard felt obliged to speak explicitly in his defence; e.g. Otto of Freising (*Gesta Frederici*, MGH, SS XX, 587), John of Casamari (PL 182, 590); Bernard himself devoted the first chapter of the second book of his *De Consideratione* to his own defence (PL 182, 741-745), blaming the failure on discord among the leaders, the number of criminals among the crusaders, the presence of women, immorality, the attitude of Constantinople, the treachery of Palestinian Christians, etc. Other contemporary sources bear him out in nearly all these points (see nn. 35, 45, 67 below) and

retrospective judgments betray a disillusionment[13] which in its turn may help to explain the apparent apathy of Western Europe in the decades that followed the Second Crusade;[14] yet here again there are other explanations, at least partial. The general political situation in the West was more troubled during those years than it had been for a century or more: Capetian and Angevin rivalry was already open and acute; Henry II of England was repeatedly harassed with the problem of his rebellious sons; the long drawn-out schism of Frederick Barbarossa and his quarrel with Alexander III filled almost twenty of these years, while his wars with Henry the Lion in Germany and with the Lombard League in Italy kept both him and them busily occupied.[15] Western Europe may well have been too absorbed in its own affairs and crises to be able to give much thought to the crusade.[16] Be this as it may, the fact is that there is no evidence of a voice being raised against the idea itself. Indeed, when the fall of Jerusalem precipitated the Third Crusade, the voices that were at once raised were decidedly in favour of it, and the wave of enthusiasm which followed found clear and immediate exression in contemporary writings. Against such a background Niger's contribution to twelfth century sources and especially to those of the Third Crusade appears as of an unusual character. Both the tone and the method of his work make it unique; for not only does he show himself unfavorable to the expedition at a moment when so many others are urging it, but he proceeds to marshal systematic arguments drawn from Scripture, reason and experience to support his position.

II

In the prologue to his *De Re Militari et Triplici Via Peregrinationis Jerosolimitanae*, the work which contains his critical remarks about the crusade,[17] Niger explains the occasion and the purpose of his writing. Palestine, he says, that land hallowed beyond all others by the Saviour's life and work, has just

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even the abusive German annals witness to the things he mentions. Cf. Vacandard, *op. cit.*, II, 433-434 and A. J. Luddy, *Life and Teaching of St. Bernard* (Dublin, 1927), pp. 596-598.

[13] Gerhoh of Reichersberg serves as an excellent example. In 1148, he was writing his commentary on Psalm 39 into which he introduced a few remarks about the zeal of crusaders in Palestine and the noble opportunity that was theirs (MGH, *Libelli de Lite*, III, 436-437). When he comes to review the events of the Second Crusade in a later work, *De Investigatione Antichristi*, the note of disappointment and disillusionment is only too strong (*Lib. de Lite*, III, 374-378); the whole story is one of misfortune and calamity; the chief blame for failure is fixed on the inhabitants of Palestine whose avarice made them suspicious of the crusaders and induced them to accept bribes from the enemy (p. 377).

[14] Misunderstanding and discord between the Latin population of Syria and the crusading army had certainly been one of the principal causes of the failure; the crusaders felt that they had been betrayed. Feeling ran high and Grousset sees this as the chief reason for disgust on the part of the Westerners and the chief reason, too, for their lack of interest for a period of forty years, which led eventually to the loss of the colonies in the Holy Land; *Histoire des Croisades*, II, (Paris, 1935), pp. 264, 267-268.

[15] For a general view of events in Western Europe at this time, see E. Jordan, *L'Allemagne et l'Italie de 1125 à 1273* (Paris, 1939), pp. 42-149 and Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *L'Europe Occidentale de 1125 à 1270* (2nd ed., Paris, 1944), especially pp. 110-131 for England and France (these form together vol. IV of the mediaeval section of G. Glotz, *Histoire Générale*); see also *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, vol. V.

[16] John of Salisbury, in a letter of 1169, written in the midst of St. Thomas Becket's quarrel with Henry II and of Frederick Barbarossa's schism, remarks in parentheses that a crusade to Jerusalem, of which there was talk, will be of little use unless peace be first restored to the Church in the West (PL 199, 327-328); see note 28 below.

[17] The only other work of Niger's that makes reference to the crusade is his longer chronicle, written some ten years or more after the event (ed. Anstruther, *The Chronicles of Ralph Niger*, London, 1851, pp. 94 ff.) There he recounts briefly and objectively the loss of Jerusalem and the launching of the crusade, the delays and finally Richard's expedition. The only obviously personal touches are his mention of Renaud de Châtillon as *beatus Reinaldus* and his allusion to Henry II's repeated failures to make good earlier crusading vows, wherein his animosity to that monarch is evident; on this latter point, see Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger . . . ,' *Med. Studies*, II (1940), 107-108.

fallen into the hands of the Saracens; the king of Jerusalem has been made a prisoner and other leaders have been captured if not slain; the very wood of the cross has been carried off by infidels. So deeply have the princes of the West and their peoples been moved by this calamity[18] that they have already taken the cross with a view to repairing the damage done in the East and obtaining at the same time remission of their sins as the fruit of their enterprise. God Himself must have inspired them to this; or, at least, so it would seem, remarks Niger. Nevertheless, such a pilgrimage or crusade will be of little avail to those who make it, unless there be joined with it a spiritual pilgrimage to the mystical Jerusalem; indeed, this latter which is an inner journey, can be made without ever leaving one's home, and in many cases it should be. But if men are going to insist on a crusade to the earthly Jerusalem, they should certainly see to the spiritual and interior journey first.[19] It is, as a matter of fact, this latter which is Niger's primary concern; he has found in the Scriptures three cases of a journey to Jerusalem that are for our instruction: the return of the Jewish people to Jerusalem from the captivity of Egypt, the return from the captivity of Babylon, and finally the return of St. Peter to the city after his imprisonment by King Herod. For Niger these represent mystically different conditions of men in need of deliverance from the bondage of sin; the remedy in each case is a "journey to Jerusalem".[20] Three of the *De Re Militari's* four books are filled with lengthy symbolical interpretations of these events as they are recounted for us in the Bible. Thus, the larger portion of the whole work has nothing whatsoever to do with any historical crusade, even though one of these, the Third, was the occasion of the writing. One section, however, at the close of Book III and in Book IV, does come to grips with the concrete happenings of the moment. In his prologue Niger had urged his contemporaries not to be precipitate in rushing off to the Holy Land, since there were abundant reasons to make them hesitate;[21]

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[18] An excellent account of the calamities mentioned by Niger and of their whole historical background will be found in Grousset, *op. cit.*, II, 793 ff. On the impression made upon Western Christendom, see especially R. Röhricht, 'Die Rüstungen des Abendlandes zum Dritten Grossen Kreuzzuge,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, XXXIV (1875), 2-8, 12-17, with abundant references to contemporary witnesses.

[19] I have here summarized a part of the prologue; the actual text (Lincoln Cathedral *Ms* 15, fol. 5) is as follows: 'Quia vero non est sanctus ut est dominus qui sanctificat, inter omnes sanctorum memorias celeberrima est memoria salvatoris in Palestina quam elegerit ipse ad mysteria dispensationis suae in carne nobis communicanda; in ea siquidem est Jerosolima et sepulchrum domini gloriosum, et vivificae crucis lignum fuit et pleraque alia insignia fidei nostrae et figurae mysteriorum quae per fidei sacramenta in ecclesia ministerio vicariorum Dei nobis ad salutem contraduntur. Cum autem Palestina ob insignem typum fecunditatis suae effluentis lacte et melle multis retro temporibus et a multis hostiliter occupata fuerit, nostro quoque tempore capto rege in bello et occisis et captivatis principibus et populo terrae, peccatis hominum exigentibus, asportato etiam ligno vivificae crucis, a Sarracenis occupata est. Hujus ergo tanti dampni occasione, ut credimus aspirante Deo, principes orbis occidui et multa pars populi ejus assuto scapulis eorum signo crucis accinguntur ad peregrinationem ut eorum laboribus tanti casus dampnum instauretur et laborum meritis peccatorum venia condonetur. Quia vero labor peregrinationis corporalis parum facit nisi eam peregrinatio spiritualis purificet, estimavimus expedire de scrutinio sacrae scripturae vias legitimarum peregrinationum exercere easque sub compendio determinare . . . Haec vero peregrinationes fieri possunt domi in privato sicut et foris in publico: in privato bonis operibus et animo bono peragratis viis justitiae et equitatis et gratiae fideli observatione, in publico vero corpore simul et animo quia corporalis exercitatio assumpta peregrinatione elongat hominem a peccato suo et reddit assiduum poenitentiae studio. Parum tamen, ut dictum est, confert labor et itineratio nisi suffragetur homini mystica peregrinatio ut fiat magis animo quam corporis exercitio.' The disastrous results of the battle of Hattin, mentioned in the early part of this text, are alluded to elsewhere in this same work (see Appendix I at end of present article) and also in Niger's longer chronicle (*ed. cit.*, p. 94).

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] In a part of the prologue where he seems to be addressing William of the White Hands, archbishop of Rheims (Flahiff, *art. cit.*, p. 111, n. 42), Niger says: 'Quod ergo crucem quam jugiter portatis in corde non festinatis scapulo vestro insuere, fuit prudentiae et laudabile quoniam in sapientem non cadit poenitentia quae aliquos vexat principes de peregrinatione assumpta' (Lincoln Cathedral, *Ms* 15, fol. 5-5v).

he had promised to treat of the motives and circumstances that might justify a crusade and had intimated at the same time that he would likewise present arguments why men should not undertake one.[22] This he does in the parts of Books III and IV to which we have just referred and which contain our texts on Ralph Niger's attitude to crusades in general and to the Third Crusade in particular.

It should be made clear from the outset that Niger is no pacifist; non-interventionist comes closer to characterizing him. He himself has engaged actively in sieges and wars[23] and he states explicitly that under certain circumstances war is quite justifiable.[24] Moreover, his very enquiry into what classes of persons should, and what classes of persons should not, consider an expedition to the Holy Land is proof that he allowed, theoretically at least, for the need of a crusade. His position might be summed up as that of one who has serious doubts about the advisability of any crusade and more precisely about the expediency of the particular one in preparation; above all, he questions the motives that are persuading men to go.

His chief arguments can be grouped around three propositions: (1) the dangers that beset the West, especially in the shape of manifold and rapidly increasing heresies, are critical enough to occupy both our time and our energies without expending these in distant lands; (2) the prudence of interfering at all in the East remains highly questionable, whether from the point of view of bringing help to the Christians there or from that of destroying the Saracens; (3) the whole undertaking is fraught with such dangers, difficulties and hardships that it seems scarcely to be justifiable. Niger is perfectly aware that, in spite of the arguments he puts forward, the crusade will undoubtedly take place, and so he goes on to point out that certain classes of persons ought clearly under no circumstances to go; these he lists along with his reasons in each case. Others, he admits, may be justified in going, but only if their interior dispositions and their exterior conduct are beyond reproach. We shall see how Niger develops his three types of arguments against the crusade and then consider as a fourth point his treatment of those who should and those who should not think of taking part in it.

(1) *The Grave Threat from Heresy at Home.*[25]

Niger is deeply concerned about the spread of Catharist and other condemned sects like a veritable leprosy over Western Europe. They have insinuated themselves until their number and species are beyond reckoning. Investigations made in the time of Pope Alexander III (d. 1181) revealed some nineteen varieties in Italy and fifty more or less secret sects in France, not including that part of the country over which the English king rules;[26] in the latter region they openly abound and there things are at their worst. Many a church is destitute of all cult. The priesthood is held in supreme contempt and the sacraments are not administered. Indeed, they are spurned and even openly attacked, especially baptism, the eucharist and matrimony. The princes of the land, ignorant and illiterate but powerful nevertheless, have embraced the heresy in large numbers and are given over to its obscene rites. Refutation of their errors is extremely difficult, since they will admit of no appeal to reason and, as far as Scripture is concerned, will accept only those parts that are of their own choosing. Instead of rational argument, they offer only the stubbornly repeated assertion of their tenets. Their true evil, unfortunately, they conceal under the guise of good. In their fanatical zeal, they have no fear of death; they even embrace it by rushing into the fire with which they are threatened, declaring that to them it is as a refreshing dew; by these theatrical performances they succeed in misleading many. Their poison is spreading rapidly into the realm of the French king as well; undoubtedly it already lies hidden in many an unsuspected place, a menace to the Christian Faith and to the Church.[27]

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[22] 'Hoc enim studio volente Deo peregrinantibus innotebit, unde et quibus viis et quo jure et usquequo peregrinentur, et residibus quare a peregrinatione arceantur inutiles personae aperietur' (fol. 5).

[23] 'Quia vero occasione reparandi dampni Palestinae amore Dei assumpta est peregrinatio, quod praecipue facere possit militaris conditio, de re militari ea quae in torneamentis et quibusdam obsidionibus didici commutata in mysterium pariter annexui' (*ibid.*). Niger had been associated with the young King Henry, eldest son of Henry II, in France (Flahiff, *art. cit.*, p. 108); much of this young prince's short adult life was spent in warlike pursuits (C. E. Hodgson, *Jung Heinrich*, Jena, 1906, pp. 19-45, 61-72) and his predilection for tournaments was well known (*ibid.*, 53-59).

[24] ' . . . vim vi repellere omnia jura permittunt' (Appendix XI).

[25] Appendix II, III, IV. (In what follows, I am doing little more than paraphrasing the text of Niger, except where I have gathered together certain cognate things that are sometimes scattered in the original; it was thought best to present his case as he himself develops it and to throw into footnotes whatever comments or explanations seemed called for; the original text is published in the Appendix and should always be kept in view).

[26] Alexander III was much preoccupied with the matter of heresy and on two dif-

If then, Niger points out, the Church, the "holy Jerusalem" of which the city in Palestine is but a figure, suffers such grave attaint here at home, if the West itself is in danger, what hope is there of giving effective help to the East?[28] Indeed, what would be the good of ridding Palestine of Saracens, provided it could be done, if meanwhile other unbelievers were to multiply at home? Why do our princes rush off to Palestine to recover the wood of the cross while the Crucified One Himself is being abandoned here at home? Why do we pour men and money into the East, when our own West is actually perishing? Is it not the height of folly to go rushing off a great distance to extinguish a neighbour's fire, when one's own house is itself in flames? Surely we are mistaken in involving ourselves in the affairs of others, when the threat of imminent evil to ourselves is so overwhelming. And imminent it truly is, if Niger is correct in his report of a threat on the part of the Catharists to preach their errors openly and even to take up arms once the restraining hand of Western rulers is removed through their absence on the crusade. Little wonder that he praises Philip II of France for his prudence in not setting out for the Holy Land and that he urges him on the contrary to be very slow in doing so but to give his attention instead to checking heresy at home.[29]

(2) *Imprudence of Intervening in Palestine.*

(a) *From the point of view of relief for the Christian inhabitants.*[30]

Niger presses his point further by questioning whether the state of affairs in

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ferent occasions sent imposing delegations into southern France to enquire into its progress; see J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition.* t. I: *Origines de l'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France* (Paris, 1935), pp. 367-372; cf. H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1906), I, 114-128 and a brief résumé in S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 133-134. I have been able to find nothing on the precise numbers given by Niger; contemporary and later sources often attempt to give a variety of names for the different heretics, but not an estimate of their exact figure, as here.

[27] Niger appears to be well informed about Catharist doctrines and practices and the role of the princes in the Midi. The period of his connection with the young King Henry's court would bring him into parts of France where there was intimate knowledge of and grave concern about the heresy. But it is probable that his own preoccupation with it as the most serious danger of the moment was the result of his association with the archbishop of Rheims, William of the White Hands, who was the most active of the northern prelates against the heresies of the late twelfth century (Flahiff, *art. cit.*, p. 120, n. 88).

[28] John of Salisbury had expressed similar sentiments in a letter of 1169: 'Iter autem Hierosolymitanum quod a regibus dispositum est, quid proderit, si non ante pax reddatur Ecclesiae?' (PL 199, 327).

[29] Appendix XVIII.

[30] Appendix I, V-VIII.

Palestine, when carefully considered, warrants intervention from the West to relieve the plight of Eastern Christians. In his opinion, the conquest of Palestine by the Saracens and the fall of Jerusalem are an act of divine providence, provoked by sin, more precisely the sins of the Palestinians.[31] Little wonder that God visits His judgment upon them, when they have been without fear or respect for Him. Of all lands theirs is the most dissolute; it fairly abounds in lust and in every foul deed. The great cities of Antioch and Jerusalem have their own peculiar vices, but these are better passed over in silence, even though they are an open scandal. Moreover their whole way of life is characterized by excess, luxury and effeminacy.[32] Without going to Palestine, our author and his contemporaries have had an opportunity to witness this for themselves on the occasion of the recent tour of Western Europe made by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and his following. Adorned with gold and silver, their garments actually reeked with exotic perfumes. Such a retinue as he had, no patriarch of the West could ever afford; such wealth and luxury, no prince could equal.[33]

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[31] The *peccatis exigentibus* theme was invoked as early as the First Crusade, but more generally after the Second and in the course of the Third, to explain to bewildered Christians the calamities and reverses suffered by those who professed, and even fought in, the name of Christ. Sometimes it was the sins of Christians at large, sometimes those of the Palestinians, sometimes those of the crusaders themselves that were blamed for mishaps and failures of all kinds connected with the Holy Land or with the Crusades. Allusions to the latter two cases will be found in the references given in nn. 32, 45, 67 below. For the broader accusation against Christendom in general, see Throop, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71 and *art. cit.*, p. 378, n. 3; also Peter of Blois (PL 207, 307A, 959, 1059 ff.), letters of Gregory VIII (Jaffe, 16018, 16019, 16073), Joachim of Flora as cited by P. Fournier, *Etudes sur Joachim de Flore* (Paris, 1909), pp. 8-9; etc.

[32] Elsewhere in the *De Re Militari*, Niger adds to the list of Palestine's vices that of gambling along with the hatreds and quarrels which it engenders; and he concludes: 'Et haec quidam in Palestina aliis aliquibus studiis celebriora fuerunt ut forte eorum culpa cum aliis peccatis ejus exigentibus fuerit captivata' (Linc. *Ms* 15, fol. 30v).

The evil ways of the Latin Christians in Palestine have become a commonplace by the close of the twelfth century. Their lives had not been pointed to as a scandal at the time of the Second Crusade, although their treachery was roundly condemned; but with the Third Crusade itself and the retrospective view of its failures in the following years, western writers dwelt with considerable unanimity on this theme. While we may have to allow for a certain exaggeration on the part of these writers who sought some explanation of the failures, there is little doubt, nevertheless, of the solid basis in fact of much that they say (Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, II, 686-696; Stubbs, *Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, I, London, 1874, Introduction, pp. xciv-xcviii).

William of Tyre, excellently placed to know the truth, does not spare his compatriots in denouncing the moral decay of his own generation, some years before the Third Crusade: '. . . pro patribus nostris, qui fuerunt viri religiosi et timentes Deum, nati sunt filii perditissimi, filii scelerati, fidei christianae praevaricatores, passim et sine delectu per omnia currentes illicita' (PL 201, 820D; cf. 852-855 and esp. 889, where the heartsick historian is on the point of giving up his work because of the evils he sees). Pope Gregory VIII makes explicit reference to the sins of Palestinians in his great crusading letters of October 29, 1187 (PL 201, 1539, 1541). Strong expressions are used by post-crusade historians to describe conditions that existed in Palestine; the following are typical: William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Howlett in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, I (London, 1884), pp. 250, 254; Richard of Holy Trinity, *Itinerarium . . . Regis Ricardi*, ed. Stubbs in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* (London, 1864), pp. 5-6; anonymous *Historia Peregrinorum*, ed. A. Chroust in MGH, SS Rer. Germ., n.s., V (Berlin, 1928), pp. 117-118; Rostangnus, *Tractatus de Translatione Capitis Sancti Clementi* (PL 209, 905B, 907-908); Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione* in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Brewer, VIII (London, 1891), pp. 200, 234. Few pictures are more damaging than that painted by a visitor to the Holy Land at the time of the Third Crusade, as it is reported by Caesarius of Heisterbach; to cite only his summing up: 'Ita omnes gulae et carnis illecebris dediti erant ut nihil omnes a pecoribus different' (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, li. IV, c. 15, ed. Strange, Cologne, 1851, I, 187).

[33] In comparison with the details of the portrait of this prelate furnished by the continuator of William of Tyre (PL 201, 914-915), effeminate apparel and costly perfumes would be negligible faults indeed (cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, II, 745-748, whose view of Heraclius is very unfavorable). Ralph had evidently seen the patriarch and the mission which accompanied him through Italy, France and England (1184-1185) in an effort to enlist aid (Grousset, II, 741; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck, 1898, pp. 412-415). Gerald of Wales

Yet these men were seeking aid, begging for pecuniary assistance against Saladin, while they themselves would not so much as lift a finger or use one mite of their own treasure to oppose him! If Palestine's ways are to be judged by those of the envoys who come thence, it would hardly be rash to presume that much in that land invited God's wrath upon it. In a sense, of course, such abuses should really cause no surprise when it is recalled that a considerable portion of Palestine's population is made up of exiled criminals and fugitives from justice. They have long been accustomed to use it as a place of refuge and the crimes of all lands have, so to speak, congregated there.[34] Its people are eminently prone to pleasure and prompt to sin.

In yet another way they have forfeited all right to assistance, namely by their base and treacherous ingratitude. Jealous of the successes of those very ones who had come to their aid, they themselves have placed obstacles in their way and forced them finally to return ingloriously home again. They have gone so far as to make pacts with the infidel and by their intrigues even to betray into the enemy's hands the crusaders who had come to relieve their plight.[35]

Not only then need we not wonder at the punishment God has visited upon

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(*Opera*, V, 360; VIII, 202-211) and Peter of Blois (PL 207, 308A) refer to the embassy as having seen it, although they express no scornful sentiments. Stephen of Tournai is one of the few contemporaries whose opinion of Heraclius was clearly favorable; expressed in a letter to the latter, it is based, however, on memories of former days when they were students together at Bologna (PL 211, 355; cf. J. Warichez, *Etienne de Tournai*, Tournai, 1937, p. 23).

[34] Rostangnus, writing some years later, also speaks of the unfortunate results of the hybrid nature of peoples, tongues and manners in Palestine: 'Itaque sciendum est quod plebs Hierosolymis dismissa, ex diversis collecta genere linguarum, diversis moribus et vita dissimiles, nulla affinitate vel consanguinitate conjuncti erant. Ideoque alter alteri fidem non habebat, sed alter alteri detrahebat. Et sancta sanctorum sibi a Deo commissa, obliti beneficiorum Dei, luxuriose vivendo, indigne tractabant, rapinis et furtis inhiantes' (PL 209, 907D).

As to the presence of malefactors, it is known that a crusade or a pilgrimage to Palestine was frequently imposed as penance for sin, and likewise as a secular penalty for crime. The practice was so common in the thirteenth century, as Throop has shown from contemporary evidence, that in the popular mind there was an association of crusaders with sin and punishment (*Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 95-100); he cites, moreover, enough earlier sources to justify his statement that 'there is reason for thinking that even in the twelfth century crusaders had unsavory, not to say criminal reputations' (pp. 98-99), and cases mentioned by Siedschlag confirm him (*English Participation in the Crusades*, p. 91). Debtors had used the expedition to the Holy Land as an escape from their obligations ever since the First Crusade (William of Tyre, *Historia* . . . , PL 201, 235B; the Würzburg Annals mention them again in the Second, MGH SS XVI, 3; cf. Siedschlag, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88); fugitives from justice had likewise fled there in order to avoid arrest and St. Bernard himself had urged murderers, robbers, adulterers and perjurers to make use of the crusade as a voluntary expiation for their sins (*Ep.* 363, PL 182, 566) and according to the Würzburg Annals all too many did so (*loc. cit.*).

[35] Westerners had not forgotten the miserable failure before Damascus in 1148, which was generally attributed to the treachery of the Palestinians. William of Tyre is clearly of this opinion (PL 201, 677-680); so, too, are the author of the Würzburg Annals (MGH, SS XVI, 7), John of Salisbury in the *Historia Pontificalis* (ed. Poole, Oxford, 1927, pp. 58-59) and Gerhoh of Reichersberg in his *De Investigatione Antichristi* (*Lib. de Lite*, III, 377-378), all of whom are contemporary with the events; for details of these, see Grousset, *op. cit.*, II, 262-268. Certainly Louis VII and the Emperor Conrad returned ingloriously home. This had much to do with the widening of the gulf between the colonists in the East, interested as they were in stability and security of tenure, and the more ardent crusaders, concerned only about a passing pilgrimage or adventurous exploit. Coldness, misunderstanding, suspicion and hostility increased as their outlook and interests grew ever further apart (*ibid.*, esp. 264, 267-268). William of Newburgh accuses Christians of taking bribes from Saladin in 1187 (*Hist. Rer. Angl.*, ed. cit., I, 349), while the *Gesta Henrici II* preserve a letter from Genoese officials to the Pope, which speaks of desertion and bribery in connection with the disaster of Hattin in July, 1187 (ed. Stubbs, London, 1867, II, 11-12). Even a truce with the infidel irked the enthusiastic and frequently hot-headed new arrivals in the East; such was the case with the Englishmen who reached Palestine in 1186 in response to Heraclius' appeal (Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. cit., II, 316). In the very midst of the war, Clement III still had to thunder against those Christians who were carrying on trade with the enemy in the port of Alexandria (Jaffe, 16619, 16634; *Decr. Greg. IX*, V, 6, 11).

them, but we need likewise shed no tears. God does it no doubt for their correction and therefore ultimately for their good. In the Old Testament He frequently permitted calamities to befall the Jewish people in order that they might be brought to their senses and to repentance; He may well be doing the same thing here. In fact, undue haste on our part, Niger concludes, might actually be interfering with God's inscrutable designs by shortening the time ordained by Him for their punishment and correction.[36]

(b) *From the point of view of the destruction of the Saracens.*[37]

Niger suggests further that the destruction of the Saracens or even their expulsion from Palestine may likewise not be God's will; in the Old Testament again, he expressly forbade Israel to touch certain idolatrous peoples and their territories.[38] *The earth is the Lord's,*[39] we are reminded; as He wills He gives it, He takes it away or He permits it to be held for a time. The patent fact is that God has given Palestine into the hands of the Saracens or has at least permitted them to hold it. Shall we seek then to destroy them for what God Himself has allowed to them? Even granting that they may not be pleasing in God's sight, still He *does not will the death of the sinner.*[40] Moreover, they are human beings like ourselves and are to be treated accordingly; it is true that the law everywhere allows one to resist force with force but, as is the case with all remedies, this must be used with moderation. It were far better that we strike with the sword of the word and bring the Saracens voluntarily to the faith; God is not pleased with a forced service. Whoever seeks to propagate the faith by violence, transgresses by that very fact the discipline proper to the faith.[41]

(3) *Difficulties and Dangers in the Way.*[42]

Niger has already pointed out that even a well-intentioned effort to deliver Palestine and its inhabitants from the infidel may in reality be counter to God's designs, if He has ordained their recent plight as a punishment for wrong-doing. Zeal alone is no measure of the degree to which the will of God is actually being accomplished. Indeed, one of the devil's favourite tricks is to transform himself into an angel of light and persuade men to do what appears to be good only to have harm come to them in spite of their exemplary zeal. A well known case from the Old Testament is recalled when the impious king Achab, although accompanied by the worthiest of allies, was led into a disastrous campaign as a result of the utterances of false prophets.[43] And Ralph goes on significantly to observe that the kings of his own time, some of whom are no less impious than was Achab,[44] may well be deceived in just the same way.

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[36] Other writers who report the shortcomings of the inhabitants of the Holy Land do so to explain why God permitted disasters to befall them. For the time at which he is writing, Niger's argument to the effect that the inhabitants of Palestine are therefore not to be helped is novel; and particularly so is his further deduction that in attempting to aid them one might even be interfering with the workings of God's providence who permits the present misfortunes for their correction.

[37] Appendix XI.

[38] *Deut.*, ii.

[39] *Ps.* xxiii, 1.

[40] *Ezech.*, xviii, 23.

[41] That God could actually intend the Saracens to hold Palestine would seem to be unthinkable to Niger's contemporaries. I know of no other who suggests such a thing and it is certainly in distinct contrast with the inflammatory sentiments and appeals of many others. His notion of a common humanity as grounds for a more humane attitude is likewise something new. Even his suggestion that a crusade of the word should replace that of the sword is uncommon in the period of the Third Crusade. This was, of course, to be a cherished ideal of St. Francis of Assisi and was to be reechoed and developed by sons of his like Adam Marsh, Gilbert of Tournai and Roger Bacon; see P. Gratien, *Histoire de la Fondation et de l'Evolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1928), pp. 646, 655-656. It is particularly Roger Bacon who develops the theme: *Opus Majus*, ed. J. H. Bridges, suppl. vol. (London, 1900), pp. 120-122. The Dominican, Humbert de Romans, writing about 1270, reports that it was then a commonly held opinion (Throop, *op. cit.*, p. 162).

[42] Appendix XIV-XVIII, XXII.

[43] 3 *Kings* xxii; 2 *Paral.* xviii.

One danger to be feared is that evil associations along the way may corrupt those who set out with the most upright intentions. The danger will be especially grave for such as have led sinful lives and, though they may have repented, still remain weak. These are in a very particular way subject to temptations from the devil and the latter, with his angelic intelligence, easily triumphs over man's sluggish nature and induces him to do the evil that he would not. In short, the crusade could be for many an occasion of sin rather than of grace;[45] Niger does not fail to remind his readers that, of the children of Israel who set out from Egypt on their pilgrimage to the Promised Land, only two actually reached it,[46] all the rest having perished in the desert because of their offences en route. The spiritual dangers are therefore much to be feared.

The way is strewn likewise with physical dangers of all sorts; land, water, air, the burning sun, all the elements, in fact, menace the pilgrims, each with its own peculiar perils. If the atmosphere, for instance, even in one limited locality can vary widely as to healthful qualities, what may we not fear from it in traversing wholly different parts of the world with their climates just as different? In the role of moral theologian, Niger later poses the principle that he sins gravely who exposes himself to death and that the case of one who exposes himself to doubtful danger is to be assimilated to this. Now, he continues, he who freely walks into the dangers inescapably connected with the arduous journey to Palestine, *viz.* unaccustomed climates, inclemencies of the weather, a barbarous and hateful enemy and all the other perils that crusaders face both on land and on sea,[47] is exposing himself to grave danger of death. And the conclusion, which is not drawn explicitly, would seem to be that therefore he sins.

Niger appeals finally to the experience of others to support his argument. Of those who have actually taken the cross already, there are more who regret having done so than rejoice over it.[48] His explanation is that without due deliberation people allowed themselves to be swept away in the flood of enthusiasm that accompanied the launching of the present crusade. And so, he concludes by congratulating Philip Augustus on the prudence with which he has refrained from being drawn precipitately into the crusade; he even urges him to be slow about doing any such thing and to give his attention rather to checking the spread of heresy in his own land.[49]

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[44] Unfavorable judgments of Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa, repeated throughout his works, would lead us to conclude that he has these rulers particularly in mind here.

[45] The crusade had been an occasion of sin in the past, according to writers contemporary with the Second Crusade, many of whom adduce the evil conduct of the crusaders themselves as one of the chief reasons for the failure: Otto of Freising, *Gesta Fred. I* (MGH, SS XX, 587), Abbot John of Casamari (PL 182, 590C), Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.*, ed. Arnold (London, 1879), p. 280, Continuation of Sigebert of Gembloux an. 1148 (MGH, SS VI, 390) and the writers cited in n. 67 below.

Niger's fears were fully realized in the course of the Third Crusade, if we are to accept what appears to be the account of an eye-witness in the *Itinerarium . . . Regis Ricardi* (ed. cit., pp. 123-124), stating that morals were so corrupt in the army that Archbishop Baldwin actually died of grief at the sight of so much sin.

[46] *Num.*, xiv, 37-38.

[47] The reality of the physical hardships and the heavy toll they took are not to be underestimated. B. N. Siedschlag has stressed this in her *English Participation in the Crusades 1150-1220* (Bryn Mawr, 1939), pp. 93-94. A writer like Gerald of Wales may be quite untrustworthy in his fantastic list of death-dealing food, air and water, insects and animals to be found in the East (*Opera . . .*, V, 68-69), but the more reliable accounts by historians of the harrowing experiences of pilgrims and crusaders as a result of heat, famine, disease, etc., are abundant enough to convince us that Niger is not at all conjuring up imaginary spectres in the perils he mentions.

[48] Cf. n. 21 above for another allusion to the regret with which certain princes are burdened after having taken the cross. Philip Augustus, Henry II and the other princes were notorious for their repeated delays; but they were not the only ones to keep putting off their departure, as is evident from the utterances of churchmen of the time, from propaganda pieces like those of Peter of Blois (n. 7 above), which were directed expressly against recalcitrant crusaders, and from the frequent references in the chroniclers. Apparently some still experienced regret in the Holy Land: William of Newburgh notes that in 1191 the Christian host in Palestine was dwindling as men returned home either through lack of money, or from weariness or from fear (*Hist. Rer. Angl.*, I, 360).

(4) *Persons Who Should or Should not Join the Crusade.*

At two different points in his development, Niger shows himself to be aware of the fact that his general attitude of opposition to the Third Crusade is scarcely in harmony with that adopted by the Supreme Pontiffs of his time. He feels called upon therefore to give a word of explanation lest he appear to be attacking them.[50] In one place, for instance, he states that religious above all, who by their very profession are obliged to turn the other cheek, have no business engaging in a crusade to kill Saracens; then he himself goes on to note the apparent discrepancy between his own view and that of the Holy Father who has urged the crusade upon all men alike, clerical and lay, and promised them for it the remission of their sins.[51] He immediately disclaims any intention of questioning the Pope's decision as such; he would merely point out that what the Pope does must always be in conformity with justice and equity and that his decision must be correctly interpreted. It is a basic principle that penance and satisfaction are indispensable conditions to a sinner's being received back into the favour of God; yet surely the shedding of human blood is not to be regarded in any way as fitting atonement for sin, nor can the crusade be considered a satisfaction proper to all sins indiscriminately any more than a single key can open all locks; there may be preliminary obligations in justice that a journey to the Holy Land cannot satisfy. For example, a thief cannot be excused by apostolic decree from the obligation of restitution. It is only after one has accomplished what justice demands that he may hope to benefit by the indulgence granted by the Pope; once he has made restitution in full, the crusade will then be of profit to him as a work of supererogation. The Supreme Pontiff, Ralph repeats, would not decree anything contrary either to justice or to reason, hence the need of interpreting his decision in this light. The example of the thief is apparently not chosen at random; Niger would appear to have a concrete case in mind, since he concludes this same section with an exhortation to any prospective crusaders to make sure that they are not financing their journey with funds derived from theft or rapine.

From what our author says here, it may be inferred that he really expects to see men go on the crusade in spite of the arguments he offers against it. Indeed, without withdrawing his opinion against the advisability of the particular crusade being launched, he admits nevertheless that war is justifiable for some and he adds that, if a crusade is to be undertaken, it is the affair of some classes of persons rather than others, while certain ones ought under no circumstances to be permitted to take part.

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[49] Philip took the cross at Gisors in January 1188; only at the end of June 1190 did he finally set out.

[50] Ralph's clarification in regard to the papal decree will be found in the Appendix XII, XIX.

[51] The reference is undoubtedly to the letter of Gregory VIII from Ferrara, 29 October, 1187, in which he announces the calamities that have befallen the Holy Land and virtually launches the Third Crusade. He promulgates the indulgence in the following terms: 'Eis autem qui corde contrito et humiliato spiritu, itineris huius laborem assumpserint, et in poenitentia peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam suorum criminum indulgentiam, et vitam pollicemur aeternam. Sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de omnibus peccatis suis, de quibus rectam confessionem fecerint, impositae satisfactionis relaxationem de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate et nostra, se noverint habituros' (PL 202, 1539). He would likewise be acquainted with the renewal of the indulgence by the reigning pontiff Clement III; Arnold of Lübeck mentions the renewal (*Chronica Slavorum*, in MGH, SS XXI, 169-170). As far as the indulgence goes, it had come down through the twelfth century in almost this identical form; e.g. first council of the Lateran (1123), c. 11 (Mansi, *Concilia*, XXI, 227; decretal of Eugene III (Dec. 1, 1145 prob.) in Otto of Freising, *Gesta Fred. I* (MGH, SS XX, 372).

Chief among those whose proper business it is to carry on war are the knights.[52] And very specially designated for war in the Holy Land are the military orders of Hospitallers and Templars. For these, our critic has praise; he expressly excludes them when he levels against the Christians of Palestine the charge of treachery and dealings with the enemy.[53] In an interesting passage, he allows also for the need of 'military chaplains' for, while he denies to clerics in general the right to go off on the crusade, he makes an exception in the case of those needed for confessions and the offering of Mass.[54] Only one other class would he consider as a normal constituent of a military expedition, namely, those required for the more menial tasks around the camp or in battle.[55] Others he would completely exclude and he goes on to give well-considered reasons for his attitude in regard to certain groups.

Clerics receive attention first.[56] Niger has just been retailing clerical vices and abuses all too prevalent in his time, when he puts the question: what is to be said about such clerics taking part in a crusade? If it be a question of penance for their sins, he answers, this could be done more easily and more fruitfully right in their own churches;[57] far better for them to fulfil the office incumbent upon them than to abandon it and wander off on so uncertain an expedition.[58] Besides it is not lawful for clerics to shed blood or to pollute their consecrated hands in an avocation of violence.[59] And there are, moreover, very practical reasons why they should not take part. Neither their material help nor their advice—save for the spiritual counsel of those who serve as 'chaplains'—will be missed. Their preaching and instruction will do nothing to strengthen battle lines or advance the arts of war;[60] secular leaders, be they emperors, kings, dukes or minor officers, will see well enough to these things. Clerics will even be a positive nuisance in so far as they consume to no purpose much needed provisions which are never overabundant and which Saracen strategy has regularly sought to reduce still more in order to render us the more vulnerable. Actual happenings in the time of the Emperor Conrad and King Louis VII[61] and even more recently will bear out this contention. God preserve us from the repetition of such events! Niger's conclusion on the subject of clerics is as simple as it is sweeping: they would be neglecting their duty at home, while their journey abroad would profit nothing.[62]

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[52] '. . . quod praecipue facere possit militaris conditio . . .' (see context in n. 23 above).

[53] Appendix VII.

[54] 'Praeterea clericorum ope vel consilio non est opus in expeditione nisi quatenus ad animarum consilia danda spectat in confessione et in officii celebratione' (Appendix XX).

[55] Appendix XXVII.

[56] The development on clerics will be found in Appendix XX-XXII.

[57] This argument is not unlike the one that Rutebeuf will put in the mouth of his *Décroisé* when he says that, since God is everywhere in the world, He is certainly right here in France and there is therefore no need of going off to Palestine to find Him; see *La Desputizons dou croisé et dou descroizié*, ll. 97-98, 193-194, ed. Jubinal, *Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf* (Paris, 1874), I, 152, 157.

[58] He has alsewhere laid down the principle that those who have some special charge in the community are not justified in abandoning this charge. At least they must provide a substitute, and even this Niger regards as unsatisfactory; cf. Appendix IX.

[59] Gratian had gathered together in his *Decretum* a number of canons dating from the fifth century that condemned clerics for bearing arms (C. XXIII, q. vii, c. 1-7). But the terms used by Niger would tend to indicate that he is turning to his purpose another canonical prohibition, viz. that against taking part in judicial actions that involve the shedding of blood: 'His a quibus Domini sacramenta tractanda sunt, iudicium sanguinis agitare non licet' (*ibid.*, c. 30). It is interesting to note that Alexander III had cited this very text in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury just a few years before Niger was writing (*Decretals of Greg. IX*, Li. III, Tit. XLIX *ne clerici vel monachi*, c. 5). Innocent III was to repeat it again in the fourth Lateran council (*ibid.*, c. 9), where he associates it with a prohibition against clerics having anything to do with certain other things connected with the shedding of blood, e.g. surgery.

[60] One is tempted to wonder if Niger has in mind concrete cases of bungling by clerics, perhaps from his own experience. John of Salisbury recalls the ire of Thierry, count of Flanders, at the bishop of Langres for interfering with plans before Damascus in 1148 (*Hist. Pont.*, ed. Poole, p. 59). Ambroise reports one case from the Third Crusade itself where Richard had to remind a cleric that war was not his specialty: 'To your scrivening/ Return, sir clerk; go away and write,/ And get yourself clear of the fight;/ To us leave things of chivalry,' *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, tr. Hubert (Columbia, 1941), p. 90 (ll. 1612-5). A generation later, Guillaume le Clerc, blaming the papal legate Pelagius for the loss of

He is less categorically opposed to the departure of bishops and archbishops,[63] provided, he says, that the common good of their subjects as a whole is served by the special care they give to the few in accompanying them on the crusade. On the other hand, if by setting out the prelate imperils his ninety-nine sheep at

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Damietta, voices reflections that sound much like Niger's: 'For when the clergy take the function of leading knights, certainly that is against the law. But the clerk should recite aloud from his Scripture and his psalms and let the knight go to his great battlefields. Let him [the clerk] remain before his altars and pray for the warriors and shrive the sinners;' I have quoted from Throop's translation of vv. 2550 ff. of *Le Besant de Dieu* (*op. cit.*, p. 32).

[61] A general shortage of provisions and the fact that the armies of Louis and Conrad were tricked out of the abundant supply of fruit from the orchards of Damascus are given explicitly by William of Tyre as the reason for the failure of the siege of Damascus and therefore for the chief debacle of the Second Crusade (PL 201, 678-679; cf. *Ann. Herbip.* in MGH, SS XVI, 5 and Gerhoh of Reichersberg in *Lib. de Lite*, III, 377). William makes frequent reference to shortages of food in the course of the Second Crusade (e.g. PL 201, 663C, 664D, 669 BD) and for the year 1183 he recounts a terrible famine along with harassing tactics of the Saracens that resulted in frightful Christian losses (PL 201, 883). Arnold of Lübeck was to bear witness to the same thing in the Third Crusade: treachery and tricks of the enemy along with devastating shortages of provisions (*Chron. Slav.*, MGH, SS XXI, 173); but the details given by the *Itinerarium* (ed. cit., 124-131) of the famine before Acre in 1190 are among the most gruesome.

[62] Not only have we no means of estimating the number of clergy on any crusade, but it is likewise impossible to say whether their number was even relatively large or small. A recent writer concludes for the First Crusade that 'the sources always mention them so as to suggest that they formed no inconsiderable part of the whole:' W. Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade,' *Speculum*, XXI (1946), 6. If this is true, it is partly because the First Crusade still retained so much of the character of a pilgrimage (*art. cit.*, pp. 1-2, 4). As later crusades became more clearly military expeditions (Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, III, 13-14), it is doubtful if the number of clergy was proportionately as large. But they probably still constituted a goodly number during the twelfth century, if we may judge by the repeated mentions of them in the sources. Such is the opinion of B. N. Siedschlag for the rank and file at least of the English clergy, even though prelates from England seem to have been noticeably few (*op. cit.*, pp. 40-41). Provisions at Gisors in 1188, when so many from England and France took the cross, envisaged 'omnes tam clerici quam laici qui in hac peregrinatione proficiscentur' (William of Newburgh, *Hist. Rer. Angl.*, ed. cit., I, 273-4), and they are mentioned specifically in the same William's description of those who joined the Third Crusade: ' . . . multitudo clericorum et militum, burgensium et rusticorum' (*ibid.*, 275), and likewise by Ansbert, *Hist. de Expugnatione Frederici* (MGH, SS Rer. Ger., n.s. V, 15).

[63] Appendix XXII (last paragraph). The presence of a number of prelates, and even outstanding ones, from the time of the First Crusade had made their part in these expeditions traditional. Out of the 41 clerics that Porges has listed as mentioned by name in the sources for the First Crusade, no less than 14 are bishops (*art. cit.*, pp. 21-23). It is probable that a fairly complete list of bishops could be drawn up for each of the crusades; on the clerical side they are what the aristocracy are among the laymen and it is this class particularly whose presence is noteworthy to the mediaeval chronicler. Some figures are actually available. Röhricht drew up lists of Germans who went on the crusades and in these we find 17 German bishops alone who took the cross in the Second Crusade and 10 in the Third; see his article 'Die Deutschen auf den Kreuzzügen,' *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, VII (1876), 136-143, 147-166. Miss Siedschlag lists five bishops among the Englishmen who are known to have taken the cross in the period of the Third Crusade (*op. cit.*, Appendix A, pp. 112-130). Luchaire mentions six French bishops for this same period in his *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus* (London, 1912), p. 154; he there makes an observation that is undoubtedly true of other countries as well as France: 'Bishops could not possibly keep out of this movement, but were forced by their position to participate in it; indeed, public opinion demanded that they should set the people a good example.'

home and at the same time exposes himself also to danger, he is not justified in going, because, where the salvation of souls is at stake, it is an ill-ordered act of charity which consults the interest of a single one only, in preference to that of all the rest.

The case against monks under vow taking part in the crusade is developed at greatest length.[64] Many of the arguments used would apply equally well to pilgrimages of any sort, but it is obvious from certain ones that Niger has the crusade principally, if not exclusively, in mind. In their case, not only are the dangers common to others present for them too, but even the journey itself is incompatible with the way of life to which they are consecrated. The very notion of pilgrimage (*peregrinatio* from *per+ager*) clashes with their vow of stability (*mora et statio*). And even though a superior grant permission to his subject to set out, it is still a dangerous proceeding, for, if he cannot grant permission to be married after the taking of a monastic vow, how is he any better able to give permission to go abroad which is quite as much opposed to another of the vows? Niger goes so far as to question whether a superior has the right either to permit or to command such a thing; he readily admits that for a good cause it is permissible to impose or allow certain exceptional things, but he contends that this must not be in anything that of its nature is opposed to the monastic state itself or to the monastic vow. Indeed, since the subject has renounced the exercise of his own free will into the hands of a superior, the latter will be in equal peril with his subject if he permits what breaks a vow and is incompatible with the monastic order. To be sure, a monk may sometimes be required to do or accept something that lies beyond or above the requirements of his vow, as for instance when he is called to a higher state; but this is in no way inconsistent with his previous obligations, it is simply added to them. It is like being indebted to the extent of five talents and then having it raised to ten; the new debt does not absolve from the former one but actually contains it. The comparison does not hold, however, if the something added is in contradiction with one's present station.

In another way, too, there would be a breach of the monastic obligation. How will the monk defray his expenses? He has no property of his own; he has given up all right thereunto by solemn vow at his profession. And if it be argued that the superior may nevertheless grant permission, Niger will reply that there is a limit in such matters; for, if superiors accord permissions as broad as the world itself, laxity is bound to result and this is clearly contrary to the very ends of religious life. Monks, therefore, and canons regular are alike prevented by vow from having means of their own with which to finance their journey; to go at the expense of another would seem to rob the undertaking of all merit for them; and so, if their vow is to be preserved intact, they will have to refrain from going. This is undeniably the case, he holds, where a simple pilgrimage is concerned; but he is aware of the argument that may be used against him in the case of a crusade, namely, that the added circumstance of a greater good to be effected or a grave harm to be averted can alter any given case and that here the added circumstance has to do with nothing less than the violation of Christ's sepulchre and the carrying off of his life-giving cross. Niger becomes the moral theologian again and frankly questions whether even this circumstance is sufficient to transform a journey for a monk into a loftier thing than the strict observance of his monastic state and vow. His own conclusion is that a crusade is not justifiable for those who are under vow, because a religious vow always binds *stricto jure* and is not lightly to be broken.[65]

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[64] Appendix XXIII-XXV. Niger has already pointed out that religious, bound as they are to seek perfection, ought always to 'turn the other cheek,' so that the shedding of blood is especially reprehensible in them. Moreover, he adds, since religious already bear the cross of the Lord in their bodies by their profession, why should they add the crusader's cross, which ill becomes them in any case? (Appendix XI). He sums up again towards the end of his work: 'Michi tamen non multum sedet devotatorum peregrinatio ut, qui crucem susceperunt artioris (*sic*) vitae et in loco determinato, superinduant aliam crucem ut evagentur' (Lincoln Cathedral *Ms* 15, fol. 27v). In regard to no other class of persons is Niger so completely opposed to their participation in the crusade.

Unreserved disapproval of women accompanying the crusading army is expressed.[66] Their presence may readily prove to be a snare of the devil;[67] once more the Old Testament offers an example in the Madianite women who gravely endangered the children of Israel.[68] Some have argued that women should be taken along, since they will be needed for repopulating the land with a new racial stock. True though this may be, it were better to await the outcome of the campaign which the new crusade will undertake and see if victory will be crowned with peaceful possession of Palestine. Our success is by no means assured; many are the things that may yet prevent it, unless God be propitious. In the meantime it is wiser to leave the women at home and not have them prove a hindrance or even a downright danger to the whole expedition.

Is there any place for the poor on a crusade: those, that is, who can manage it only by begging their way?[69] In Niger's eyes they can serve no good purpose, unarmed, as they are, and without food of their own. There will necessarily be a shortage of food and they will fall an easy prey to the enemy as well as being made a laughing-stock.[70] Still, exception should be made for a certain group of the poor, namely, those youths who by their speed, nimbleness and daring can be useful as carriers, messengers, sentinels and the like. Such as these can be of real service to the noble crusaders and the latter will nourish them with their alms.

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[65] The argumentation here, as also in regard to bishops and clerics, has clearly the ring of the schools of the time; syllogisms, distinctions, meeting of objections are all there.

The religious are if anything more nameless than the lower secular clergy; hence their number can be estimated even less than that of the latter. Porges has found three abbots mentioned by name in the sources for the First Crusade (*art. cit.*, pp. 21, 23), but there must certainly have been a considerable number of ordinary monks who remain unnamed. Pope Urban II obviously expected monks to go on the crusade when he took the trouble to specify that they should first obtain their superiors' consent (*ibid.*, p. 5). As for the Second Crusade, Robert of Torigny refers specifically to the monks among the numerous crusaders who answered St. Bernard's call: 'non solum milites et laici, sed etiam episcopi, clerici, monachi' (PL 160, 463A); so too do the Würzburg Annals (MGH, SS XVI, 3) and other sources. And apparently the same thing was happening again even as Ralph wrote; the monks are mentioned by Ansbert as being numerous in the German expedition (MGH, SS Rer. Germ., n.s., V, 15), while the author of the *Itinerarium . . .* speaks as follows of English and French monks: 'Hac militandi gloria vagante licentius de claustris *quamplures* migrabant ad castra, et abjectis cucullis, loricas induti, jam vere Christi milites, non armariis studere gaudebant sed armis' (ed. cit., p. 33). In the latter work, the mention occurs immediately after the account of the meeting at Gisors (Jan. 21, 1188); if so generous a response as is suggested did take place at that time, it would be prior to Niger's writing and he, who was then in France, could very well have had it in mind when he spoke as he did against monks going.

[66] Appendix XXVI.

[67] Veiled allusion is probably made here to the notorious incidents of the Second Crusade; the French queen herself, Eleanor of Aquitaine, was accused by contemporaries of scandalous misconduct; e.g. William of Tyre, *Historia . . .* (PL 201, 670); Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De Investigatione Antichristi* (*Lib. de Lite*, III, 376); John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pont.*, ed. Poole, pp. 53-54, 62. But she was not alone; several writers blame the presence of women and the resultant immorality in the camps for the expedition's failure; frankest of all is Vincent of Prague, *Annales*, an. 1148 (MGH, SS XVII, 663); cf. Gislebert of Mons, *Chron. Hanoniense* (MGH, SS XXI, 516), Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.*, ed. Arnold, p. 280, and *Annales Herbipolenses* (MGH, SS, XVI, 3) whose author says it was at least indiscreet to include women in the host. Efforts seem to have been made to control the presence of women on the Third Crusade; we are told that the Councils of Le Mans and Geddington (Jan.-Feb., 1188) forbade any women save laundresses—and these were to be above suspicion—to be taken on the expedition (*Gesta Regis Henrici II*, ed. Stubbs, 32, 33; Hoveden, *Chron.*, ed. Stubbs, II, 336-337, 338).

[68] *Num.*, xxv, 18; xxxi, 16.

[69] Appendix XXVII.

[70] The poor had always managed to go along on the crusades. They are frequently mentioned in the sources, some of which cite the very type of situation to which Niger alludes: the extreme misery of the poor in time of famine and the heavy death-toll among them; e.g. William of Tyre (PL 201, 669D), *Ann. Herbip.* (MGH, SS XVI, 5), Gerhoh of Reichersberg (*Lib. de Lite*, III, 374-375), etc.; cf. other references in n. 56 above. In both England and Germany, the authorities tried to restrict their participation in the Third Crusade. Frederick Barbarossa decreed at Mainz on March 27, 1188, that all who could not meet their own expenses for a period of two years should

There remains the case of old men and those retired from active service.[71] Some would hold that it is an honour to have them along and that they can offer valuable advice. They will certainly be of help in no other way, remarks Niger, and he gives it as his opinion that they are generally a burden to an army, consuming much needed food and making no military contribution.[72] They could be of assistance, it is true, in looking after arms and armour, but youths will be much more efficient, especially in time of battle, because of their greater speed and agility.

The critic offers one last bit of advice. It is as though the crusade were just setting out and he were adding a final warning. If they must go, let them not forget that religious observance on the one hand and avoidance of rapine and vice on the other are to be seen to with the greatest diligence. God, Who alone gives the victory, cannot pour out His blessing upon the crusaders, if they themselves deliberately turn it aside by their evil conduct.[73]

Ralph Niger's consistently critical attitude towards the Third Crusade is obvious. The novelty of such an attitude in the late 1180's is worthy of note, for it is in distinct contrast with the opinions of those of his contemporaries or predecessors that have come down to us. In many ways his position has more in common with the anti-crusading spirit that marked the middle and latter part of the thirteenth century. Some of the very arguments used by Niger would appear among those put forward by the critics of nearly a century later.[74]

His originality lies only partly in the actual reasons he adduced against undertaking a crusade. Some of these are indeed novel and striking but others, or at least the facts upon which they are based, had been noted not only by contemporaries by even by older chronicles and writers. It is in his method of using these facts and in the conclusions arrived at, that Niger is different. No one before him, for instance, had gathered these facts together as part of a systematic and well reasoned attempt to answer the question: *utrum peregrinandum sit*; his rational discussion of the whole matter under various headings is not unlike the method of the *quaestiones* and the first *disputationes* as practiced in the schools of the time.[75] Moreover, for him, the numerous reasons he has marshalled lead

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stay at home, since they would only be in the way (*Hist. Peregrinorum*, MGH, SS. Rer. Germ., n.s., V, 126), and Richard of Holy Trinity, who also reports this same decree, comments on its prudent wisdom (*Itinerarium* . . . , p. 43). The Councils of Le Mans and Geddington (see n. 62) took measures to penalize runaway serfs who attempted to join the crusade; yet the same councils' provision for the poor to be made from the funds of crusaders who might die on the expedition seems to take for granted that there would still be some of these in spite of all precautions.

[71] Appendix XXVIII.

[72] Frederick Barbarossa was probably of the same opinion; without naming the aged, he includes as one of his prohibited classes those who are unable to bear arms (*Hist. Peregrin., loc. cit.*).

[73] Appendix XXIX.

[74] Humbert of Romans puts forward in his *Opus Tripartitum* (ca. 1270) the various arguments advanced by those who object to a crusade in order that he may refute them. P. A. Throop (*op. cit.*, pp. 162-171) has summed up these arguments as chiefly seven; six of the seven are to be found in one form or another among the arguments used by Ralph Niger against the Third Crusade. These are: that it is against the Christian religion to spill the blood of the infidel; that, even if infidel blood were not to be spared, yet Christian blood should not be wasted; that all the circumstances of strange land, strange food, unfavorable climate, etc., are all against the crusaders; that, while it is justified to defend oneself against the Saracens, they are not to be attacked; that the Holy Land really belongs to the Saracens anyway; and, finally, that the crusade must surely be contrary to God's will, since He has permitted such calamities to befall it in the past.

[75] On the place of these as methods of teaching in the later twelfth century, see

not just to the conclusions reached by others even before his time that therefore God permitted calamities to befall Christians and reverses to meet Christian arms, but also to the further new position that therefore a crusade should not be undertaken. To go as far as he does at one point and conclude that one might actually be interfering with God's designs by launching a crusade, is to reverse completely the theme of the First Crusade.

Finally, what makes Niger's position truly extraordinary is that he, a cleric, voices and defends it in the very midst of preparations for a crusade that hardly needed the call of the popes to launch it, so spontaneous and enthusiastic was the response of Western Christendom to the new plight of the Holy Land. At a moment when cardinals like Henry of Albano, archbishops like Baldwin of Canterbury and innumerable clerics at all levels were preaching in favour of the crusade, it is strange indeed to catch this one clerical voice raised to argue against it.[76] The traditional *Deus vult* must have been on many Christian lips as Niger dared for the first time to cut across it and proclaim: *Deus non vult.*

APPENDIX*

I. *De capitulatione Jerusalem et regis et terrae.*[1]

Sarraceni terram nostrae promissionis, captivato rege et principibus ejus et populo, nuper occupaverunt et sanctificationem templi et sancta sanctorum sepulchri dominici et sacrosanctae crucis lignum pollutis manibus contrectaverunt; peccatis enim Palestinae exigentibus traditi sunt hostibus. Nec mirum quia pro certo dissolutior erat illa terra quam alia; nulla enim Dei reverentia habita et in luxuria et in omni castrimargia omnium terrarum superfluitates superabant; vidimus enim etiam temporibus afflictionum patriarcham Jerusalimitanum et alios magnates Palestinae in partes occiduas venire cum ea pompa divitiarum et superfluitatum ad quas non possent Occidentis principes magni sufficere. Opem quaerebant adversus Saladinum principem Damasci et Babyloniae, et digito suo neque divitiarum cumulo volebant ei obviare. Unde accidit judicio Dei terram captivari et principes capi et in dispersionem iri ab eis qui quoquo modo possent evadere.

Paré, Brunet, Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XIIe Siècle: Les Ecoles et l'Enseignement* (Ottawa and Paris, 1933), pp. 124-132.

[76] There is no evidence that Niger ever literally *voiced* his criticism; we have only the written treatise. It was composed at this time (cf. nn. 3, 49 above), but we do not know to what extent the opinions expressed there were publicized.

* The *De Re Militari* . . . is found in two manuscripts only, according to our present knowledge: Library of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral *Ms* 15, fol. 5-32, and Pembroke College (Cambridge) Library *Ms* 27, fol. 119-156v. The former has been at Lincoln since the middle of the thirteenth century at least, while the latter belonged formerly to St. Edmund's Abbey, Bury, and reached Pembroke College in the sixteenth century; cf. Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger . . . .' *Mediaeval Studies*, II (1940), p. 112, nn. 46-47. Both are of the thirteenth century, probably towards its middle, the Lincoln *Ms* being perhaps slightly the older. They agree very closely; each contains a number of what appear to be scribal errors but, since almost none of these are common to both, the two *Mss* are undoubtedly copies of a same parent *Ms*, which could easily have been the original of Niger himself. The variants are so slight and so unimportant that there seemed to be no reason for reproducing them. In the following text I have used the Lincoln *Ms*, as containing more often the correct reading, although it has had to be emended occasionally from the Pembroke one.

[1] The titles appear as rubrics in both *Mss*, but they are not numbered; I have supplied the numbers in order to facilitate references in the notes above. This first section occurs in Lincoln *Ms* 15, fol. 24r; Pembroke *Ms* 27, fol. 145r. (The *Mss* will be designated as *L* and *P*).

II. *Majori esse periculo haereses quam dampna Palestinae.*[2]

Haec autem aestimem accidisse minori periculo quam haereses Manichaeorum et plurium aliarum interdictarum sectarum quae nostris temporibus pululaverunt; jam enim noster Occidens qui olim fidei speculum et exemplar esse solet omnibus gentibus multiplici interdictarum sectarum lepra scatet adeo ut nemo sit qui earum numerum et differentias plene sciat. Ex eo quidem altius urit dampnum ecclesiae quod ab imperitis et idiotis hujusmodi sectae formantur et jam usque ad aliquos potentes, illiteratos tamen, erupit contagio. Jam plures vacant ecclesiae a quibuslibet ministris quia non sit qui accedat ad eas. Quippe omnia fere sacramenta ecclesiae omnino evacuant ut eucharistiam nichil esse dicant nisi purum panem, baptisma parvulorum non conferre, conjugium sacramentum nullum esse et multa similia blasphemantes asserunt adeo firme et procaciter ut etiam mori non timeant pro sua assertione; cum enim ad poenitentiam revocantur et aut convicti aut confessi de sua haeresi poena presenti ad poenitentiam sunt invitati, poenam magis eligunt quam poenitentiam et irruunt in eam, incendium quasi rorem esse referentes. Plures autem articulos perfectionis interserunt sectae suae et bonis actionibus nefarias opiniones operiunt et sub boni specie malum ingerunt. Non attendunt praedicationem aut doctrinam sed nudae assertionis suae contumaciam per solam procaciam defendunt ut nec sacrae scripturae auctoritas nec ullius rationis veritas ab eis aliquatenus attendatur. Aliquas tamen auctoritates evangelii eas dumtaxat quas ipsi elegerint admittunt et alias omnes infrunite abiciunt.

Cum igitur in Occidente domi tanta fiat injuria fidei et sancta Jerusalem assidue dissipetur et in omni fere regione palam vel occulte haeresis aliqua versetur in ecclesiae Dei praejudicium, qua spe dabit Occidens Orienti subsidium qui tantum in se discidium patiatur? Quis enim fructus si Jerusalima terrestris aedificetur et mater nostra Syon interim dissipetur, si Palestina a Sarracenis liberetur et malitia infidelitatis interim domi grassatur, et dum infidelitas foris expugnatur domi puritas fidei conculcetur et infatuetur?

. . . .

III. *De sectis variis.*[3]

Hujusmodi civitates sunt haereticorum sectae quae nostris vehementer temporibus accreverunt. Etenim etiam temporibus Alexandri papae qui eos fecit inquiri in sola Lombardia inventae sunt XVIII[4] in evidenti; et jam simul adunatae, sicut dicitur, L sectae inveniuntur diversae in partibus Galliarum. Quid ergo erit cum tot 'civitates' in terra nostra et inter nos contra fidem aedificentur non omnino occulte, quoniam in terra regis sub quo passus est beatus Thomas martyr Anglorum infiniti aperte profitentur haereses suas, et jam adeo insolescere coeperunt ut ecclesiae multae cultura destituantur? Neque enim baptisma in pueris aut in provectis celebratur, nec eucharistia conficitur nec alia sacramenta ecclesiae fiunt; neque enim sacerdotium inter illos habet honorem aut obedientiam quoniam principes etiam terrae infecit contagio ut foveant et sequantur relicta fide errores obscenos. Inserpit assidue contagio et jam transivit Franciam multo veneno effuso per singula loca Franciae quae latent adhuc. Verumtamen crebro intercipiuntur et gravissime contorquentur, nichilominus tamen assidue crescit gravi dampno ecclesiae et periculo fidei. Jam utique, sicut dicitur, minitantur quod, elongatis principibus a terra in peregrinatione destinata, statim publice praedicabunt errores suos et armata manu persecutoribus suis occurrent.

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *L* 25^r; *P* 146^r. The *civitates* mentioned in the first sentence have been referred to in the previous section and interpreted mystically as heretical groups.

[4] *P* XVIIII.

IV. *De festinatione peregrinationis inconsultae.*[5]

Tot igitur malis eminentibus in publico et in praejudicium crucifixi et fidei quam sanguine et sua morte fundavit in nobis, incendio errorum jam debacchante etiam in regno Franciae, qua ratione festinatur a principibus nostris in Palestinam pro ligno crucis quaerendo, crucifixo interim habito pro derelicto in finibus suis? Quid enim eis proderit, exhausta terra hominibus et opibus, in Oriente homines et opes consumere interim Occidente suo malitia pereunte? Palam est haereses esse et aperte profiteri suum errorem in aliquibus locis et in civitatibus et in castris et in villis et in dies malitia dilatatur. Cui non est malum periculum quod jugiter eum appropiatur? Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet. Quis usquam irruente incendio domum suam, eo praesente ea indefensa, longe peregrinatur ad extinguendum alienum incendium? Anne errat occiduus qui imminente malitia neglectis propriis aliena negotia curat?

V. *De justa poena Palestinae.*[6]

Dei enim patientia aut judicio poenam incurrit Palestina, et forte merito culpae suae. Quae enim gens alia adeo fuit deliciosa? Taceo vitia alia et communia et singularia quae palam coluerunt Antiochia et Jerusalima. Vidi utique patriarcham Jerusalimitanum venisse in partes occiduas pro adjutorio in multa pompa supellectilis argenteae et aureae cujus etiam repositionem propter tinnitum taedium erat audire. Sed et fumigationes aromatum quas facerent multiplices et variae hausi, unde et vestes redolerent et totum cerebrum moveretur. Vidi capellam ejus cui similem nusquam viderim neque adeo pretiosam. In summa similem apparatum non habuit ullus occidui orbis patriarcha. Si alias illius terrae delicias secundum ea quae vidimus aestimemus, in ea multa fuisse quae Deus haberet odio praesumere poterimus. Qui autem inde venerant etiam multo ampliora praeconabant.

VI. *De fugitivis et sceleratis inhabitantibus Palestinam*[7]

Astipulantur et argumenta quaedam quod maxime scelerati, quibus interdiceretur aqua et igni in patria sua vel [qui] alias effugissent poenas, ad Palestinam transfugere soliti sunt. Ex talibus utique terra illa populum sibi fecit, in qua et liberius delinqueretur quoniam omnium terrarum scelera in ea coagularentur. Inde fuit quod, in delicias proni et ad delinquendum prompti, venientibus etiam in adjutorium eorum frequentius inviderent; et vix aliquibus eorum inter eos honorem invenire permiserunt, quinimmo plures nobiles inglorios proditionibus suis ad propria redire fecerunt.

VII. *De militibus Templi et Hospitalariis*[8]

Non sugillo Christi milites Templi neque fideles Hospitalarios sed vulgus et proceres terrae, qui jam confederati Sarracenis peregrinos occidentales subsannarunt eosque proditionibus et insidiis in praedam hostium contruserunt. Quis ergo miretur si Deus eos judicio suo visitavit ut pro meritis suis poenas luant, ut minus eorum calamitatibus illacrimari debeamus? Hujusmodi calamitatum vicissitudines pravitati Judaeorum frequentius intulit Deus, et pro meritis suis permisit affligi quousque vexationibus edocti poenitentiam agerent et Deo placato bonis studiis et operibus evincerent salvationem.

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[5] *L* 25^{r}-^{v}; *P* 147^{r}.

[6] *L* 25^{v}; *P* 147^{r}.

[7] *Ibid.* In *P* the last sentence of section V appears as the first sentence of section VI, so that this title occurs before the words *Qui autem . . .*

[8] *Ibid.*

VIII. *Timendum ne nimis festinetur ad peregrinandum*[9]

Timendum igitur nobis est ne, minus adhuc expiato populo, praepropere festinemus ad ejus liberationem adversus Dei judicium quo diffinierit in quantum oporteat eorum durare supplicium. Bonum utique est peregrinari ad visendum ubi steterunt pedes Domini, ubi natus est et educatus, passus, mortuus et sepultus, unde et resurrexit et Spiritum Sanctum tramisit et in caelum ascendit.[10]

. . . .

IX. *Qui periculo suo peregrinentur.*[11]

Aliis vero quibus catholicae communionis aliqua cura singulariter est commissa periculo est peregrinari, nisi curae suae munus adeo plene adimpleverint, ut ejus peregrinatio neque sibi neque aliis sit praejudicio; qui enim curam sibi commissam deserit ut peregrinetur quodammodo in publico praeconatur: 'Faciamus mala ut veniant bona,' quae est reproba sententia. Neminem eximo a periculo delicti qui assumpta peregrinatione curam sibi commissam deserit; quisquis enim non necessarie vicarium officio subicit, certe delinquit quia saltem interim onus refugit dum illud alii committit.

X. *Deum non egere vindicta humana neque fidem violentia propagari.*[12]

Atqui injuriam Dei satagunt vindicare cui tamen Pater facile mitteret duodecim legiones angelorum ad vindictam si expediret. Jam utique merito scandalizat Moyses ad petram Oreb percutiens bis silicem ut plus credatur posse gladius Caesaris quam gladius verbi Dei. Edom et Moab et Amon excepit Dominus et prohibuit filios Israel ne tangeret eos quia nec vestigium pedis terrae eorum daturus esset eis: *Domini enim est terra et plenitudo ejus*, et cui vult eam donat vel aufert vel habere permittit.

XI. *Non esse trucidandos Sarracenos sed repellendos.*[13]

Anne trucidandi sunt Sarraceni an quia Deus donaverit eis Palestinam vel habere permisit? Ille dixit: *Nolo mortem peccatoris.* Homines sunt ejusdem conditionis naturae cujus et nos sumus; utique repellendi sunt et expellendi a possessione nostra quia vim vi repellere omnia jura permittunt, verumtamen cum moderamine inculpatae tutelae ne medicina modum excedat. Utique gladio verbi Dei percutiendi sunt ut veniant ad fidem voluntarie et non coacti quoniam angarias et coacta servitia odit Deus. Quicumque ergo per violentiam fidem propagare quaerit disciplinam fidei excedit.

Ab hoc igitur munere violentiae praelati ecclesiae et devotati maxime debent semper continere; qui enim crucem Domini jugiter portant in suo corpore ex professione, ut quid superadicient crucem peregrinationis quam non deceat eos portare? Sugillat enim devotatus suae crucis mysterium et suum accusat ministerium quod vel eam in angaria portaverit vel abjecerit vel nunquam eam contigerit. Praesertim qui percussus in facie perfectionis jure tenetur aliam percussori porrigere ad feriendum; nescio quo jure possit arma capessere ad occidendum etiam Sarracenos.

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[9] *Ibid.*

[10] There follows in both *Mss* a section entitled *Quibus expediat peregrinari*, but it is a purely mystical development on the theme of the three types of sinners who need to make a 'journey to Jerusalem' (see above p. 166).

[11] *L* 25^{v}; *P* 147^{v}.

[12] *L* 25^{v}-26^{r}; *P* 147^{v}.

[13] *L* 26^{r}; *P* 147^{v}-148^{r}.

XII. *Non posse fieri ab Apostolico nisi quod admittit ratio.*[14]

Atqui Dominus Papa, vicarius Dei in terra, tam clericis quam laicis suggerit peregrinationem et peregrinantibus omnium peccatorum suorum indulget remissionem. De illius judicio disputare non praesumo. Unum tamen aestimo quia non liceat vicario nisi quod exigat aequitatis aut justitiae ratio; non enim suscipit Deus peccatorum obsequia priusquam abjecerint peccata, acta prius poenitentia et satisfactione congrua; et forte non est satisfactio congrua cujuscumque sanguinis effusio, nedum humani, nec subvenit aut congruit cuilibet peccato peregrinatio ad satisfactionem. In praemissis tribus casibus[15] est necessaria peregrinatio; voluntaria vero in aliis qui nullam curam habent publicae amministrationis vel singularis professionis cui de jure habeant intendere.

XIII. *Cavendum ne domi agatur vel omittatur unde foris accusetur.*[16]

Viderint igitur peregrinaturi ne domi egerint vel omiserint unde accusentur coram Deo judice quoniam obnoxium judicio non acceptat obsequio suo; non enim habet privilegium peregrinatio adversum justitiam, quia non perficitur legitime nisi ea comite et duce. Videat igitur homo ne domi sit quod ejus culpa offendat dum peregrinatur ne domesticae curae declinata provisio fiat peregrinationi praejudicio et duplici afficiatur dampno quod domi perdit et foras non proficit.

XIV. *Deliberandum ne fiat contra Dei judicium.*[17]

Cum grandi ergo deliberatione assumenda est peregrinatio Jerusalimitana et crux dominica summa circumspectione bajulanda ut causa sit rationabilis et via tota sine offensa; judicia enim Domini abyssus multa nec homo facile novit quanta de voluntate Dei habeant esse Palestinae supplicia neque quanta mora in poena. Et utique periculum est agere contra Dei judicium, quemcumque zelum cujusquam habeat propositum; sed angelus apostata transfigurat se in angelum lucis qui plerumque quasi bonum suadet unde decipiat et malum homo incurrat etiam cum bonum zelum habeat.

XV. *De pseudoprophetarum et angelorum apostatarum deceptionibus.*[18]

Virum Dei qui venit de Juda corripere Jeroboam decepit pseudopropheta. Collegit et Achab circiter CCCC prophetas et ait ad eos: 'Ire debeo in Ramoth Galaad ad bellandum an quiescere?' Quoniam autem prophetae erant Baal, rex Juda Josaphat qui venerat in auxilium Achab quaesivit si esset ibi aliquis propheta Domini. Respondit Achab: 'Est hic Micheas per quem possumus interrogare Dominum sed odi eum quia prophetat mihi malum.' Vocatus est igitur Micheas et, requisitus ammonitione nuntii qui vocaverat eum, respondit idem quod alii. Rex vero adjuravit eum ut verum diceret. Qui ait: 'Vidi cunctum Israel dispersum in montibus quasi oves non habentes pastorem.' Et irascente rege addidit: 'Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium suum et omnem exercitum caeli assistentem ei a dextris et a sinistris. Et ait Dominus: "Quis decipiet Achab ut ascendat et cadat in Ramoth Galaad?" Et dixit unus sic et alius aliter. Egressus est autem spiritus et ait: "Egrediar et ero spiritus mendax in ore omnium prophetarum Achab." Et dixit Dominus: "Decipies et praevalebis; egredere et fac ita." Nunc igitur ecce dedit Dominus spiritum mendacii in ore omnium prophetarum tuorum et locutus est Dominus contra te malum.' Cum igitur ita deceptus sit impius Achab licet bonum haberet socium Josaphat regem Juda et regem Edom, simili casu decipi possunt et reges nostri temporis quorum aliqui non minus impii extiterunt quam Achab.

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[14] *L* 26ʳ; *P* 148ʳ.

[15] See n. 10 of Appendix.

[16] *L* 26ʳ; *P* 148ʳ.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

XVI. *Ne malorum consortia bonis noceant in peregrinatione timendum.*[19]

Subito quidem et sine multa deliberatione multi crucem susceperunt sed Deo volente, Spiritu Sancto intimante; verumtamen nichilominus timeri potest ne malorum consortium impediat profectum bonorum. Credimus vero quod qui zelum bonum habentes secundum scientiam qui provide et religiose crucis signum et peregrinationis susceperunt non defraudabuntur sua mercede. Timendum vero semper est ei qui peccavit olim ne vetustas ante actae vitae minus expiata bajulantibus crucem proponatur et vetus offensa nova poena dimetiatur. Est enim poena peccati gravissima exponi temptationibus malorum angelorum; animalis enim homo tardioris intellectus facile naturae spirituali succumbit ut ea intimante vel instigante faciat quod non oporteat. Non enim ad quodlibet opus bonum sine delectu quilibet idoneus est; peccatori enim dixit Deus: 'Quare tu enarras justitias meas et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum?' Mundis enim manibus et mundo corde tractari volunt Christi sacramenta et ejus ministeria. Ab ingressu igitur peregrinationis exigitur munditia et in tota via et maxime humilitas et plena justitia et mandatorum Dei integra custodia. De filiis enim qui exierunt de Egypto non introierunt terram promissionis nisi tantum duo, Josue et Caleb; reliqua vero multitudo propter offensas peregrinationis suae periit in deserto.

XVII. *De periculis in deserto.*[20]

Provida igitur opus est circumspectione peregrinaturo quoniam secus viam excubant latrunculi quaerentes spolia animarum. Maligni spiritus in omni via hominum insidias suas tendunt et quanto magis arduum propositum assumitur tanto acrius et subtilius insurgunt ut impediant aut omnino subvertant. Alia viae pericula taceo quae vel terra vel aer ingerunt vel aquarum molestia et solis incendia et similium corruptela important per diversa mundi climata; si enim qualibet unius terrae vel parva regione qualitates aeris minus vel plus sanativi variantur, quanto magis occurrent plura pericula transituris per multa orbis climata in quibus planetae per loca diversa et tempora aerem mitius aut malitiosius distemperant.

XVIII. *De poenitudine peregrinationis.*[21]

Sunt et plures qui se suscepisse crucem indoleant quam qui eam bajulare gratulentur. In sapientem vero non cadit poenitentia, et ideo praesumi potest inconsultum calorem peperisse peregrinationis hujus initia praesertim in eis quos angit poenitentia. Sed et gloria triumphi de liberatione Palestinae quae sperabatur anticipari potest a pauperibus et paucis numero, recuperata Jerusalima et insuper majore et meliore parte totius terrae occupata. Inde est, serenissime Domine, quod prudentiam vestram et patientiam liberius audeam commendare quia nec inconsulte necessitate peregrinationis vos illigastis. Haec itaque, serenissime regum,[22] de militia christiana et de tribus viis peregrinationis Jerusalimitanae et de pestilentiis haeresum quae fines occiduos invasit (*sic*) vobis scribere curavi ut contagiones haereticorum ab ingressu terrarum vestrarum arceatis et de peregrinatione assumenda non festinetis et modum militiae religiosae agnoscatis; quisquis enim Jerusalimam tendit et non una priorum viarum frustra peregrinatur.

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[19] *L* 26^{r}-^{v}; *P* 148^{r}-^{v}.

[20] *L* 26^{v}; *P* 148^{v}; this title is missing in *P* and there is no indication whatsoever of a new section.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Philip II Augustus is almost certainly the sovereign addressed; see Flahiff, *art. cit.*, p. 120, n. 86.

. . . .

XIX. *Labores poenitentium facere ad meritum satisfacto prius justitiae.*[23]

Notandum vero quia non abnuo laborem peregrinationis facere posse ad satisfactionem poenitentiae, sed tamen aestimo unam clavem ad omnis serrae reserrationem non sufficere. Inde est quod periculosum esse putem spem ponere in sola peregrinatione pro omni genere culpae; non enim evacuat peregrinatio omnia alia stigmata poenitentiae. Est enim mandatum apostolicum sane intelligendum ut non absumat omnis justitiae et aequitatis meritum; neque enim raptor aut fur, qui possidet et non restituit raptum aut furtum, emunitatem assequitur per verbum apostolicum ulla peregrinatione nisi restituat ablatum. Qui autem perficit quod dictat ratio poenitentiae, frui potest beneficio indulgentiae apostolicae assumpta peregrinatione; non enim est mandatum apostolicum quod non habet rationis meritum. Satisfacto vero juri poenitentiae, in integrum restituitur peregrinationis supererogatione; non enim poenitet qui facere recusat et restituere quod justitia dictat et aequitas ammoneat. Cum autem juri paretur et satisfit poenitentiae, peregrinatio placat ut de reatu abolendo cum jure poenitentiae transigatur et forte alia poena remittatur. Quo igitur quaestu crementa comparentur peregrinaturus prospiciat maxime unde viaticum peregrinationi suae disponat ne de furto vel rapina peregrinetur vel alio simili vitio foedetur intentio et labor frustretur vel potius vindicetur.

. . . .

XX. *De inutili peregrinatione clericorum.*[24]

Quid ergo aestimabitur de talium clericorum peregrinatione? Possent utique expenso poenitentiae errores suos redimere facilius et fecundius in ecclesiis suis remedio vitae arctioris; satius enim foret implere munus debitum et supererogare expensum assumptae poenitentiae quam, officio derelicto, evagari dubia peregrinatione. Neque enim licet clericos sanguinem effundere vel manus suas sacratas ullo violentiae officio polluere. Atqui videre ubi steterunt pedes Domini et sepulchrum ejus gloriosum opere pretium est; verumtamen eminentius est locorum mysteria credere quam ea videre et eorum mysteria non intelligere. Adde quod, sicut prius est dictum, utilius est et gloriosius Jerusalem aedificare de novo vel reparare de veteri domi quam videre eam in Syria ab aliis aedificatam, et suam habere domi liberam quam in Syria videre eam captivatam. Praeterea clericorum ope vel consilio non est opus in expeditione nisi quatenus ad animarum consilia danda spectat in confessione et in officii divini celebratione; neque enim praedicatione aut doctrina clericorum acies ordinantur ad proelia neque alia bellorum disciplina per eos expeditur, sed potius imperatorum aut regum aut ducum vel officialium eorum industria.

XXI. *Clericos fieri impedimento expeditioni.*[25]

Impedimento igitur fiunt clerici expeditioni quia inutiliter victualia consumunt qui in expeditione in nullo proficunt. Quippe raro diu abundat exercitus victualibus, maxime apud barbaros qui modis omnibus nostrates odiunt et libenter excutiunt et omni nisu plerumque impediunt; assumpta enim occasione de culpa modica vel nulla facile forum victualium subducunt et vias obstruunt et famelico populo fidentius irruunt. Quae acciderunt in expeditione imperatoris Conradi et piissimi regis Ludovici liceret in exemplum trahere, sed non oportet scripturae mandare quod de recenti memoria qui praesentes interfuerunt aliis possent enarrare. Similia tamen aut deteriora, quod Deus avertat, poterunt iterato accidere et populum peccatis exigentibus demetere.

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[23] *L* 31ʳ; *P* 155ʳ; the sections between what we have numbered XVIII and this no. XIX contain Niger's strictures against various classes of society; they do not bear on his attitude to the crusade.

[24] *L* 31ᵛ; *P* 155ᵛ; the previous section entitled *De enormitate clericorum* has nothing to do with the crusade.

[25] *Ibid.*

XXII. *De periculo peregrinationis dubiae propter pericula viae.*[26]

Crimen etiam est sibi mortem ascire cui propetenus implicatur qui dubium subit periculum; prope enim manus inicit qui certum periculum irruit et per diversa climata mundi evagari deligit in periculis difficilis et ignotae viae, in aeris intemperie, inter manus gentis barbarae, in terram infidelitatis odiosae, in omnibus demum periculis aeris et maris et terrae. Non sugillo divinum obsequium occasione quorumlibet periculorum in eis qui possunt in expeditione peregrinationis causa Dei proficere, quin magis securius edico occasione periculorum merita augeri et in non necessariis peregrinationi imminui. Infelix igitur est illa clericorum peregrinatio eorum qui domi omittunt quod facere deberent, et foris in peregrinatione non proficiunt; neque enim meritum facit opus cui discretio deficit.

Archiepiscoporum et episcoporum peregrinationem non accuso, si tamen eorum tam foris utilior fuerit quam domi et si paucorum cura praescribit utilitati universitatis subjectorum qui non peregrinantur; si enim nonaginta novem oves deserit in deserto et eis expositis periculo cum una tantum ove peregrinatur etiam suo periculo, nec sibi nec ovibus suis prospicit tali obsequio; qui enim unam praeponit reliquis in causa salutis non graditur via ordinatae caritatis; sed et commisso officio suo vicario non ipse merebitur eo, sed vicarius si bene facit in eo.

XXIII. *De periculo peregrinationis devotatorum.*[27]

Quod autem devotatis dicam in promptu habeo quod eorum peregrinatio sit in ambiguo et in periculo. Qui Deo voverunt obedientiam praelato et stabilitatem loci, si peregrinantur, votum suum praevaricantur aut imminuunt. Sed et timeam ne etiam praelatus suo devotato periculose indulgeat peregrinationem; sicut enim post votum non potest ei licentiam nubendi dare, ita nec evagandi; mora quippe et statio, quae promittuntur voto, peregrinationi contrariae sunt. Est igitur peregrinatio quae de jure indulgeri non possit a praelato devotato ordini suo et loco. Potest autem ecclesiae suae rationabili obsequio angariare praelatus devotatum vel indulgere causa cognita; nulla vero angaria vel indulgentia trahi potest vel permitti ut obviet ordini suo aut voto. Sed et nullum habet arbitrium devotatus qui omne velle suum et nolle contulit in alterius arbitrium; unde certum est quod pari periculo erit praelato et subdito devotato indulta et assumpta peregrinatio quae votum infringat et ordini contradicat; non enim placet Deo, cui sit obligatus ex voto, ulla facti voti interversio. Quantalibet enim afflictio contraria voto exhibita non solvit voti obligationem quominus homo teneatur eo.

XXIV. *Votum non impedire promotionem.*[28]

Non autem abnuo quin obligatio eminentior voto praescribat ei aliquando, sed tunc demum cum votum contineatur sub eo veluti cum eligitur homo ad altiorem gradum; qui enim quinque debuit, si obligatur usque decem, non absolvit prius debitum aucta obligatio, quoniam qui debet X, debet etiam quinque ex consequentia. Qui enim aucta dignitate ad onus majus illigatur, a priore onere non absolvitur, quoniam in quantitate majori minor ea consideratur. Non ergo prohibetur devotatus ascendere suscepto majori onere et obligatione. Non autem est compendium strata publica, sed semita qua viatur citius et tutius quam strata; strata vero publica est peregrinatio cuilibet pervia et concessa qui lege viae arctioris quam voto assumpsit non prohibetur ab ea. Est autem quaevis religio singularis subdita voto secundum regulam suam quasi semita compendiosior juxta stratam publicam; qui ergo regulam quae voto subicitur assumit, quasi positus in semita recta, publicae stratae quae multum et saepe sinuatur de caetero abrenuntiavit.

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[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *L* 31^v; *P* 156^r.

[28] *Ibid.*

XXV. *Devotatum nec de proprio nec de alieno dato peregrinari.*[29]

Praeterea devotatus nihil potest habere proprium, qui jam mundo renuntiavit voto solemni assumpta religione; non enim aestimo claustrum assignare praepositum subjecto suo devotato posse mundi totius latitudinem, quoniam laxa licentia non habet fines religionis. Inde est quod praepositus nec subditus evagandi licentiam habeat ut ad aliqua officia saecularia redeat. Quippe proprietati abrenuntiantes de voto amodo non possunt negotiari de proprio nec multum proficit peregrinatio facta de alieno; neque enim monachus vel canonicus etiam sui licentia abbatis frui potest aliquo commodo proprietatis propter debitum obligationis voti; et ideo nec de proprio, quod habere non debeat, nec de alieno, quia minus forte proficiat, peregrinari potest idonee salvo voto suae obligationis. Simplex ergo peregrinatio non adaequatur religioni aut voto nisi forte occasio uberior accedat, vel de majori commodo assequendo sive de majori dampno evitando, ut forte modo sepulchro Domini violato et ligno vivificae crucis asportato. Verumtamen quod hujusmodi occasio eatenus eleventur ut praevaleat religioni et voto, ego non judico quia majoris est inquisitio. Mihi tamen non sedet devotatorum peregrinatio quia voti obligatio stricti juris est quae non rumpitur subito.

XXVI. *De mulierum peregrinatione noxia.*[30]

De mulierum vero peregrinatione maxime in grandi virorum expeditione quoniam viscus sit diaboli muliebre consortium non probo, quoniam et Madianitarum oppositio populo Israeli fuit periculo. Terra tamen destituta jure colonario sine mulierum consortio reparari non potest; et ideo aestimatur earum esse utilis peregrinatio ut terra quaesita repleatur novo populo. Verumtamen consultius est praestolari et eventum belli futurae expeditionis quia demum post victoriam possidere poterimus terram quietam; cum igitur dubius sit eventus belli quia frequens impedit occasio nisi Deus profectum intulerit, satius est interim mulieres manere domi quam ut fiant impedimento aut periculo peregrinationi communi.

XXVII. *De pauperum peregrinatione.*[31]

Quid de pauperum peregrinatione sentietur quae de sola emendicatione negotietur? Populus utique ille inermis et indigens victualium parum proficere poterit ad longam expeditionem: famis enim inducunt necessitatem et demum fiunt praeda hostibus et ludubrium inimicis. Expeditos utique juvenes, licet pauperes, utiles fieri posse aestimem ut obsequio suo et Dei gratia apud potentiores adjuverint et eorum eleemosynis alantur. Sunt et plerumque admodum necessarii quoniam expediti et alacres et audaces ad onera praevalent, et ad excubias faciendas, ad bajulandum ignem et aquam et ad discurrendum et ad custodias et ad alias indigentias.

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[29] *L* 31^{v}-32^{r}; *P* 156^{r}.
[30] *L* 32^{r}; *P* 156^{r}.
[31] *Ibid.*

XXVIII. *De senum peregrinatione.*[32]

De senum vero et emeritorum comitatu in expeditione peregrinationis honor habetur et interdum consilium, raro vero aliud adjutorium. Generaliter vero aestimem omnes oneri esse exercitui qui frustra consumunt victualia et non faciunt ad pugnae exercitia. Neque enim utiliora sunt senum conamina quam puerorum in pugna, nisi tantum in custodia phalerarum et in amministratione armorum quae plerumque juniores agilitate sua velocius exhibent aliis.

XXIX. *De religione et continentia servanda in peregrinatione.*[33]

Sollicite vero attendendum quod in omni expeditione praecipue necessaria est religio bene servata et continentia a vitiis et a rapina injusta; a solo enim Deo paratur victoria cujus propitiatio avertitur semper ab eo qui male agit. Sed et a pravo consortio non minus continendum et timendum quam ab hostis confinio; et ideo necessaria est in expeditione jugis circumspectio cum vigilia et custodia; jura enim prodita sunt et corona promissa vigilantibus, sicut et victoria legitime concertantibus.[34]

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[32] *L* 32^r; *P* 156^v.

[33] *Ibid. P* omits the words *et continentia.*

[34] The whole treatise closes immediately after this with a very brief résumé of the chief topics touched upon and a final invocation begging God's blessing.

Gawain: His Reputation, His Courtesy and His Appearance in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*

B. J. WHITING

I. *INTRODUCTION*

ALTHOUGH no warrior of Arthur's host is more deserving of a full-length portrait than is Gawain, the present paper does no more than touch on certain facets of the subject. The writer's original and innocent intention was to make a brief comment on the opening of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, a passage in which Gawain's courtesy is thrown into bold relief. Gradually, however, it became evident that the concept of courtesy in Gawain called for more thorough documentation than it had hitherto received, and, closely connected with this, that a concise survey of Gawain's reputation from Wace to Mr. T. H. White might well be attempted. Neither of these efforts breaks virgin ground, as any student of the literature of Arthurian romance knows perhaps too well, but the present accounts are, for better or worse, more comprehensive, if not more conclusive, than any earlier work.[1] For evidence as to Gawain's courtesy virtually the entire body of French and English poems[2] dealing with Arthur and his knights has been drawn upon,[3] and the prose romances have been sampled liberally, although it must be confessed that only those passages in the *Vulgate* versions were read, which, according to Sommer's index, treated of Gawain. Many of these works, of course, throw light on Gawain's general reputation and, in addition, representative modern writers, creative and critical, from Malory on have been examined. Gawain's reputation can hardly be kept completely separate from his courtesy, a fact especially true with regard to his love affairs; in consequence some of his *amours* appear in one section and some in the other.

II. *BIBLIOGRAPHIES*

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[1] For one of the best short accounts of Gawain, see Paris, pp. 29 ff. An unpublished thesis of the University of Chicago, M. Pitkin's *The Biography of Sir Gawain in Mediaeval French Literature* (1928) is cited by Alfred Adler, "Sovereignty in Chrétien's *Yvain*," PMLA, LXII (1947), 288, n. 40.

[2] Accounts of Gawain in other European languages are omitted with regret in order to keep the paper within reasonable limits.

[3] In the case of chronicles which tell the whole history of Britain, only the sections covering Arthur's life are included.

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III. *GAWAIN'S REPUTATION*

Save for students of medieval literary history, modern readers, if they know about Gawain at all,[4] know him mainly from Malory and Tennyson. In Malory they find a Gawain who is sometimes good and sometimes bad; in Tennyson, a frivolous and vicious figure with hardly a redeeming quality. If, in addition, they are familiar with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, where Gawain embodies nearly all the chivalric virtues, they think they see a progressive degradation of character from the medieval to the renaissance to the Victorian concept, an almost perfect example of epic degeneration. Here, indeed, is something very like Chaucer's Monk's definition of tragedy:

> Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie,
> As olde bookes maken us memorie,
> Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee,
> And is yfallen out of heigh degree
> Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly.[5]

Beyond the three works already mentioned, the best known reference to Gawain is undoubtedly that found early in the *Squire's Tale*:

> This strange knyght, that cam thus sodeynly,
> Al armed, save his heed, ful richely,
> Saleweth kyng and queene and lordes alle,
> By ordre, as they seten in the halle,
> With so heigh reverence and obeisaunce,
> As wel in speche as in his contenaunce,
> That Gawayn, with his olde curteisye,
> Though he were comen ayeyn out of Fairye,
> Ne koude hym nat amende with a word.[6]

Clearly, Chaucer thinks well of Gawain,[7] better than he does of Lancelot, for although he mentions Lancelot twice, both the references carry an edge.[8] When, for the sake of contrast, we come down to Tennyson's "Passing of Arthur", Gawain's ghost appears to the king in a dream and, after prophesying Arthur's approaching death, says

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[4] Cf. Taylor, p. 79.

[5] *Canterbury Tales*, VII, 1973-7 (B 3163-7) (*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933), p. 226. All subsequent citations of Chaucer are from this edition).

[6] *CT* V(F), 89-97 (p. 155). A passage in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 11. 2206-12, in which Gawain is contrasted to Kay will be considered later; see p. 223 below.

[7] That there was a tradition for Gawain's presence with Arthur in "Fairye" has been shown by Professor R. S. Loomis, "Gawain in the *Squire's Tale*," *Modern Language Notes*, LII (1937), 413-6; cf. Madden, p. xxxvi, and Weston-*Gawain*, p. 39.

[8] From a subsequent allusion in the *Squire's Tale* (11.283-7 [p. 157]), we must infer that Lancelot was a keen judge of the latest steps and an adept at carrying on clandestine communications on the dance floor, while the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (VII, 3210-3 [B, 4400-3] [p. 242]) first casts an indirect but obvious slur at the truth of Lancelot's "book" and then says baldly that it is the kind of thing *women* like. Of course, if we remember the women present when the Nun's Priest says this, we know

> Farewell! there is an isle of rest for thee,
> And I am blown along a wandering wind,
> And hollow, hollow, hollow all delight! (p. 390).

Bold Sir Bedivere dismisses Gawain, man and ghost, with sturdy contempt:

> Light was Gawain in life, and light in death
> Is Gawain, for the ghost is as the man;
> And care not thou for dreams from him . . . (p. 391).

To advance still another literary generation, Dagonet, in E. A. Robinson's *Merlin*, can say of the Coming of the Light:

> There was a long to-do,
> And Gawaine, of all forlorn ineligibles,
> Rose up the first, and cried more lustily
> Than any after him that he should find
> The Grail, or die for it,—though he did neither;
> For he came back as living and as fit
> For new and old iniquity as ever (Robinson, p. 306).

In order to explain what happened to Gawain as he moved from an heroic and blameless warrior, as in Geoffrey and Wace, to a "forlorn ineligible," as in Robinson, we must consider, as summarily as possible, many documents and the motives and mental processes of many authors. Gawain plays a larger rôle in the numerous branches of the Matter of Britain than any actor save Arthur, possibly a larger, and certainly a more varied role than Arthur himself. There are ample materials,[9] then, for a biographical study of the hero, but it is not easy or safe to compose the biography of a hero of fiction, especially of a fiction which remains alive and growing, growing quite without regard to normal times and shapes of growth, after eight hundred years and more. To belabor the truism, the hero of fiction cannot be treated, however great the temptation, exactly as though he had been a man of flesh and blood. When a living man does something or has something done to him, what has been done becomes part of his life, influences what he subsequently does, and, if it be recorded, becomes part of his history and shapes whatever may be said or written about him. In saga the case is altogether different, a fact which can easily be illustrated from the matter in hand. Chroniclers of British history pictured the "historical" Gawain as he appeared in Geoffrey long after he had been firmly established as a hero of romance, and long before the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* wrote of the Gawain who was the ideal of chivalry, he had been painstakingly vilified in certain French prose romances. Then, too, the conscientious biographer of Gawain will be somewhat perplexed in dealing with what may be termed his pre-history. If Gawain, before he was Lot's son and Arthur's nephew,[10] was, in one degree or another, to be identified with Adonis,[11] Agamemnon,[12] Cuchulinn,[13] the Healer,[14] a Sun god (solar hero),[15] and Tammuz,[16]

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that he is only joking, or, at the very least, willing to give that impression.

[9] Cf. Weston-*Gawain*, pp. 11-2.

[10] Lot, to be sure, has been connected with the British sky-god Lud (Cook, p. 343), and Arthur with a culture hero (Bensel, pp. 132 ff., 141).

[11] Weston- *Perceval*, I, 330.

[12] Lewis, p. 252.

[13] Cook, p. 338; Loomis, p. 65.

[14] Weston-*Ritual*, pp. 100-4.

[15] Bensel, pp. 132-3, 141; Cook, p. 343 ("sun-king married to the goddess of a sun-tree"); Loomis, pp. 63 ff.; Weston-*Gawain*, pp. 12-3; see p. 196 below.

[16] Weston-*Perceval*, I, 330.

there is an abundant field from which to glean. This paper, despite manifest temptation, will not treat of Gawain before Gawain.

Our task is simplified in the present instance by the fact that the medieval Matter of Britain falls easily into three groups, in each of which Gawain, on the whole, is treated differently. We have, first, the chronicle-like accounts of the entire life of Arthur, which show the king conducting a continental campaign against the Roman Empire at the time of Mordred's revolt; second, the episodic verse romances, which deal with the adventures of knights attached, sometimes only loosely, to Arthur's court; and third, the prose romances which, if they cover the fall of Arthur, have him waging a desperately ineffective war of vengeance on Lancelot when called home by the rebellion of his nephew and son.[17]

The first group, whose factual account is essentially that of Geoffrey, presents a simple and consistent picture of Gawain. He is Arthur's nephew, the son of King Lot and Arthur's sister, and from his first appearance until his death he is a brave and gallant warrior, second only to Arthur in courage, strength and success. One of his most striking scenes, that at the court of the Roman emperor, does not suggest that he possesses the tact and patience of the professional diplomat, but in fiction no one objects to the man who, surrounded by his foes, refuses to accept tamely an insult to his nation. His death, properly enough, comes in the penultimate act of Arthur's tragedy, and he dies fighting for right and his king. There are no shades, no subtleties, no implications in this first Gawain, whose fame is not confined to books dealing strictly with British history.[18] He is the ideal warrior, the highest type of martial prowess, loyal, courageous, untarnished and undefeated until he meets inevitable death.

The verse episodic romances represent a second stage in the development of the Matter of Britain. On the first, or chronicle, level, Arthur was in the thick of things; where there was action, there was Arthur also. He not only led his armies in war, but he achieved single-handed feats of bravery and strength. Significantly, it is Arthur who kills the giant of Mont St. Michel. Arthur is king and hero; no one, not even Gawain, approaches him in fame, ability or accomplishment. In the verse romances, however, Arthur has reached, as it were, middle age,[19] and has become an executive rather than an active figure.

Arthur's court is the central office at which knights receive assignments to adventures or quests, to which they send back prisoners and rescued maidens, and to which they ultimately return to tell their stories and gain their rewards of praise or commiseration. The age is that of the Young Hero, and the stories follow an easy and repeated formula. Here Gawain often holds the center of the stage, or, at worst, a position not much less prominent than that of the leading actor of the moment.[20] He is the sole hero of many tales, French as well as English, and his adventures and love affairs find their way into many others.[21] Damsels in distress ask Arthur to have Gawain assigned to their problems and often greet the younger and less known knights whom they receive in his stead with angry and insulting words. Rarely does a defeated knight express shame or disappointment when he learns that he has been overthrown by the king's glorious nephew. To be unhorsed by the champion is a glory in itself, and Gawain's praise is an accolade no less precious than any Arthur can bestow. Women expect him to make love to them and, as we shall see, become doubtful of his identity if he fails to make an amorous gesture.

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[17] A fourth group consists of Malory and those English writers who used him as their source; on occasion it will be convenient to consider these later authors along with the earlier versions.

[18] Cf. Chambers, p. 151.

[19] The ages, individual or comparative, of personages of romance are a matter for amusement rather than concern. Some accounts have Lancelot bring home Arthur's bride, while others, doubtless earlier, do not have him born until after Arthur's marriage. Elsewhere we are told that Arthur, Gawain, Lancelot and Guenevere were all well over seventy when the regime collapsed.

[20] Perhaps Chrétien was partly responsible for this pattern; certainly Gawain, though the titular hero of no one of Chrétien's poems, appears prominently in nearly all of them; see Bruce, I, 249-50; Hertha Königer, *Die Darstellung der Personen bei Chrétien de Troyes* (Munich, 1936), pp. 25-39.

[21] Adequate summaries of most of the romances are given by Paris, Bruce and Wells.

A few quotations reveal the esteem in which he is universally held:

Et mes sire Gauvains chaeles,
Li frans, li douz, ou iert il donques?
A s'aïe ne failli onques
Dameisele desconseilliee,
Que ne li fust apareilliee (*Yvain*, p. 153, ll. 3698-702).

Cil qui ainme desduit et joie
Viegne avant si entende et oie
Une aventure qui avint
Au bon chevalier qui maintint
Loiauté, proëce, et anor,
Et qui n'ama onques nul jor
Home coart, faus, ne vilain—
Je cont de mon saignor Gauvain,
Qui tant par ert bien ensaigniez
Et qui fu des armes prisiez
Que nus reconter ne savroit (*Epée*, p. 7, ll. 1-11).

Than schir Gawyne the gay, gude and gracius,
That euer wes beildit in blis, and bounte embrasit,
Joly and gentill, and full cheuailrus,
That neuer poynt of his prise wes fundin defasit,
Egir and ertand, and ryght anterus,
Illuminat vith lawte, and with lufe lasit
(*Golagros*, p. 14, ll. 389-94).[22]

Gawain, in addition to his famed courtesy, has certain distinguishing characteristics, found in the prose romances as well as the poems: He is usually called "messire" or "mon seigneur,"[23] a title given only occasionally to other knights; the name of his horse, Gringalet, is known;[24] in contrast to the knight errant's frequent passion for anonymity, Gawain does not conceal his name;[25] his strength waxes and wanes during the day in a fashion to suggest some connection with the sun.[26]

Another trait of Gawain's which the writers of romance naturally found to their taste was his amourousness.[27] Ready as the hero was to joust with a knight at a ford, he was equally ready to dally with a damsel in a pavilion by the road. He offered his love generously and spontaneously, and it was usually accepted with an enthusiasm which matched his own. Episode after episode makes plain that the concept of chastity was foreign to him, but there are few suggestions that he took advantage of his strength or rank to over persuade a reluctant lady. His strong disapproval of rape is brought out by an incident in *Claris.* Mordred, always a scoundrel, comes upon a girl riding alone through the forest and attempts to violate her. He is prevented by the arrival of her brothers, who seize him and hang him to a tree. At this point Gawain appears, rescues Mordred, and is about to kill the brothers when the girl tells the whole story. Gawain at once forgives the brothers, gives Mordred a scolding (p. 645, ll. 24020-4), and threatens him severely if he tries anything of the kind again. Next day he delivers to Mordred still another lecture on rape: it is the worst thing a gentleman can do, and anyone guilty of it ought to be torn apart by four horses. Women cannot defend themselves, and men's duty is to protect them:

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[22] See also *Atre*, p. 16, 11. 496-501; Lovelich II, 229, 364; *Rigomer* I, 389, 1. 13189, 390, 1. 13220.

[23] Cf. Paris, p. 36. Lewis has a ready explanation for the honorific: "The identification of Gauvain with Agamemnon, if correct, sufficiently explains why Gauvain is nearly always addressed in the poems as 'mon seigneur' " (p. 252).

[24] Cf. Paris, pp. 36-7; see *Escanor*, p. 534, for one account of how Gringalet came into Gawain's possession. There may be some significance, not immediately discernible and therefore perhaps occult, in the fact that Tristram's dogs are known by name.

[25] Cf. Paris, pp. 37-38; see also *Abenteuer Gawain*, p. 10; *Atre*, p. 196; *Claris*, p. 196; *Deus Espees*, pp. 128-9, 314-5, 331; *Epée*, p. 24; *Fergus*, pp. 183-4; Gerbert, I, 143; *Graal*, p. 727; Manessier, V, 38, 85, 97, 265; *Perlesvaus* I, 83; *Suite du Merlin* II, 83; Pseudo-Wauchier III. 59, 189, IV, 19; *Yvain*, p. 251.

[26] In addition to the references cited on p. 194, n. 15, above, see Paris, pp. 35-6; Wells, p. 51; Taylor, p. 78; Chambers, p. 151; Reid, p. 64; Bruce-*Mort*, pp. 287-8; Scudder, pp. 6-7, 116; and *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 8; *Arthour and Merlin*, pp. 135, 147; *Atre*, p. 49; *Escanor*, pp. 75, 561; *Le Morte Arthur*, pp. 84-5, 87; Lovelich II, 332; *Suite du Merlin* II, 239-41; *Tristan*, pp. 206, 221; Wauchier III, 334. The accounts are by no means consistent, and the subject needs further consideration. For another knight with the same peculiarity, see Malory I, 262.

[27] Cf. Madden, p. xxxiii; Donell Van de

> Sachiez, frere, c'est grant dolor
> De fenme tolir son hennor (p. 646, ll. 24067-8).[28]

Gawain takes a similar attitude toward a second brother in the Vulgate-*Merlin.* Gaheriet and Agravain are talking about some girls whom they have seen recently, and Agravain declares that if he had one of them there in the forest he would not hesitate to use force to win her. Gaheriet replies that he would not act so, "car li gieus ne seroit pas biaus sil ne li souffisoit ausi bien comme a moi" (II, 351, ll. 11-2). Gawain decides the argument in Gaheriet's favor, "car il dist quil ne li uoldroit riens auoir fait a forche ne li uint onques fors damors & de courtoisie & gaheriet en dist comme preudome" (II, 351, ll. 20 ff.)

On one occasion, it must be confessed, Gawain seems less than sensitive to a woman's point of view. Among the many men whom Gawain kills is one whose sister plots murderous vengeance. To carry out her scheme, she conceals a knife in her bed and then invites Gawain to it. Gawain, with a touch of happy, if not completely congruous, piety, makes the sign of the cross as he enters the bed, and the knife is more or less miraculously disclosed to him.[29] He puts the weapon out of reach and "pense a son affaire" (Gerbert, II, 175, l. 12632). The girl is unhappy and no doubt chagrined, but

> Weille ou non, sosfrir li estuet
> Le ju de mon seignor Gavain (II, 175, ll. 12638-9).

Then, apparently yielding somewhat her mind as well as her body, she warns Gawain against a vindictive cousin of hers.[30] We need not feel too much sympathy for a would-be murderess, but Gawain's conduct is certainly not marked by finer feeling, however much it exhibits religion and aplomb. After leaving the lady, he meets and, as is to be expected, kills the cousin. What follows makes us feel more distress over his behavior than anything which has preceeded. He comes to a castle and there, finding a sizeable and interested audience, he tells the whole story in detail, no doubt in lively expectation of laughter and applause. The audience is more interested than he has foreseen, for his host breaks forth:

Voort, *Love and Marriage in the English Medieval Romances* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1938), pp. 70-1.

[28] See pp. 706-8 for an echo of this affair.

[29] Both Perceval and Bors are saved from succubi by well-timed acts of blessing (Malory, III, 102, 134-5).

[30] On another occasion Gawain sleeps with a girl, and the author comments that the "book" did not say whether or not the act was with her consent:

> Se Gauwains forche li fesist,
> Dont ne fust-il mie cortois
> Et si ne fust raisons ne drois (Wauchier, V, 58, ll. 32197-9).

N'i a mestier celee,
Ma fille avez despucelee,
Mes fius ocis et mes neveus (II, 194, ll. 13243-5).

The bereaved father vows vengeance, but Gawain escapes unscathed.

The author of the romance does not suggest that he finds Gawain's conduct other than correct, but we could wish that he had been punished, if only a little bit, for his bad taste, exhibitionism and lack of imagination. A tardy reproof may be administered by relating at this point an affront suffered by Gawain in *Raguidel*, where he is forced to participate in one of the few fabliau-like incidents in Arthurian romance. He is riding on a mission in the company of a damsel named Ydain and two dogs. As they round a curve they come upon a knight who, evidently thinking himself alone on the highway,

si pissa
Les le buisson contre les haies.
Je ne sai s'Ydain vit ses braies
Ne cosse qui au cuer li sist,
Ne ço qu'il tint, s'ele le vit,
Ne s'ele sa teste i torna (II, 128, ll. 4494-9).

At all events, Ydain, probably an emotionally unstable type and certainly not a young lady over impressed by courtesy, immediately abandons Gawain and rides off with the surprised knight, who may very well have had mingled feelings when he discovered whose damsel had attached herself to him so unceremoniously. The dogs remain faithful to Gawain, and the story has a familiar anti-feminist twist: the more I see of women the more I respect dogs.[31]

Certain of Gawain's amorous passages in the verse romances involve his courtesy and must be postponed, but, despite the lapse already mentioned, it is safe to say of Gawain, as of Tom Jones, that those women are safe with him who choose to be.[32] If, now, we turn to the prose romances, in which Gawain's reputation is to suffer, we find a number of scenes with women treated by their authors with a moral objectivity equal to that of the poets.

In the Vulgate-*Lancelot*, Gawain and Gifflet meet, to their amazement, two damsels waiting for them in a wood. The paired-off couples draw a little apart, and Gifflet and his girl are in complete accord, but Gawain's lady repulses him, even when he is most attentive, "& mesire Gauuain commenche a rire. si la prent entre ses bras & la commenche a baisier au plus doucement quil puet & le met entre lui & la terre si [le] li velt faire" (III, 365, ll. 30 ff.). She still refuses, and offers him in compensation the sight of her mistress, a much more beautiful lady than herself. Gawain gives over in good natured acquiescence to a girl's whim. Here we see Gawain's natural instinct restrained by his sense of propriety. Later he is taken by night into a castle belonging to the king of Norgales, where he finds the king's daughter asleep in bed. He wakes her with a kiss; at first she is afraid, but her fear changes to joy when he introduces himself, and she readily accepts him as a lover. They go to sleep "bras a bras et bouche a bouche" (III, 383, l. 33), in which position the king, rising early and taking a precautionary peek through the window of his daughter's room, discovers them. Outraged, he calls his men and sends them to kill Gawain, but the hero, aided by the active presence of Saigremor, does great slaughter and escapes. An example of frustration from the Vulgate-*Artus* may properly be mentioned here.

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[31] The canine motif is also found at the end of *Epée*. For another knight who preferred his dogs to his faithless paramour, see Malory II, 160-1.

[32] Chrétien's *Graal* even shows Gawain in an idyllic, big-brother relationship with a little girl in an old-fashioned gown; cf. Weston-*Gawain*, pp. 19-20, 26; Maynadier, pp. 73-5.

Gawain is put to bed with Helaes, a girl whom he finds even more lovely than his most recent flame. Helaes is asleep, and Gawain, without disturbing her too much, joins her in slumber, "& quant uint un poi apres la mienuit si se prist a esueillier & leua pissier & samie" (VII, 175, ll. 17-8). After this delicate interlude they start to make love, but are interrupted by mysterious noises which so distract Gawain that he does not accomplish his purpose, an omission for which he is subsequently mocked.[33]

Three familiar incidents in the prose romances show Gawain's behavior toward women in a less favorable light. The first of these events has no hint of love, but since it purportedly fixed one side of Gawain's attitude as regards women, it belongs here. In the *Suite du Merlin*, Gawain, angry because of the slaughter of some hounds, fights the knight who has killed the dogs and overcomes him. The knight declares himself defeated and asks for mercy. Despite his pleas and remonstrances Gawain is about to cut off his head when the knight's *amie* throws herself across her lover's body. Gawain is unable to deflect his blow and decapitates the lady. His distress at the act is expressed but not excessive,[34] and he sends the knight off to court, wounded as he is, to announce that Gawain has achieved his quest, which was to retrieve the hounds. Punishment follows almost at once: Gawain is attacked by a superior number of knights, wounded by a poisoned arrow, overthrown, and would have lost his own head, had not a lady rescued him. When she discovers his identity, she chides him for his ungentlemanly conduct, and releases him only on condition that he carry the corpse back to court with the head tied about his neck by its tresses, and submit to whatever penalty the queen and ladies of the court may impose for his crime.[35] Gawain, thoroughly contrite by this time, carries out her instructions, but it is to be observed that he is concerned to see that he gets the surviving dogs back as proof that he has ended his quest (II, 95-6). The judgment of the ladies is that he must swear never to raise a hand against a woman and always to aid any female who requests his assistance, unless it be against his honor. He swears, "Et pour chou qu'il aida puis toutdis si volentiers et de si boin cuer as damoisieles fu il apielés par tout en la court et aillours li chevaliers as damoisieles, ne chil nons ne li chai tant coume il pot armes porter" (II, 99).[36]

This particular quest is Gawain's first, he is eighteen and still only a squire, but for all that his behavior[37] and attitude are highly improper. The circumstances, however, are so peculiar as to deserve mention. Gawain's pursuit of the hounds is only part of a three-fold adventure foretold by Merlin (II, 76-7), and perhaps arranged by him. The other adventurers are King Pellinor and his illegitimate son Tor, and neither of their exploits turns out well. Tor defeats a knight, but before he can persuade him to cry for mercy, a young woman asks him for a "don". She has never asked a knight for one before, she says, and Tor, who, by a happy coincidence, had never previously been asked for one, grants it at once. The "don" is the conquered knight's head. " 'Comment!' fait il, 'volés vous dont que je li trenche?' 'Oil,' fait elle" (II, 111), and off the head comes, although the knight now cries for mercy and Tor tries to dissuade the damsel. Pellinor, in his haste to be about his quest, refuses aid to a girl, who dies, after wishing that he may have a like request refused (II, 115-6). On his way back to court he finds that the damsel, all save her head, has been eaten by wild animals (II, 125). He takes the head with him, and Merlin reveals later that the girl is Pellinor's own daughter (II, 128-9, 137). Neither Tor's nor Pellinor's behavior is as discreditable to them as Gawain's is to him, but neither is exactly fortunate, and all three misadventures seem in some way part of the aftermath of the deaths of Balaain and Balaan and adumbrations of the tragic aspects of the quest of the Grail (II, 96).

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[33] VII, 182. Later (pp. 275-6) he seems to redeem himself, but the author and reader have nearly as much trouble in keeping the ladies distinct as does Gawain. If Helaes is "Hellawes the sorceresse", see Malory I, 225-6, for another connection with Gawain.

[34] Malory (I, 101) makes Gawain more repentant.

[35] In Malory (I, 103) this "trial" originates at the court after Gawain's return.

[36] He is not sworn to become a universal lover, but perhaps that was a natural development of his oath. Gawain forgot his vow in *Raguidel* to the extent of threatening to kill a woman (p. 111, ll. 3880 ff.), which moved the editor of the poem to note, with conscious understatement, that Gawain was "nicht sehr galant" (p. 272). Again in *Tristan* (p. 95; cf. Malory, II, 129), he uses the threat of death to extract the truth from one of Morgan le Fay's tricky damsels.

[37] To cut off a lady's head was not as unusual as one could wish: Tristram does it (Malory, II, 49), so does Arthur (Malory, II, 110), and Gaheris beheads his own mother (Malory, II, 219).

No single act of Gawain's disgusts modern readers as much as his betrayal of Pelleas.[38] The story is too well-known. Gawain, after promising to help Pelleas win his cruel lady's love, forgets his pledge and takes the lady for himself. Pelleas finds the two in bed together, but so great is his magnanimity that instead of killing them, he only leaves his naked sword lying across their throats. In Malory's version (I, 157), when the lovers wake, the lady, overlooking that she had made the first advances (I, 155), is bitter toward Gawain for his deception of Pelleas and herself. Gawain puts on his clothes and goes out of the story. The Lady of the Lake frees Pelleas from his infatuation and bewitches his scornful mistress into an unrequited love for him. Pelleas lives happily thereafter with the Lady of the Lake,[39] and the mortal woman dies of sorrow (I, 158-9). Tennyson alters Malory's version in such a way as to deepen Gawain's guilt. Gawain's oath of loyalty and aid is more solemn, and even after he has made it Pelleas apprehensively refers to Gawain's reputation as "light-of-love" and asks that he help and not betray (p. 322). Ettarre's advances to Gawain are left out, the Lady of the Lake omitted, and Pelleas runs mad. Gawain's conduct is reprehensible in Malory, despicable in Tennyson. If we examine the story before Malory, we find something quite different. In the *Abenteuer Gawains* (pp. 29 ff.), Gawain is pictured as a young man, not long a knight, who has never loved a woman (p. 30). The lady, here Arcade, woos him vigorously, especially after she learns his rank, gets him to her bed at the first opportunity, and there, as the author emphasizes, Gawain also suffers loss of virginity in the sinful act (p. 32). When they wake and find evidence of Pelleas's presence, only Gawain shows compunction and remorse. He then persuades Arcade, rather against her better judgment, that she must accept Pelleas. When told of Arcade's change of heart, Pelleas goes into an ecstacy of thanks, does not cavil at Gawain's method of persuasion, and marries Arcade without hesitation. They have a fine wedding and beget a child the first night. Here we have a Gawain seduced in his youthful innocence who manages nonetheless to fulfill his promise to Pelleas. The story has a happy ending for every one, except perhaps Arcade, even though it does not appeal to the modern sense of decorum. The author, whose opinion is important, holds that Gawain and Arcade committed a sin, but he makes excuses for Gawain, and sees nothing offensive in the conclusion. Later versions progressively blacken Gawain and Tennyson deliberately concocts a tragedy brought about by the faithlessness of an unmitigated libertine. In *Abenteuer Gawains* and Malory, the responsibility is primarily the woman's, and Gawain little more than the acquiescent agent of her heartlessness and lust. As a matter of fact, the motif of the man who woos for himself when sent to woo for another is by no means uncommon, nor is it always treated as reprehensible. An American classic, Longfellow's *Courtship of Miles Standish*, has the identical theme. Tempted by a woman, John Alden, though less speedily and with more pangs of conscience, betrays his friend and patron. Longfellow does his best to make his lovers appear respectable and Puritan, but the simple fact is clear. Mistress Mullins did not want Miles Standish and she did want John Alden; Arcade-Ettarre did not want Pelleas and she did want Gawain. Both women got what they wanted. Gawain, no more responsible, *ceteris paribus*, than John, is treated as a scoundrel, while "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" and its consequences are among the justly beloved and sentimental cornerstones of young love, female emancipation, free enterprise and the New England way of life.

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[38] Cf. Maynadier, p. 429; Reid, p. 59; Scudder, pp. 207, 208, 210.

[39] We learn later that "sir Pelleas loved never after sir Gawaine. . . . But oftentimes, at the justs and turneyments, sir Pelleas quited sir Gawaine, for so it is rehearsed in the French book" (Malory, I, 167).

The third incident concerns Gawain's part in the story of Elaine, the Maid of Astolat, and her love for Lancelot. Of the four versions which we need consider, the stanzaic English poem, *Le Morte Arthur*, comes from the Vulgate-*Mort*, or something close to it; Malory knew the English poem as well as a French prose version; and Tennyson seems to have used the earlier poem in addition to Malory.[40] Despite the interrelations of the versions, Gawain's behavior is portrayed on three distinct levels. Malory, either because of the nature of his immediate French source or because he chose to ignore Gawain's amorous gestures, plays down the hero's interview with Elaine. He relates that Lancelot comes incognito to Astolat, lodges with a baron, borrows his host's son's shield, and leaves his own in the keeping of his host's daughter, Elaine,[41] whose token he wears to the tournament at Winchester (III, 205-7). After the tournament Gawain stops at Astolat, discovers by the shield that it is Lancelot for whom Elaine has an unrequited love—"Yee, truely," said shee, "my love he is, God would that I were his love" (III, 217). Gawain is interested, but no more,[42] and hastens to tell Arthur of his discovery: "the faire maide of Astolat loveth sir Launcelot mervailously well, but what it meaneth I cannot say; and shee is ridden after him for to seeke him" (III, 218). He repeats the story at court, and perhaps adds to it; at all events Guenevere, very much annoyed, denounces Lancelot to Bors, saying: "I heard sir Gawaine say before my lord Arthur that mervaile it were to tell the great love that is betweene the faire maide of Astolat and him" (III, 219).

The Vulgate-*Mort*[43] had exhibited Gawain as behaving in a more typical fashion. When the Maid serves Gawain at supper, he finds her very attractive and takes the first opportunity to declare his love (p. 216). She expresses doubt that he can really love so poor a girl as herself, but adds that if he does she is sorry for him, since she already loves a knight who is in every way his equal. Gawain then sees the shield, recognizes it as Lancelot's, and is both surprised and concerned, the latter for fear that Lancelot might learn that he had committed an unconscious act of trespass. He speaks to the Maid flatteringly and declares that had he known Lancelot was her lover, he would have said nothing of his own affection, although that night he cannot help wondering, not without a certain amount of self-revelation, how Lancelot had happened to love so far beneath him (p. 218). Next day, when he rejoins Arthur, the king informs him that Agravain has said that Lancelot stayed away from the tournament in order to be alone with Guenevere. Gawain tells Arthur not to believe Agravain, says that he has learned that Lancelot is in love with a beautiful girl, reminds him of Lancelot's earlier love for the daughter of Pelles, and offers to fight for Lancelot's honor (p. 219). Later (p. 220) Gawain unwillingly tells Guenevere that Lancelot had worn another lady's sleeve in the tournament, but later still (pp. 222-3) he gives Arthur and Guenevere more details about Lancelot and the Maid, and even admits that he himself had made unsuccessful love to her.

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[40] Cf. Maynadier, p. 428. If Tennyson did not know *Le Morte Arthur*, he achieved a striking coincidence with it. The poem had been published for the Roxburghe Club as *Le Morte Arthur. The Adventures of Sir Launcelot du Lake* (London, 1819), and was summarized with quotations in George Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (3 vols., London, 1805), I, 328-386.

[41] Not to be confused with Elaine, daughter of King Pelles and mother of Galahad, though White-*Ill-Made* (p. 262) has the wrong Elaine float down the river.

[42] The only possible hint of slander against Gawain, and that rather comic, is that Elaine's father is careful not to let her take Gawain to her chamber to see the shield (III, 217).

[43] VI, 215 ff.

Gawain's conduct in the Vulgate-*Mort* is hardly reprehensible, but the author of the stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur* softens the picture still more. Elaine tells Gawain that Lancelot is her "leman", to which he replies:

"I Am full fayne
That he the wolde to lemman take,
And I with alle my myght and mayne
Wille be thy knight for his sake."

Gawayne thus spake with that swete wight
What his wille was for to say
Tille he was to bed I-dighte;
Aboute hym was gamme and play (p. 20, ll. 604-11).

That he proposes love to her is made clear when he recognizes the dead girl in the boat as the Maid of Ascalot,

Whiche he som tyme had wowyd faste
his owne leman for to be,
But she aunsweryd hym ay in haste,
"To none bot launcelot wold she te" (p. 32, ll. 1012-5).

On his return to court Gawain had spread the news of Lancelot's unprecedented love-affair, but once he has read the letter which accompanies Elaine's corpse, he goes to Guenevere to tell her that the story about Lancelot's loving the Maid had been untrue. Guenevere is angry with him (p. 37, ll. 1150 ff.), which is unjust, since he, having no reason to doubt Elaine's story,[44] had, at the very worst, done no more than retail a piece of surprisingly novel gossip.[45]

If we grant that Gawain wooed too easily, which is nothing new, and gossiped too freely, which is a not uncommon weakness, we have extracted all possible evil from *Le Morte Arthur*. Tennyson's re-working, "Lancelot and Elaine," however, is a little masterpiece of malice. Arthur sends Gawain in search of the wounded knight, suspected by the king of being Lancelot, in order to give him the diamond prize of victory in the tournament.[46] Gawain characterized as "Nor often loyal to his word" (p. 238), rides away in suppressed wrath at being sent "in quest of whom he knew not." At Astolat he shows little desire to see the shield, but rather sets about, like the caricature of a city play-boy, to dazzle and seduce the inexperienced country girl, who puts him in his place with her honest innocence and simple loyalty. He alludes meanly to Lancelot's love for Guenevere, casts doubt on Lancelot's good faith one way or the other, gives her the diamond with a nasty hint, and says that if she gets a chance to "learn the courtesies of the court, We two shall know each other" (p. 243). So, "all wearied of the quest," he returns to Camelot, where he is greeted by the anger of the king who, in *Le Morte Arthur*, had been greatly amused to hear that Lancelot at long last had an *amie*. Gawain, daunted but not for long, "shook his hair, strode off, and buzz'd abroad About the maid of Astolat and her love" (p. 244). Not even in "Pelleas and Ettarre," where he had more to build on, does Tennyson picture Gawain with the patent animosity which he shows in "Lancelot and Elaine."

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[44] Cf. Bruce, II, 371.

[45] Wells is even harsher and more unjust than Guenevere: "He is represented as attempting to beguile the Maid of Ascolot, as lying about Launcelot to the Queen, and as compelled to acknowledge his guilt" (p. 51) and "Gawain is guilty of duplicity in his relations with Launcelot and the Maid of Ascolot, and lies and acknowledges his lie" (p. 53). That Gawain should have flirted with Elaine, Lancelot or no Lancelot, is in keeping with his character; it was clearly on a bantering level and did not disturb the poet. Gawain did not lie, unless to repeat an untruth in honest ignorance be to lie, and the acknowledgement, which Wells seems to stress, was a laudable attempt to correct a false report.

[46] The main function of the diamond, which was Tennyson's invention (cf. Maynadier, p. 428), seems, despite a certain muddled symbolism, to have been to give Gawain an opportunity to disobey and anger the king; cf. p. 244.

Gawain's relations with women are sometimes held to have had a profound effect on his general reputation. One school of thought considers him originally a model of chastity and therefore ineligible for any pattern of life fixed by the rules of courtly love.[47] Gawain's character, well-known and fixed, would not permit him to take part in an illicit affair; courtly love presupposed extra-marital relations; the current craze was for courtly love, and therefore Gawain must be supplanted by a new hero.[48] Against this theory, which is not unattractive, it must be urged, first, that the evidence for Gawain's chastity is extremely slight,[49] and second, that Gawain's affairs are most frequent in romances tinged by courtly love. Certain it is, however, that Gawain is not a courtly lover. He is ordinarily too polite and too considerate to be described as animalistic, but he almost never becomes emotionally involved. No one ever found Gawain bewailing to the trees or stars the indifference or cruelty of a lady fair.[50] He is never enmeshed in a long drawn out passion, nor, unlike Arthur, Lancelot and Tristram (twice), is he ever guilty of adultery.[51] The most courteous of knights, he is a foil to the courtly lover through elasticity rather than chastity.

Miss Weston and others have argued that Gawain's apparent promiscuity is largely due to the failure of the writers of romance to understand his pre-history. Since Gawain's original mistress was a fairy, queen of the other world, and nameless, it was easy for her to turn up again and again under different names or without a name.[52] Fairy mistresses and other-world brides were so prevalent, so much a part of the machinery of medieval romance, that it would be strange indeed if Gawain did not have one or more. To use that fact to regularize Gawain's *liaisons* is, at best, a debatable procedure, and illustrates one of the hazards of applying the methods of human biography to a creature of fiction. While the alleged paucity of Gawain's offspring is of some biological interest,[53] its evidence for the number of his mistresses is slight. It is significant that though Gawain often marries, we never read of his married life or of his wives, once the marriage has been consummated.[54] To sum up, in the romances, prose as well as verse, Gawain is the casual, good-natured and well-mannered wooer of almost any available girl. If she acquiesces, good; if not, there is sure to be another pavilion or castle not far ahead. Rarely indeed do the authors pass a moral judgment on the hero's conduct.

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[47] Rhys, cited in Weston-*Gawain*, pp. 45-6; Taylor, pp. 79-80; Wells, p. 53.

[48] "To high-born ladies, like the countess Marie, Gawain would appear a dangerous character, since the stress upon his chastity might at any time endanger the popularity of courtly love" (Taylor, p. 79).

[49] Even in the late *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Gawain is characterized not by chastity, but by a continence induced by his sense of social and personal obligation. The test is not of Gawain's chastity, but of his honor and in Gawain's case, as in medieval romance generally, the two virtues are distinct.

[50] Gawain would have applauded warmly Sir Dinadan's mocking description of a lover (Malory, II, 281-2).

[51] This statement is dangerously broad, in view of the number of women with whom Gawain is intimate, but no case comes to mind.

[52] Weston-*Gawain*, pp. 44-7. The most eloquent and persuasive statement of this position is by Loomis, p. 301. To Loomis's list of Gawain's wives or loves may be added Blanchandine (*Floriant*, pp. 172, 219) and Venelas (*Mantel*, p. 369).

[53] Weston-*Gawain*, p. 55.

[54] An unimportant exception is the statement at the end of *Weddynge* that Dame Ragnell dies five years after the marriage.

From Gawain's private, or semi-private, affairs we may turn to his public life. In the prose romances he loses his position as Arthur's chief knight, his invincibility vanishes, and his good faith is destroyed. His degradation is by no means consistent or universal, but in one place or another the most evil qualities appear.

The Vulgate-*Merlin* presents in greater stature and more detail the Gawain of the chronicles. He is never a lover, and his war-like characteristics appear in childhood, when he and his brothers emerge almost from the nursery to do battle on Arthur's behalf against any who oppose the new king. That Gawain's father is among Arthur's foes gives an early indication of Gawain's devotion and loyalty to his uncle, whom he sees for the first time only when the campaigns are well advanced. In battle Gawain is unconquerable and implacable, so much so that one modern critic has found him "a rather dreadful person," with a "Berserker rage" and "unendurably vindictive."[55] This criticism is hardly justified by the attitude of the medieval author, who clearly views Gawain as an ideal fighting man, although he is once reprimanded for using the weapons and methods of battle on the jousting field.[56]

The *Suite du Merlin* is sometimes held to mark the beginning of Gawain's downfall.[57] It is true that the *Suite* tells the story of Gawain's bad behavior and ill luck on his first adventure,[58] but even that is accompanied by warm predictions for his future (II, 94, 100). Merlin tells him that only one knight will be able to defeat him (II, 100), though the author subsequently helps to undermine confidence in prophecy by listing six knights by whom Gawain will be bested (II, 240). A chain of events later used to calumniate Gawain is started in the *Suite*. King Pellinor kills King Lot (I, 261), and Gawain, then only eleven, vows to avenge his father (I, 262-3). He repeats the vow (II, 73, 75-6, 85), and its fulfilment is prophesied (II, 11, 75, 138), with the addition that he will kill two of Pellinor's sons (I, 261). Gawain's assumption of the blood-feud is sanctioned by the current code and by the author's attitude, and far from there being any suggestion of treachery on Gawain's part, he is made to state specifically that he will act in the most honorable fashion (II, 76). There is no mention of Lamorak, another of Pellinor's sons, and Lancelot and Tristram, Gawain's greatest rivals for glory, appear only in references to future events. Gawain's death at Lancelot's hands is foretold (II, 228), but not as it actually took place. Merlin, who prophesies throughout the *Suite* with more volubility than usual, also announces in a guarded way that Gawain will kill Baudemagus (I, 273-4). In the *Abenteuer Gawains*, which is a continuation of the *Suite*, we find the version of the story of Pelleas most favorable to Gawain.[59] Further, some Norn-like fairies tell Gawain, Ywain and Le Morholt how they are to die.[60] Gawain is informed that his death will come by a wound from the foreigner whom he has most loved "Et ce lui auiendra par son orgueil" (p. 63).

We expect the Vulgate-*Lancelot* to exalt Lancelot above Gawain and it does so, but with extraordinary restraint.[61] Lancelot has outstripped all other knights, he is invincible in battle, joust or tournament, he is Arthur's second-in-command, he is Guenevere's lover,[62] he is honorable in all but one respect, a respect condoned by the rules of courtly love, and this single virtue which he does not possess is personified in his son. Lancelot's preeminence would seem to leave little place for Gawain, but throughout the lengthy work Gawain is second only to Lancelot. Several long episodes recount his adventures, he holds his own in battle and in tournament, he is close friend to Lancelot, and the latter calls him "li mieldres cheualiers du monde" (IV, 129, l. 38). Among the many passages in warm praise of Gawain in the romances, one in the Vulgate-*Lancelot* stands out:

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[55] Scudder, p. 115; but see *Britannica*.

[56] II, 327, 11. 38 ff. On another occasion, an inadvertent lack of civility gets Gawain into trouble (II, 459; Scudder, p. 169); see p. 229 below.

[57] *Britannica*; Wells, p. 53; Taylor, pp. 80-1.

[58] See p. 199 above.

[59] See p. 200 above.

[60] The scene is endebted in part to *Meraugis*; see William Roach, ed., *The Didot Perceval* (Philadelphia, 1941), p. 111, n. 4.

[61] Madden, pp. xvi-xvii; Weston-*Lancelot*, p. 184. Some general references to Gawain's bad reputation in the Vulgate-*Lancelot* (*Britannica*; Wells, p. 53; Taylor, pp. 80-1) are hardly substantiated by the text.

[62] This place is as good as any to mention that Miss Weston believed that Gawain was Guenever's first lover and supplanted by

> Mesires Gauuains fu tous iors loiaus uers son seignor. Il ne fu mie mesdisans ne enuieus. aincois fu tous iors plus cortois que nus & pour chou lamoient plus dames & damoiseles & pour sa cheualerie. Il ne fu mie uantans entre cheualiers de cose quil feist onques. Il fu tous iors sage & atempres & sans vilonnie dire (IV, 358, ll. 38 ff.).

Here there are no qualifications, no slanders, no hints of evil. Except for a scene in the Grail castle where he is disgraced and misused (IV, 346 ff.), Gawain has yielded the absolute leadership to Lancelot without losing prowess or integrity.

The prose *Tristan*[63] gives the most consistently and unrelievedly black picture of Gawain to be found in literature.[64] The author[65] lacks the sophistication to sneer in Tennyson's way, but he does what can be done by downright, unmitigated abuse with heavyhanded zeal.[66] If, as has been suggested,[67] it was the writer's intention to make Tristram's position secure by destroying a rival, one must observe that it is still Gawain, not Lancelot, who seemed to offer the most dangerous competition.[68] There would be no point in summarizing the *Tristan*, but some examples of Gawain's depravity must be cited. He is a traitor (p. 28); he is unfair, cowardly and cruel in battle (pp. 133, 210, 216, 293, 300, 314, 329-30); he was once good but is so no longer (pp. 175-6, 329-30, 439); he is one of the worst knights in the world (p. 133); he kills out of hate, envy or to get possession of a woman (pp. 175-6, 221, 231, 235-6); he is rebuked by Gaheriet (pp. 314, 241), Tristram (pp. 137, 314, 329-30), and Driant (p. 235); he is defeated or discomfited by Arthur (p. 441), Belinant (p. 52), Blioberis (pp. 221, 230-1), Brehus (p. 96), Driant (p. 235), Erec (p. 293), Lamorat (Lamorak) (pp. 167, 168-9, 235-6, 237), Palamedes (p. 271), Perceval (p. 244) and Tristram (pp. 113, 141, 329); he kills, usually treacherously, Bademagus (Baudemagus) (p. 228), Driant (p. 237), Erec (p. 369), Lamorat (pp. 167, 231, 241), Meraugis (p. 331), Pellinor (p. 241), and Yvain l'Avoutre (p. 224);

Lancelot because the French poets "would scarcely have admitted such a flaw in his reputation, even if they knew the story" (Weston-*Gawain*, p. 78). Later she convinced herself of even more: "I think now that Gawain and Mordred really represent the two sides of one original personality; and that a personality very closely connected with early Celtic tradition. . . . I think that the earlier Gawain was at once Arthur's nephew and son by his sister, adventurous hero of the court, lover of the queen, and eventually slayer of his father-uncle" (Weston-*Lancelot*, pp. 109-110). Apparently the bad parts of Gawain's schizophrenic nature were shifted to Mordred very early, and later Gawain had to develop some new unpleasant traits. This theory of Miss Weston's has not been widely accepted.

[63] In the absence of any modern edition, one must rely on Löseth's full summary of the *Tristan* and allied works. See Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis *Tristan and Isolt* (2 vols., Frankfurt and London, 1913) I, 137, for Gawain in the verse *Tristan*.

[64] The only passages noted where Gawain is not altogether evil are on pp. 95-6, 141, 149.

[65] No doubt more than one author was involved, but it is convenient to use the singular reference.

[66] It is amusing, and perhaps instructive, to note that the owner, or a reader, of one manuscript, distressed at the treatment of Gawain, painstakingly rectified the text by scratching out the hero's name in most of the unfavorable episodes and substituting Agravain's, or if Agravain was already present, another's, in its place. See *Tristan*, p. xxi n. 1 and notes *passim*.

[67] P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde* (5 vols., Paris, 1868-77), V, 153, n.

[68] Madden (p. xxvii, n.) and Chambers (pp. 162-3), put the *Tristan* after the Vulgate-*Lancelot*.

he is cavalier toward the quest of the Grail (p. 396); he hates Lamorat, first. because he fears that Lamorat may discover that he had killed Pellinor (pp. 167, 173-4, 234), second, because Lamorat defeats him (pp. 168-9, 173-4, 235-6), and third, because Lamorat is having an affair with his mother (pp. 167, 173-4, 234); he throws Lamorat's head down on the path after cutting it off (p. 238); he is worse than Breuz-sans-Pitie (pp. 229-30); he is impolite to a homely girl (p. 453); he makes fun of Tristram's haircut (p. 95). Surely an abundance of evil for one small man (p. 95)[69] to perform! Madden considered the *Tristan* mainly responsible for Gawain's ill fame,[70] and although Miss Weston thought that the *Queste* might well be the culprit,[71] if sheer weight of calumny be any criterion, then we must agree with Madden. After the *Tristan*, indeed, the remaining prose romances seem to direct no more than pin-pricks at Gawain.

That Gawain was conspicuously lacking in the qualities demanded of the winner of the Grail will be admitted by his most ardent admirers, except perhaps those who know him only in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. At his very best he is a man of war and women, one whose character requires no shading to make him the antithesis of Galahad. We are not surprised, then, that Gawain does not achieve the Grail,[72] or even that Perceval, Bors and Lancelot go farther along the road. But he does make more progress than do most of the seekers,[73] and we feel that he would have made still more, had it not been for a fault which would have occurred only to the religious authors of the books about the Grail. Without being entirely irreligious,[74] Gawain is represented as lacking true contrition and a sense of the immediacy of soul's salvation.[75] On two occasions, at least, he might have redeemed himself, but each time he evaded the opportunity with a frivolous excuse.[76]

Gawain makes a relatively slight appearance in the Vulgate-*Aventures*, and modern scholars have differed as to the attitude of its author toward him. For Miss Weston and others[77] the work is one of the chief offenders in the blackening of Gawain.[78] Conversely it has been urged[79] that Gawain's character here is admirably, even skilfully, balanced. His good qualities are admitted, his position is acknowledged, but it is recognized that he is unfit to achieve the Grail. An ecclesiastic who tells him that he is not worthy to accompany Galahad uses harsh language, and says "uous estes serians maluais & desloiax" (VI, 38, ll. 3-4).[80] Gawain, however, is here represented as disloyal to the Christian principles of his oath of chivalry and not, as in *Tristan*, to his fellow men. Even when Gawain has been knocked down by Galahad, the writer of one manuscript adds a consoling eulogy: Gawain is "li plus cortois. li plus dous li plus debonaires del monde & a poures & a rices" (VI, 141, n. 15). To repeat, the rules of the game of the Grail are such that Gawain has no chance unless, like Lancelot, he become a repentant sinner.[81] Truly repentant he could not be, and there is his fatal flaw, but only in the *Tristan* (p. 396) is it suggested and in Tennyson (pp. 304-5)[82] stated that he is irreverent. He undertakes the quest with enthusiasm; futility and frustration, not cynical weariness, lead him to abandon it. If we shift to another Grail romance, the *Perlesvaus*, we find that on occasion a sense of consecration can offset Gawain's strongest instinct. A lady, in whose castle he is passing the night, tells him that her husband, Marin li Jalos, has often told her that Gawain "ne porta foi a dame ne a damoisele qu'il n'en feist sa volenté" (I, 74, ll. 1243-4). In spite of these warnings, or because of them, she is glad to welcome him as her guest. At dinner Gawain observes the lady's beauty and, if he were willing to believe his heart and eyes he would change his mind, but he thinks of his "haut pelerinage" and turns away his gaze (I, 74, ll. 1257-61.[83]

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[69] That there was a tradition for Gawain's slight stature is borne out by *Suite du Merlin*, II, 246.

[70] Madden, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

[71] Weston-*Gawain*, p. 10; Weston-*Lancelot*, p. 137, n. 1.

[72] Miss Weston believed, of course, that Gawain was the original pre-Christian Grail winner (Weston-*Perceval*, II, 303-5; Weston-*Grail*, pp. 25-6, 118-9; *Britannica*; Jones, p. 107), and found strong support in the fact that Gawain is actually the winner in Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*. Bruce (I, 285) dissented strongly from Miss Weston's theory, and argued that Heinrich, far from preserving an old tradition, was an innovator (I, 349-50).

[73] Madden, p. xvii.

[74] He is described as attending divine services as often as most of his fellows.

[75] Even the pious writers of the sections about the Grail did not venture to make Gawain a knightly theologian.

[76] Malory, III, 80, 122-3.

[77] Weston-*Gawain*, p. 9, Weston-*Lancelot*, p. 184, Weston-*Grail*, pp. 25-6; *Britannica*; Taylor, p. 81; Jones, pp. 110-1; Reid, p. 133; Vinaver-*Malory*, pp. 73, 81.

[78] Miss Weston (Weston-*Lancelot*, p. 184) would transfer the passage in the Vulgate-*Mort* in which Gawain confesses having killed eighteen of his fellow seekers to the Vulgate - *Aventures*. Bruce (Bruce - *Mort*, p. 266) calls this unnecessary, since the fact that Gawain ascribes the killings to his misfortune shows that the author has no intention of degrading Gawain's character.

[79] Madden, p. xvii; W. A. Nitze, *Arthurian Romance and Modern Poetry and Music* (Chicago, 1940), pp. 94-5. Cf. Vinaver-Malory, p. 73.

[80] Cf. Malory, III, 79-80.

Gawain dominates the latter part of the Vulgate-*Mort*, which Malory followed together with the earlier English derivative, the stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur*. In it he completes the destruction of the fabric of Arthur's court which he had begun unwittingly when he and the other knights pledge themselves to the quest of the Grail. Most readers, feeling their primary concern with Lancelot and Guenevere, do not find Gawain's behavior sympathetic, and modern authors have treated him rather as a spoil-sport. Scholars have defended Gawain,[84] and the text bears them out. Gawain refuses to join his brothers Agravain and Mordred in their desire to reveal Guenevere's adultery to the king, he advises them against their proposed action, and says emphatically that he will never be hostile to Lancelot.[85] In the effort to capture Lancelot in Guenevere's chamber Agravain is killed and twelve of his raiding party, among them two of Gawain's sons. Lancelot escapes, and Guenevere is condemned to be burned. Gawain strongly opposes the execution,[86] and when Arthur reminds him that Lancelot killed his brother and his sons, Gawain replies that he is sorry for that, but that he had warned them and that their deaths were their own fault.[87] He will not be present at the burning:

> Gawayne wolde neuyr be nere by-syde
> There Any woman shuld be brente
> (*Le Morte Arthur*, p. 57, ll. 1938-9).

His brothers Guerresche (Gaheris) and Gaheriet (Gareth) attend the execution against his will and theirs. In the confusion of the rescue Lancelot inadvertently kills the brothers. From the moment Gawain learns that it is truly Lancelot who killed them, he changes completely. His sole purpose in life becomes vengeance on Lancelot and he never lets up in his pressure on the often reluctant king.[88] Although family loyalty has some part in Gawain's passion, it can be overemphasized.[89] After all, Gawain had accepted the killing of three members of his family with a regret strongly modified by confirmation. What drove him to monomania was the gratuitous, even if accidental, death of Gaheriet. Not only was Gaheriet Gawain's favorite brother; he was also a link with Lancelot. Lancelot, too, had loved Gaheriet, and Gaheriet had worshipped Lancelot. Now Gaheriet was dead and Lancelot had killed him. Perhaps Gawain should have fallen back on reason, perhaps he should have forgiven Lancelot's instinctive and bitterly repented blow, perhaps he should have undertaken the easy task of persuading Arthur to forget his wrongs. He did none of these things, rather he pursued his bitter bloodfeud almost to the end; almost, but not quite, since before he died he wrote Lancelot a letter in which he acknowledged his own partial responsibility for the tragic events.[90] All in all, and discounting any predilection for the continued success of adulterous love, Gawain is an honest and heroic figure in the last act of the story of Arthur.

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[81] Vinaver-*Malory*, p. 81.

[82] Cf. Reid, p. 140.

[83] Despite Gawain's forbearance, the lady gets into trouble with her husband.

[84] Bruce II, 371; Chambers, pp. 162-3.

[85] See Bruce II, 374.

[86] Bruce II, 374.

[87] Scudder, pp. 338-9.

[88] Madden, pp. xvi-xvii; Maynadier, p. 429; Bruce II, 375-7; Bensel, p. 141; Chambers, p. 163.

[89] As by Scudder, pp. 188, 335, 336.

The prose romances, as we have seen, differ between themselves in their picture of Gawain; Malory, taking his material from them, differs within himself. That Malory is inconsistent in his treatment of Gawain is obvious and has been often mentioned,[91] as has been his responsibility for the unflattering conception of the hero found in later English writers.[92] There is nothing mysterious, however, about Malory's partial degradation of Gawain,[93] nor can he be given much credit for developing a consistent character, an integrated mixture of good and evil.[94] It may be, as Vinaver suggests, that the result agreed with Malory's preference for the sentimental knight (i.e. Lancelot) rather than the adventurous (i.e. Gawain),[95] but the ingredients came directly from his sources.[96]

Gawain first comes to Arthur's court with his mother on the unfortunate visit which resulted in the conception of Mordred (Malory, I, 43); he plays no part in the wars of Arthur against the kings, though, young as he is, he plans to avenge his father's death (I, 75, 97); he is knighted on the day of Arthur's marriage (I, 94, 96), and is angry because King Pellinor is treated with distinction (I, 97); on his first quest he cuts off a lady's head and here, as we have seen,[97] Malory (I, 101) puts him in a slightly more favorable light than the *Suite du Merlin* had done; in battle against the five kings (of Denmark, Ireland and so on) he is less heroic, though more sensible, than Kay (I, 120); he goes into voluntary exile with Ewaine (Ywain) (I, 143-4); he fights with Marhaus (Le Morholt), and despite his supernatural strength (I, 147) is more than equalled;[98] he is scorned, not altogether justly, and deserted by a lady with whom he rides adventuring (I, 150-2, 166); he meets Pelleas and subsequently Ettarde;[99] he has killed, we learn incidentally, a duke's seven sons (I, 160); he goes on an embassy to Lucius and kills a man who insults the Britons (I, 179-80); he acts nobly in the Roman war (I, 184), fights to a draw with a Saracen (I, 189), who cures his wounds (I, 191), and thereafter becomes a Christian (I, 193-4);[100] he is defeated by Lancelot in Kay's armor (I, 222), but laughs and smiles when he discovers the identity of the victor (I, 231); he is angry with Kay for his ill use of Beaumains (Gareth) (I, 235, 240); he is overthrown in a tournament by Tristram (I, 291), and also by Gareth (I, 292, 293), but shows only brotherly pride in the latter's supremacy (I, 299).

In all these events we have a Gawain who, while distinctly not the first of knights and occasionally imprudent and unfortunate, is almost always correct in victory and magnanimous in defeat. There has been nothing to prepare us for the sudden and calumnious statement that "after sir Gareth had espied sir Gawains conditions, he withdrew himselfe from his brother sir Gawains fellowship, for he was vengeable and unmercifull, and whereas he hated he would be avenged with murther and treason, and that hated sir Gareth" (I, 303). Malory is now following the prose *Tristan*,[101] and we know that there he can find no good of Gawain. We need not rehearse the list of calumnies and misadventures;[102] Malory's process of selection reduced the number but not the nature of the incidents.

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[90] Vulgate-*Mort*, VI, 350, ll. 6 ff.; Malory, III, 327-8.

[91] Weston-*Gawain*, pp. 9-10; *Britannica*; Maynadier, p. 234.

[92] Reid, p. 59; Schofield, p. 215.

[93] Cf. Scudder, p. 173.

[94] Cf. Scudder, pp. 281, 337.

[95] Vinaver-*Tristan*, pp. 117, 121; Vinaver-*Malory*, p. 22.

[96] On Malory's sources, see H. Oscar Sommer, *Le Morte Darthur* III, *Studies on the Sources* (London, 1891), pp. 6 ff; Scudder, *passim;* Vinaver-*Malory*, pp. 128 ff.

[97] See p. 199 above.

[98] Here (I, 148) Malory lists five knights who had the better of Gawain: Lancelot, Tristram, Bors, Perceval and Marhaus.

[99] See p. 200 above.

[100] This episode is highly reminiscent of a favorite theme in the Matter of France.

Malory's account of Gawain and the Grail is close to his sources and may be recapitulated briefly. Gawain, at Arthur's command, tries to draw the sword from the floating stone and fails (III, 55),[102a] in consequence of which he is later wounded by the sword (III, 54, 144); he is first to vow the quest and, to Arthur's voluble and prophetic distress, most of the knights follow his example, but even in his enthusiasm he adds the proviso, "and if I may not speed, I shall returne againe, as hee that may not bee against the will of our Lord Jesu Christ" (III, 61); he and his fellows slay the seven knights whom Galahad had defeated but not killed (III, 79); he loses track of Galahad, is told by a monk that because he is "wicked and sinfull," he is unfit for Galahad's company (III, 78), and has the stricture amplified by a hermit who tells him he must do penance, but Gawain refuses: "'I may doe no penance, for wee knights adventurous often suffer great woe and paine.' 'Well,' said the good man, and then he held his peace" (III, 80); he finds no adventures, and confesses to Sir Ector that "I am nigh weary of this quest, and loth I am to follow any further," (III, 114), but at the same time he admits the superiority of Lancelot, Galahad Perceval and Bors; he mortally wounds a knight with whom he jousts, and weeps when he learns that it is his sworn brother Uwaine (Ywain) le Avoutres (III, 117-8); he meets yet another hermit, who interprets a dream for him, and tells him that he is failing in the quest, "for yee are an untrue knight and a great murtherer, and to good men signifieth other things than murther. For I dare well say, as sinfull as sir Launcelot hath beene, sith that hee went in the quest of the sancgreall hee never slew man" (III, 122), but when he urges him to "yeeld unto our Lord," Gawain, throwing away his second chance of redemption, refuses to continue the talk, because "my fellow here sir Ector is gone before, and abideth me yonder beneath the hill" (III, 123); he is wounded by Galahad, and recovers within a month (III, 144-5); there is a reference to his killing of Baudemagus (III, 175), and then we learn that he and many other knights have come home before Lancelot (III, 175). The magnitude of Gawain's failure[103] lies not in the fact that he did less well than an overwhelming majority of the questing knights, but in that he did not excell them. His eminence makes him, though only to a slightly greater extent than Ector, the typical example of the worldly knights who cannot throw off their old ways even under the inspiration of the Grail.

An unsuccessful attempt to poison Gawain leads to Guenevere's impeachment for murder (III, 191 ff.) and Lancelot's vindication of her innocence. Then follows the story of Elaine of Astolat (III, 205 ff.),[104] with an account of the tournament near Winchester, at which Gawain, defeated only by Lancelot (III, 238, 239),[105] does great feats of arms (III, 226, 237), and Meliagraunce's abduction of Guenevere (III, 244 ff.) and her rescue, in which, unlike Chrétien's version, Gawain has no share. We have already covered the events which led Gawain to become Lancelot's bitter foe and the implacable advocate of war against him.[106]

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[101] Cf. Vinaver-*Tristan*, p. 121.

[102] See pp. 205-206 above, and Malory II, 18, 34, 52, 79, 129-30, 131, 167-8, 175-6, 181, 213, 214-5, 257, 260-1, 267, 284, 290-1, 302, 310, 315.

[102a] For Gawain's lack of success in two other competitive feats, see III, 2, 267.

[103] Some of the prose romances grant him a certain degree of spiritual experience, and its absence here may be due either to Malory or to his immediate source.

[104] See p. 201 above.

[105] We had already been told that Lancelot always bested Gawain in the field (III, 208).

[106] See pp. 207-208 above.

During the campaigns Lancelot's forbearance, magnanimity and repentance (III, 297, 306-8), however much engendered by his sense of guilt, are in sharp contrast to Gawain's almost insane threats and boasts,[107] but there is no question of the latter's bravery, and though he is wounded by Bors (III, 301), it is only Lancelot who can defeat him (III, 320, 323). At the moment of death he changes once more, and writes Lancelot a noble and pathetic letter (III, 327-8), which redeems him to the extent that one who has permitted the death of a favorite brother to outweigh all other considerations requires redemption. Save for passing references to the deaths of Pellinor and Lamorak (III, 21, 192, 269, 298), the Gawain of Malory's last books is the Gawain who is second only to Lancelot, but now mentally unbalanced by cruel grief.

Gawain appears seldom and casually in English literature of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[108] and of the later authors who wrote of him we may take space for only a selection. Bulwer Lytton devoted the sixth book of his *King Arthur* (1848)[109] to Gawain and, unlike any other modern author, he attempted to make Gawain completely sympathetic. That it was only an attempt is due not to the author's intention but to the wordy dullness which marks the entire poem. Gawain wanders about with a raven, inspired by Odin's, but perhaps not uninfluenced by Grip of Dicken's *Barnaby Rudge*. Among other adventures he marries, rather under compulsion, a knight's daughter, but has his wedding night seriously interrupted by a sword which emerges from the wall of the bridal chamber. Next day he starts on with his bride and a dog; the bride deserts him for a hideous carl, but the dog prefers to remain with Gawain. The story is that of *Epée*,[110] though here treated humourously, since Gawain, who had not wanted the girl in the first place, is relieved, if a little surprised, at her choice. Unfortunately for Gawain, no later author of poetic ability was to imitate Bulwer Lytton's attitude or method.

William Morris was twenty-two when he first came upon Malory's *Morte Darthur* in 1855,[111] though he already knew Tennyson's earlier Arthurian poems.[112] Malory was one of the prime forces which drew Morris back to the Middle Ages,[113] but the direct influence on his writings is largely limited to *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems* (1858).[114] Morris's treatment of Gawain is consistently and deliberately unfavorable. In "The Defence of Guenevere," he makes Gawain Guenevere's accuser, indeed public prosecutor (pp. 4, 9, 10, 11, 17), a rôle which he had never filled before.[115] In "King Arthur's Tomb," Gawain appears along with "handsome Gareth," "merry Dinadan," and "great Tristram," but he is "scowling Gauwaine, like the night in day."[116] Again, "Sir Galahad" contains the slighting statement, "Sir Lionel and Gauwaine have come back from the great quest, Just merely shamed". (p. 56). Maynadier[117] points out that

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[107] Cf. Bruce-*Mort*, p. 287.

[108] See Maynadier, pp. 257-334.

[109] 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1851, I, 211 ff. On the poem as a whole, see Maynadier, pp. 351-2.

[110] See p. 226 below, and cf. p. 198 above. The use of a source in addition to Malory is to be particularly noted. No other of our modern authors, save Tennyson in "Lancelot and Elaine", is guilty of so much originality. Bulwer Lytton (p. 237, note) says that he took the story, with modifications, from Le Grande's *Fabliaux*. Although he does not say so, a few verbal echoes suggest that Bulwer Lytton took the story not from the French original but from *Fabliaux or Tales, Abridged from French Manuscripts of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries by M. Le Grand, Selected and Translated into English Verse, by the late G. L. Way, Esq., with a Preface, Notes and Appendix by the late G. Ellis, Esq.* (new edition, 3 vols., London, 1815), II, 1-31.

[111] J. W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris* (2 vols., London, 1899), I, 81.

[112] Mackail I, 38, 45, 63.

[113] Mackail I, 105, 114, 115, 118, 127, 132, 136.

[114] Years later, he was to list some of the sources of his medievalism without including Malory (Mackail I, 198).

[115] Cf. Maccallum, p. 259; Maynadier, pp. 357-8.

[116] P. 38. This must be the passage to which Miss Weston refers when she says that Morris calls the hero "gloomy Gawain" in *The Defence of Guenevere* (Weston-*Gawain*, p. 11; cf. *Britannica*).

[117] P. 358, n. 2.

Morris's distortion of Gawain cannot be due to Tennyson, and queries if Tennyson may not have been influenced by Morris.

Tennyson[118] introduces Gawain in seven of the twelve *Idylls of the King*;[119] in three of the seven the allusions are casual and not unfavorable.[120] Gawain, then, appears at some length, always badly, in only four of the individual poems, "Lancelot and Elaine," "The Holy Grail," "Pelleas and Ettarre," and "The Passing of Arthur."[121] In each case Tennyson goes beyond his source to blacken Gawain. "Pelleas and Ettarre"[122] and "Lancelot and Elaine"[123] have already been discussed in contrast to the earlier versions, and nothing specific need be added to what has been said.[124] In Malory, we remember, Gawain is the first to swear to seek the Grail; in Tennyson, however, as Perceval tells the story, he swore first, using some of Gawain's words (p. 279),[125] then Galahad, Bors, Lancelot and "many among the knights," and finally, "Gawain sware, and louder than the rest" (p. 280). Malory's Gawain is silent after his return from the quest, but not Tennyson's. He tells Arthur that a saintly man made clear that the quest was not for him; he then adds that he found a pavilion with "merry maidens in it," and if a gale had not blown the pavilion away and the maidens about, he would have had a good year (p. 300). Later he makes a boastful and irreverent speech and is soundly chided by the blameless king (pp. 304-5). Everything, except that Gawain was admonished by a saintly man, indeed by two saintly men, that Tennyson states is false to the only account of Gawain and the Grail which he knew. The pertinent passage from "The Passing of Arthur" has been quoted,[126] and it remains only to add that in Malory, Gawain, far from being "blown along a wandering wind," is accompanied by the ladies for whom he did righteous battle while alive, and that no one minimized Gawain or his dream. Tennyson, to give him the slight credit which is his due, does not always use Gawain as a whipping-boy. He omits him from Vivien's list of naughty knights (pp. 206 ff.), and has him play no part in the separation of Lancelot and Guenevere. The latter, to be sure, is not due to any fondness for Gawain, but to the fact that Tennyson's tender treatment of the adultery necessitated the omission of most of Malory's details.

Tennyson's bias against Gawain is not easy of explanation. Had he known more about the hero's love affairs, we might ascribe his obvious distaste to outraged Victorian morality, but Malory tells little of Gawain the successful amorist. One is tempted to suggest, though the association may be too simple, that Tennyson made Gawain a libertine and cad because sound middle-class distrust of good manners was aroused by the references, few as they are, in Malory, to Gawain's courtesy. In "Lancelot and Elaine," for example, the very word becomes a hissing (pp. 241, 244). At all events, Tennyson and the author of the prose *Tristan* are the two authors whose invention did most to damn Gawain.

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[118] For Miss Weston's opinion of Tennyson's Arthurian poems, see Weston-*Lancelot*, p. 114, n. 1. For Swinburne on the *Idylls*, see *Under the Microscope* (*Complete Works*, ed. E. Gosse and T. J. Wise, *Prose Works*, VI [1926], 404 ff., esp. pp. 407-8).

[119] Gawain does not appear in "The Marriage of Geraint," "Geraint and Enid," "Balin and Balan," "Merlin and Vivien," or "Guinevere".

[120] "Coming of Arthur" (pp. 15, 18), "Gareth and Lynette" (pp. 30, 41, 45, 49), and "The Last Tournament" (p. 332).

[121] We have followed here the final arrangement of the poems. To take them in the order of composition would not alter the picture materially: "The Passing of Arthur" was the first written, "Lancelot and Elaine" appeared in 1859 and "The Holy Grail" and "Pelleas and Ettarre" in 1869. It may, perhaps, be worth noting that Tennyson does not abuse Gawain in the three idylls ("The Last Tournament," "Gareth and Lynette," and "Balin and Balan") written after 1869.

[122] See p. 200 above.

[123] See pp. 202-203.

[124] Perhaps the juxtaposition of "meek Sir Percivale," " pure sir Galahad" and "fine Gawain" in "Lancelot and Elaine" (pp. 264-5) was suggested by Morris's "King Arthur's Tomb".

[125] Cf. Malory, III, 61.

[126] See p. 194 above.

Edwin A. Robinson's Gawain differs somewhat from poem to poem. In *Merlin*, to follow the order of composition, Gawain at the opening of the poem is a thoughtful, inquisitive and friendly figure, friendly to both Lancelot and Dagonet (pp. 235-41). It is Dagonet, indeed, who suggests a weakness in the hero when he fears that Gawain's "friendly zeal" will one day over match his tact (p. 238). Lamorak refers to Gawain's memory of the family feud in such a way as to make Gawain appear a little sinister (p. 248-9), although Gawain later is to say that Mordred killed Lamorak (p. 300). Elsewhere Arthur, speaking straight out of Tennyson, says "Gawaine, I fear, makes light of everything" (p. 255). By the end of the poem, which is broken into three parts by the account of Merlin's life with Vivien, Lancelot has killed Gareth and Gaheris and rescued Guenevere. Gawain is now the familiar figure of all accounts of the wars with Lancelot: his one thought is to kill Lancelot (pp. 299-300).[127] This time, however, he is plainly told by Bedivere and Dagonet that use of his power over Arthur to gain vengeance will destroy the world they know (pp. 298-9, 300-1, 302). Despite their pleas, Gawain holds dourly to his course.

Lancelot, which tells the parts of the story left to the reader's knowledge in *Merlin*, opens with a conversation between Lancelot and Gawain. Lancelot is about to leave court because of the scandal spread by Agravain and Mordred. Gawain makes light of the rumors, urges him to reconsider and remain, swears elaborate loyalty and friendship, and declares that brothers are nothing to a friend (p. 367). He makes it clear that by "brothers" he means only Agravain and Mordred, and says that if Lancelot were to will harm to Gareth and Gaheris he would welcome his going (p. 368). Lancelot, in his turn, hints strongly that he does not trust Gawain (pp. 366-7) and wonders if Gawain is blind or false or both in making "an evil jest of evidence" (p. 368). When alone with Guenevere, however, Lancelot quiets her fears of Gawain so effectively (p. 372) that she persuades herself out of fear of anyone, and takes advantage of Arthur's departure on a hunting trip to invite Lancelot to her room that night (p. 382). Arthur returns unexpectedly after midnight, Lancelot cuts his way out of Guenevere's chamber, and while Gawain and Bedivere wait in the king's room to see what the new day will disclose, Gawain seems to resolve in his favor any doubts which the reader may have shared with Lancelot and Guenevere. He wishes bitterly and apparently sincerely that his constitutional levity had let him tell Lancelot more of what he knew, and he reveals, something probably due to Robinson's invention, that he had told Bors, who told Lancelot, of the plot against the lovers (pp. 387-8, 407, 413). Bedivere tries to console Gawain and just then Arthur joins them, announcing that he has ordered the unwilling Gareth and Gaheris to see Guenevere burn at the stake. When Lucan brings news of his brothers' deaths, it drives Gawain into a frenzy of grief and rage which ends in unconsciousness (pp. 397-401). As in the other versions, Gawain's hatred drives on the king until the coming of death slackens his thirst for vengeance. But Robinson's Gawain not only writes to Lancelot, he remains alone, dying, in the deserted camp, for one last meeting with his old friend (pp. 428 ff.) Gawain forgives and asks forgiveness, says that Lancelot's doubts of him were false, runs through the whole tangled history of his life, touches on the parts played by his mother, Arthur, Merlin, Guenevere, Mordred and his own nature, shows wry humor in which, though he recognizes it, he cannot quite throw off his cynicism, and dies. His last words are to ask Lancelot to stay by him if he sleeps: "I might be glad—Not to be here alone" (p. 435).

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[127] He would even like to damn Lancelot's soul, something which would never have occurred to the earlier Gawain.

Robinson's Gawain, despite early doubts cast on his fidelity and truth, and for all his adherence to the blood feud, is more favorably presented than the Gawain in any other accounts of the intrigues which led to the break between Lancelot and Arthur. His main characteristic, except when tragedy overwhelms it, is his joy of living (pp. 374, 375, 379, 432).

In *Tristram* Robinson presents Gawain the ladies' knight, Gawain the easy lover, the Gawain of "Lancelot and Elaine" without the meanness which Tennyson supplied. The scene and action are Robinson's invention, the inspiration for Gawain's behavior surely comes from Tennyson, yet the character of Gawain is such as Robinson might easily have modified from many episodes in the French romances. As he had come to Astolat looking for Lancelot, so Gawain comes to Brittany to carry Tristram off to Camelot. He sees Isolt of Brittany, finds her beautiful and, although he perceives in her "a continence Too sure for even a fool to ponder twice" (p. 101), he favors her with a smoothly hyperbolical appraisal of her beauty. Isolt's laughing comment shows her comprehension and appreciation of his technique:

> You are not making love to me,
> Gawaine, and if you were it wouldn't matter.
> Your words, and even with edges a bit worn
> By this time, will do service for years yet (p. 104).

She then asks Gawain, saying that she knows him to be light, to tell her on his honor what right she has to hope that Tristram will return (pp. 104-6). Gawain, feeling a "soreness at his heart That he had seldom felt there for another Before, and only briefly for himself" (p. 106), does his plausible best to convince her that Tristram will come back safely:

> For Gawaine,
> Infrequently in earnest, or sincere
> To conscious inconvenience, was in love,
> Or thought he was, and would enjoy alone,
> Without a smile and as he might, the first
> Familiar pangs of his renunciation (p. 109).

Yet when he sails away with Tristram, his short-lived love is quiet:

> Gawaine, recovered early from a wound
> Within a soon-recuperating heart,
> Waved a gay hat on board for two gray eyes
> On shore (p. 122).

It is Gawain, again by Robinson's invention, who brings Tristram the news that Mark has taken Isolt away from Joyous Gard, and who watches over the stricken lover for a week. By the week's end Gawain "saw fit to feel that his return Was urging him away" (pp. 170-1). He likes Brangwaine, but finds her unresponsive:

> "Brangwaine, Gawaine, . . .
> A deal of music in this world is wasted,"
> He thought, "because a woman cries and kills it" (p. 171).

He cannot understand Tristram's madness for Isolt:

> Why must a man, where there are loaves and fishes,
> See only as far as one crumb on his table?
> Why must he make one morsel of a lifetime?
> Here is no place for me (p. 171).

So away he goes since "life, while he could sing, was not very long, And woe not his annoyed him" (p. 172). Two ladies have struck his restless eye and heart, Isolt of Brittany and Brangwaine, the first more strongly, as became her station, and over neither does he waste much emotion. He is light of love, but sensitive and sympathetic to the bent of his nature, and in no way evil. It is pleasantly ironic that a story of Tristram should contain the most appealing portrait of Gawain in modern poetry.

T. H. White, who has probably introduced more new readers to Arthurian story than any author since Tennyson, discovered that humor, drawn mainly from an anacronistic perspective, could enliven the old stories for individuals, adults as well as children, who might ordinarily consider themselves too modern for Arthur and his knights. Purists may object to Merlin's coffee, the giant Galapas as Mussolini, hedgehogs who speak a curious rustic dialect, or even to the appearance of Neptune—chewing tobacco—and Robin Hood, but purists can seldom be completely happy with any age's creative treatment of ancient stories.

Gawain, who does not appear in the first of Mr. White's stories, *The Sword in the Stone* (1939), is prominent in the second, *The Witch in the Wood*, which deals with the boyhood in Lothian of Lot's sons, the Orkney gang. The boys, to be sure, are overshadowed by the antics of Queen Morgause, Sir Palomides, King Pellinore, Sir Grummore Grummursum and the Questing Beast, but Mr. White manages to suggest their traditional characters. Gawain is passionate (p. 9), loyal to family (pp. 34, 205), accused, not very seriously, of irreverence (p. 53), has an uncontrollable temper (p. 84), is easily repentant and easily recovers (pp. 91-4), loves the idea of war (p. 125), and has a nature "which clung to its injuries" (p. 206). On one occasion he goes into a mad rage and almost kills Agravain (pp. 202-6). On the whole, however, he is a fun-loving, good natured and likably energetic boy.

In *The Ill-Made Knight* Gawain is older and less pleasant, an unattractive foil to Lancelot. Lancelot, the titular hero of the book, rescues Gawain from Sir Carados and a little later, in Kay's armor, defeats him (p. 68); Arthur tells Lancelot that Gawain will hold both the rescue and the defeat against him (p. 73). There are references to Gawain's youthful killing of a woman (pp. 25, 27, 171-2),[128] to the deaths of Pellinor (pp. 28, 162, 242) and Lamorak (pp. 167-8, 170)[129] to his fight at the Roman court (p. 35), and to his alleged statement that Lancelot loved Elaine (p. 260).[130] The worst blow Mr. White deals concerns Gawain and the quest for the Grail. Like Tennyson, but unlike Malory, Mr. White has Gawain recount his sorry adventures to Arthur (pp. 180-7), and tell a story which could hardly be outdone in crassness. The facts are fairly close to Malory's account, but the way of telling exhibits Gawain as an unfeeling and blatant fool, quite impervious to Arthur's irony and dismay. At the end Guenevere says he was unlucky, to which he agrees. "Gawaine looked into his empty beaker for a moment or two. Then he cheered up. 'I killed King Bagdemagus,' he said. 'I expect you heard about that. I forgot about it in my story' " (p. 187.[131] There are a few friendly references: Arthur calls Gawain a "nice fellow" (p. 27) and a "decent chap" (p. 74); he is repentant after his mother's death

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[128] See p. 199 above.

[129] Mr. White has Agravain, rather than Gaheris, kill the mother.

[130] As Mr. White cheerfully combines the two Elaines, there is no opportunity for Gawain to visit Astolat. In fact, Mr. White's Gawain has no interest in women. In John Erskine's *Galahad: Enough of his Life to Explain his Reputation* (Indianapolis, 1926) a rumor confuses the two Elaines (pp. 334-5). Mr. Erskine, by the way, adds to Gawain's misdeeds: his Gawain tells Guinevere that Lancelot is infatuated with Iseult (pp. 51, 59), that he has a child by a girl who then kills herself (pp. 237-239), and that he informs Galahad that his mother is not married to Lancelot (p. 241).

[131] In another context, Gawain's disgusted comments on Galahad could be highly diverting.

(pp. 171-3), "generous in his own heart" (p. 172), and "decent enough to refuse to have a hand in plots against Lancelot's life" (p. 266). Mr. White even offers in extenuation of Gawain and his brothers that they had had an unhappy home life as children, and that this early lack of security had molded their adult psychology and behavior (pp. 27, 74, 198). Perhaps, after all, we are taking Mr. White's book too seriously and breaking a diverting butterfly on a pedantic wheel.[132]

There are three distinct but interwoven causes for Gawain's loss of reputation. First is the tendency for the hero or heroes of a developing saga to become passive or tarnished. We can see this process, sometimes called epic degeneration, operating on Arthur, Charlemagne and Robin Hood, as well as on Gawain. Indeed, Gawain himself had risen to prominence as a young hero who took over some of his uncle's more active functions. Then other young heroes assumed the leading rôles in individual episodes and finally one particular new knight, Lancelot, moved into Gawain's place as Arthur's lieutenant. Second is the cult of courtly love. Gawain as a lover followed a well-defined pattern: when he met an unattached girl he made love to her; if she rebuffed him he departed; if, as more often, she welcomed his attentions, he also departed, but not as soon. With him, too, out of sight was out of mind. For him a love affair was an exchange of verbal and physical courtesies, and he had no realization of his own unworthiness or the lady's supreme condescension in granting him her slightest favor. If we also remember that, for whatever reason, he did not make love to married women,[133] we understand that Gawain could not be a participant in any game of love played by the rules of the code. The two leading exponents of adulterous love, though not equals in courtly love, were Lancelot and Tristram, and it was natural that on this score Gawain should be subordinated to them. Third is the Grail. To achieve the Grail required consecration, chastity, spirituality and what for want of a better term may be called discriminating pacificism. Gawain had none of these qualities and was used, in some degree unjustly, to illustrate their opposites. No writer was moved to give Gawain the benefit of the pious sophistry which enabled Lancelot to come closer to the Grail than his previous conduct had warranted. When there is added to these three impersonal forces the deliberate effort of two men of letters, the author of the prose *Tristan* and Tennyson, to make Gawain a deliberate villain, we may perhaps marvel that the hero comes through the centuries as well as he does. With all the evidence in hand, and making allowances where allowances can fairly be made, Gawain remains the most distinguished and the most human of Arthur's knights.

IV. *GAWAIN'S COURTESY*

Gawain's outstanding characteristic, if we may judge from repetition alone, was courtesy. For Chaucer, Gawain was the symbol of courtesy, and most modern authors who have written about Gawain with the advantage of knowing more than Malory and Tennyson tell[134] concerning him call him courteous.[135] The present survey of courtesy, with special reference to Gawain, covers Arthurian romances in French and English before Malory.[136]

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[132] The conclusion of the book suggests another installment, but none has appeared.

[133] See p. 207 above for a case of temptation successfully avoided.

[134] Malory refers to courtesy in connection with Gawain very seldom, whereas he often calls other knights, notably Lancelot, Gareth and Tristram, courteous. Tennyson, as we have seen (p. 211 above), makes Gawain's courtesy an evil quality, and reserves the word in its complimentary sense for Lancelot. Later English versions of Arthurian stories ignore courtesy almost altogether, probably because the word's twentieth century connotations are a trifle precious; the phrase "old-world courtesy" is not without significance.

[135] Coleridge's memory failed him when he said of characterization in the romances, that "Tristram is always courteous, Lancelot invincible, and so on" (*Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* [2nd ed., London, 1836], p. 68 [May 12, 1830]).

A comprehensive definition of courtesy, as it is used by medieval authors, is not easy to formulate. M. Dupin, who has made the most exhaustive examination of the term,[137] illustrated the difficulty by the breadth of his conclusion:

> Pour qu'un homme soit courtois, pour qu'une femme soit courtoise, il est nécessaire qu'ils ne manquent pas à l'obligation du salut, du congé, du baiser, de l'accueil et de l'hospitalité, qu'ils soient loyaux et fidèles, bons et portés à la pitié, doux, libéraux et larges, joyeux, épris de bonne renommée, mesurés, et qu'ils aiment, et que dans leur amour ils observent les grands principes de loyauté et de fidélité, de bonté et de pitié, de joie, de douceur, de mesure. Mais il leur faut encore autre chose, un je ne sais quoi, que l'examen, même minutieux, des textes ne permet pas de préciser, qu'on sent dans ces textes plutôt qu'on ne l'y trouve. La courtoisie est quelque chose de trop complexe et de trop subtil pour se laisser enfermer dans une définition (pp. 127-8).

Some scattered examples will, perhaps, serve further to suggest the importance and complexity of the concept of courtesy.

Lidoine, the heroine of Raoul de Houdenc's *Meraugis*,[138] is a mirror of courtesy:

Qu'ele fue dou tot si cortoise
Qu'environ la a une toise
N'avoit se cortoisie non . . . .
Toz le monz i soloit aler
A si cortois pelerinage;
Ca la pucele estoit si sage
Que ja si cortois n'i parlast
Qui plus cortois ne s'en alast
S'il voisist ses diz retenir (p. 7, ll. 113-29).

In a scene oddly suggestive of Palamon and Arcite's first glimpse of Emelye in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, Meraugis and his close friend Gorvains Cadruz both fall in love with Lidoine. Gorvains, who loves her first, does so for her beauty, and Meraugis asserts the superiority of his later passion, since he loves her for "Sa valor et sa cortoise Et ses cointes diz affetiez" (p. 21, ll. 476-7). Rivalry separates the friends, they fight, and finally their dispute is decided at Arthur's court, where the ladies act as lawyers, witnesses and judges. On Gorvains' behalf it is asked

que vaut li cors
Se la cortoisie en ert fors?
Noient, ne noient ne vaudroit
La cortoisie se n'estoit
Li beaus cors qui tot enlumine (pp. 38-9, ll. 953-7).

The last argument for Meraugis is decisive:

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[136] See Bibliography A, pp. 189-192 above.

[137] Henri Dupin, *La Courtoisie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1931). Another study, C. B. West's *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature* (Oxford, 1938), takes "courtoisie" as essentially the equivalent of "courtly love," an identification which certainly excludes Gawain.

[138] Raoul says of his poem:
Il n'i a mot de vilainie,
Ainz est contes de cortoisie
Et de beaus moz et de plesanz.
Nus, s'il n'est cortois et vaillanz,
N'est dignes dou conte escouter
Dont je vos vueil les moz conter (p. 4, ll. 27-32).

Beauté, qu'est ce qui nest o lui?—
Orgueus, voire, orgueus! Je di
Que c'est uns nons de vilanie.
Donc nest amor de cortoisie;
C'est sa fille, par foi, c'est mon!
En amors a mout cortois non.
Voire, se nature n'empire,
L'amor qui retret a sa mire
Covient estre par tot cortoise.—
Por quoi?—A cortoisie poise
Quant ce qui best de li n'est teus
Qu'il soit cortois en toz bons lieus.
Por ce di je, si vueil prover
Qu'amor doit cortoisie amer.
Et s'amor aime ce qu'el doit,
Donc aime Meraugis a droit;
Qu'il l'aime por sa cortoisie.
C'est verité. Je ne die mie
Que Gorvains que por sa beauté
L'aime. l'aint si en loiauté
Ne d'ausi naturel amor (p. 41, ll. 1003-23).

The verdict goes to Meraugis, but some thousands of lines run by before he gets Lidoine.

In the Vulgate-*Lancelot*, a knight named Persides is so annoyed with his wife for saying that her beauty is worth more than his bravery that he keeps her locked up for five years. Ector become involved in this domestic difficulty, and Persides wants to fight. Ector tells him that if he were courteous there would be no need for fighting:

> Mais il sont tex choses en boin cheualier que vous naues mie. Car au mains ne puet estre tres boins cheualiers sans cortoisie. Et la ne fustes vous mie cortois ou vous vos corechastes de che quele se tint a bele. Mais laissies la bataille & prenes vostre feme com la plus bele rien qui viue (III, 392, ll. 13 ff.).

Persides persists and is defeated.

That courtesy can be a matter of point of view is shown by an amusing episode in the prose *Tristan*. Palamedes, in one of his frequent doleful dumps, rides into a river and loses his horse. The horse goes away on the other side of the stream; Palamedes takes off his armor and sits down to dry his clothes and think about the dismal world. He is interrupted by a damsel who tells him not to think so much. When Palamedes requests her to go about her business, they exchange accusations of discourtesy, and then she says:

> "Sire, si m'ait Dieus, je sui plus cortoise damoisele et plus sage qe vous n'estes sage et cortois." "Damoisele," *riposte Palamède*, "de vostre cortoisie ne me sui je encore pris garde ne ne m'en sui je encore aperceüz, mès de vostre vilenie si sui. A ceulx a qi vous estez cortoise parlez de vostre cortoisie, non pas a moi; de vostre cortoisie me sousferroie je moult bien. Il n'a en tout le monde qe une sole cortoisie avec qi je vousisse partir, mès se je a cele cortoisie me peüsse jo[i]ndre, je fusse plus qe seignour de tot le monde."—*La demoiselle, avec dépit*: "Certes, se vous a ma cortoisie partiez, je m'en tendroie pis" (p. 111).

A careful discrimination appears in *Fergus*, where the leader of a band of outlaws is described as courteous with a difference:

Li maistres d'els, qui fu cortois
De felenesse cortoisie (p. 90, ll. 16-7).[139]

The first thing to emerge when we bring together the instances of "courteous," "courtesy," and "courteously",[140] is that the concept, far from being applied exclusively to Gawain, is almost a hall-mark of Arthur's knights, except, save in *Escanor*, only the sharp-tongued, impulsive and disagreeable Kay. Nor is the quality in any way limited to males. The three words appear 1317 times[141] in the works considered, being used of men approximately three and a half times as often as of women.[142] To break down the total for Gawain, he is courteous 100 times, shows courtesy 64 times, and acts courteously 14 times, or a total of 178.[143] The figures are somewhat weighted in Gawain's favor by the fact that only those parts of the Vulgate prose romances which deal with Gawain are included.

Since Kay may be termed Gawain's foil in the matter of courtesy, we shall return to him and Gawain later, and list at this point the knights who, in one way or another, are said to exhibit courtesy;[144] when the same knight is so described more than once, the number of times is indicated by the numeral in parentheses.[145]

Aalardin,[146] Abelin,[147] Abrioris,[148] Abÿace,[149] Acoriondes,[150] Agamanor (5),[151] Agamar,[152] Agravain,[153] Agravel,[154] Aguisiaus (Aguissans) (4),[155] Alain,[156]

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[139] A case in which the reader must supply the discrimination is *Le Lay dou Lecheor* (ed. G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 64-6). Eight ladies, "sages . . . ensaingnies, Franches, cortoises et proisies" (p. 65, ll. 57-8), compose a "cortois et bon" lay (p. 66, l. 108); the subject is so indelicate, however, that no one is willing to name it precisely, so it is called "le lai du lecheor" (p. 66, ll. 119-122).

[140] The modern English forms stand for their Old French and Middle English equivalents.

[141] It should be noted that figures are used here and throughout for their indicative rather than their absolute value. The writer has no confidence that he has noted every example of the words.

[142] The English works account for 154 of these instances, 17 of them referring to women; in total lines the English poems are outnumbered by 300,000 to 90,000.

[143] In English alone we have courteous (24), courtesy (19) and courteously (6), or a total of 49.

[144] Failure to say more about the ladies must not be ascribed to anti-feminism. To give names to the numerous *dames* and *damoisels* who wander so freely through the French poems would have taxed Merlin's magic.

[145] There is no point in listing the considerable number of anonymous knights, squires, messengers, sergeants, servants, and varlets who show courtesy, but Arthur's knights in general are often so described: *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 30; *Avowynge*, p. 58, ll. 2-3; *Claris*, p. 12, ll. 427-8, p. 127, l. 4682, p. 265, l. 9811, p. 343, ll. 12723-6, p. 354, ll. 13129-30; *Cligés*, p. 6, ll. 151-3; *Escanor*, pp. 5-6, ll. 181-2, p. 164, ll. 6205, 6219, p. 183, ll. 6928-32, p. 225, l. 8533; *Fergus*, p. 1, l. 4, p. 169, l. 21; *Gawain*, p. 8, ll. 246-7, p. 9, l. 263, p. 17, l. 539; *Graal*, p. 422, ll. 194-6; *Hunbaut*, p. 50, ll. 1672-3 (denied); *Le Morte Arthur*, p. 33, l. 1050; Manning, I, 369, ll. 10559-60, 390, l. 11170; *Morte Arthure*, p. 1, l. 21; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 51, ll. 10664-5; *Rigomer*, p. 2, l. 58; *Tyolet*, p. 45, ll. 309-10; Wace, II, 550, ll. 10495-6, 551, l. 10449 (the peasants in Arthur's land are more courteous and valiant than knight's elsewhere); *Yvain*, p. 1, ll. 1-3. Also worth noting are some instances where *cortois*, usually in a substantive sense, is opposed to *vilain*: *Atre*, p. 160, ll. 5099-102; Beroul, p. 74, 1.2376; *Durmart*, p. 130, l. 4663; Gerbert, I, 114, l. 3708; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 130, ll. 12788-9; *Rigomer*, p. 442, l. 14958 (cf. p. 420, ll. 14229-30), p. 236, l. 8024; *Yvain*, p. 2, ll. 31-2. There are, in addition, a number of generalizing passages in which courtesy is mentioned: *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 10; *Claris*, p. 44, ll. 1602-7, p. 128, ll. 4721-2, p. 343, ll. 12723-6, p. 520, ll. 19327-8; *Espees*, p. 290, l. 9411; Gerbert, II, 14, ll. 7332-5, 53, ll. 8609-10, 140, l. 11469; *Graal*, p. 243, ll. 5416-9; *Jaufre*, I, 91, ll. 2577, 2595; *Perlesvaus*, I, 288, ll. 6770-1: Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 192, ll. 14965-7; *Rigomer*, p. 39, ll. 1321-6, p. 86, ll. 2949-54, p. 330, ll. 11175-7; Wauchier, IV, 225, l. 26927; *Yvain*, pp. 1-2, ll. 21-3, p. 25, ll. 635-6, p. 90, ll. 2212-4, p. 179, l. 4381.

[146] Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 190, l. 14921.

[147] *Suite du Merlin*, II, 105.

[148] Wauchier, IV, 121, l. 23770.

[149] *Méliador*, III, 17, l. 22389.

[150] *Cligés*, p. 99, ll. 2458-9.

[151] *Méliador*, I, 135, l. 4615, II, 136, ll. 13996-7, 272, l. 18579, III, 17, l. 22389, 20, l. 22490.

[152] *Méliador*, I, 109, l. 3719.

[153] Vulgate-*Livre*, VII, 296, l. 12 (denied).

[154] *Arthour and Merlin*, p. 154, ll. 5467-8.

[155] *Deus Espees*, p. 6, ll. 98-100; *Le Bel Inconnu*, p. 180, ll. 5917-8; Wauchier, IV, 306, l. 29416, V, 13, ll. 30855-6.

[156] Vulgate-*Livre*, VII, 108, l. 26.

Alexander (5),[157] Arthur (86),[158] Baudemagus,[159] Bagomedés,[160] Balaain (4),[161] Baldwin,[162] Baudris (2),[163] Bedevere (Bedoer) (2),[164] Bel Escanor (2),[165] Bertoulet,[166] Le Biel Chevalier,[167] Bilas,[168] Blaires,[169] Bledheri,[170] Bliocadrans,[171] Bors (3),[172] Brandaliz,[173] Brangore,[174] Briès (Brian) des Illes (2),[175] Broc,[176] Bruns de Branlant, [177] Bruns de Morois (7),[178] Brunz sans Pitié,[179] Cadour (Cador) (2),[180] Calidès,[181] Calogrenant (3),[182] Camel de Camois (3),[183] Carados (2),[184] Cariado,[185] Carl of Carlisle (3),[186] Cesar (an archer) (6),[187] Le Chevalier Peureux (2),[188] Claris (12),[189] Clegis,[190] Cligés,[191] Le Cortois de Huberlant,[192] Costardyne,[193] Dagor (2),[194] Datois (3),[195] Dinas,[196] Dodiniaus li Sauvage (2),[197] Donas,[198] Doon de Glai,[199] Durmart (21),[200] Dynadanz (2),[201] Elidus (4),[202] Erec (7),[203] Escanor

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[157] *Cligés*, p. 8, ll. 184-5, pp. 8-9, ll. 201-7, p. 36, ll. 898-9, p. 54, ll. 1358-60, p. 120, l. 2985.

[158] *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 94; *Arthur*, p. 2, ll. 31, 41; *Arthour and Merlin*, p. 78, ll. 2720-2, p. 101, l. 3549, p. 214, ll. 7651-4; *Claris*, p. 187, ll. 6903-4, p. 440, l. 16323, p. 535, l. 19904, p. 704, l. 26257, p. 789, l. 29445; *Cligés*, p.6, ll. 151-3; *Deus Espees*, p. 364, ll. 11828-9, 11837: *Durmart*, p. 247, l. 8874, p. 387, l. 13960, p. 388, l. 13980, p. 393, l. 14161, p. 395, l. 14264, p. 408, l. 14731; *Erec*, p. 68, ll. 1835-6; *Escanor*, p. 90, l. 3377, p. 429, l. 16259, p. 462, ll. 17519-20; *Floriant*, p. 174, l. 4846; *Gawain*, p. 15, ll. 468-9; Gerbert, I, 102, l. 3310; *Golagros*, p. 5, l. 138; *Hunbaut*, p. 50; ll. 1672-3 (denied); Langtoft, I, 160,[l. 10]; *Lanval*, p. 86, l. 6; *Le Morte Arthur*, p. 44, l. 1529, p. 78, l. 2594; Lovelich, III, 594, l. 22303; Manning, I, 341, ll. 9765-6, 348, ll. 9971-2, 367, ll. 10503-5, 376, l. 10776, 385, ll. 11029, 11032, 416, ll. 11910-1, 11915, II, 465, ll. 13399-400; *Méliador*, I, 72. l. 2454, 97, l. 3317, III, 154, l. 27031, 215, l. 29207; *Morte Arthure*, p. 4, l. 125, p. 29, l. 987 (Arthur of himself), p. 39, l. 1318, p. 71, l. 2394; *Perlesvaus*, I, 384, l. 9475 (denied); Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 77, l. 11394, 91, l. 11691, 216, l. 15655, 284. l. 17666, 295, l. 17996 (denied), 317, ll. 18628-9, 326, l. 18904; *Rigomer*, p. 450, ll. 15245-6; Robert, I, 263, l. 3740, 264, ll. 3747-50, 275, ll. 3917-8, 278, l. 3968; *Sir Launfal*, p. 376, l. 918: *Suite du Merlin*, I, 152, 189, 221, II, 74, 141; *Tyolet*, p. 45, ll. 280, 303-4; Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 407, ll. 38-9; Vulgate-*Lancelot*, III, 109, l. 31, 226, ll. 22-3, IV, 73, ll. 36-7 (denied), V, 285, ll. 33-4, 317, n. 2; Vulgate-*Livre*, VII, 141, l. 22, 162, ll. 32-3: Wace, II, 476, ll. 9030-2, 513. l. 9738, 514, 9775, 542. l. 10334; *Weddynge*, p. 242 l. 6; *Yder*, p. 2, ll. 37, 43.

[159] *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 88; *Charette*, p. 141, ll. 3965-6; *Suite du Merlin*, II, 60.

[160] Wauchier. V, 15, ll. 30936-7. Perhaps a distortion of Baudemagus.

[161] *Suite du Merlin*, I. 217, 225, II, 2 (twice).

[162] *Syre Gawen*, p. 196, l. 314 (denied).

[163] *Rigomer*, p. 41, ll. 1398, 1400.

[164] *Claris*, p. 279, l. 10319; Wace, II, 595, l. 11420.

[165] *Escanor*, p. 365, ll. 13829-30, p. 463, l. 17578.

[166] *Méliador*, II. 127, l. 13669.

[167] Manessier, VI, 109. l. 43974.

[168] *Claris*, p. 586, l. 21806.

[169] Lovelich, II, 368, l. 13767.

[170] *Deus Espees*, p. 230, l. 7440.

[171] *Graal*, pp. 430-1, ll. 24-5.

[172] Lovelich, III, 672, l. 25316, 674, l. 25383; Manessier, VI, 88, l. 43140.

[173] *Claris*, p. 138, ll. 5089-92.

[174] *Claris*, p. 182, l. 6727.

[175] *Escanor*, p. 394, l. 14931; Wauchier, IV, 297, l. 29159.

[176] Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 88, *var.*, l. 9.

[177] *Durmart*, p. 255, l. 9155.

[178] *Durmart*, p. 75, ll. 2683-4, p. 81, ll. 2890-2, p. 119, ll. 4261-2, p. 128, ll. 4600, 4602-3, p. 130, ll. 4651-2, p. 136, l. 4864.

[179] *Escanor*, p. 107, l. 4029 (except toward women).

[180] *Awntyrs*, p. 122, l. 97 (denied); *Morte Arthure*, p. 15, l. 481.

[181] Manessier, V, 212, ll. 36809-11.

[182] *Yvain*, p. 4, ll. 73-4, 77-9, p. 5, ll. 98-9 (Kay calls Calogrenant courteous in heavy-handed irony).

[183] *Méliador*, I, 8, l. 255, 14, l. 462, 40, l. 1333.

[184] Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 199, ll. 15174-5 (a courteous vengeance), 209, ll. 15424-5.

[185] Thomas, I, 296, ll. 863-4.

[186] *Syre Gawene*, pp. 192-3, ll. 193-4 (the porter says the Carl has no courtesy), p. 195, ll. 277-8 (the Carl says he has only "carll corttessy"), p. 197, ll. 352-3.

[187] *Durmart*, p. 292, ll. 10514, 10538, p. 299, l. 10780, p. 300, l. 10800, p. 301, l. 10835, p. 307, l. 11059.

[188] Manessier, VI, 56, ll. 42147, 42148.

[189] *Claris*, p. 21, ll. 741-2, p. 55, l. 2020, p. 73, l. 2675, p. 95, l. 3496, p. 206, l. 7633, p. 216, l. 7996 (denied), p. 233, l. 8594, p. 284, l. 10511, p. 369, l. 13676, p. 424, l. 15752, p. 504, l. 18746, p. 520, ll. 19327-8 (denied).

[190] *Awntyrs*, p. 122, l. 97 (denied).

[191] *Cligés*, p. 185, ll. 4536-8.

[192] *Atre*, p. 203, ll. 6402-4, p. 204, ll. 6426-7, p. 207, l. 6522 (by epithet alone in the first and third instances).

[193] *Awntyrs*, p. 122, l. 97 (denied).

[194] *Méliador*, III, 65, l. 23988, 124, l. 25996.

[195] *Claris*, p. 170, ll. 6281-2, p. 175, ll. 6467-8, p. 182, ll. 6702-3 (Nadois).

[196] Béroul, p. 79, l. 2546.

[197] *Claris*, p. 719, l. 26819; Manessier, VI, 23, ll. 41135-7.

[198] *Claris*, p. 85, l. 3111.

[199] Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 238, ll. 16312-3.

[200] *Durmart*, p. 4, ll. 117-22, p. 13, l. 448, p. 14, ll. 454-5, 479-80, p. 40, l. 1432, p. 58, ll. 2091-2, p. 61, l. 2175, p. 92, l. 3290, p. 142, l. 5100, p. 175, ll. 6266-8, p. 184, l. 6608, p. 244, l. 8775, p. 267, l. 9609, p. 268, l. 9655, p. 269, ll. 9667-8, p. 309, l. 11148, p. 317, l. 11434, p. 329, l. 11864, p. 421, l. 15187, p. 441, ll. 15898, 15919.

[201] *Escanor*, p. 18, l. 664, p. 36, ll. 1327-9 (denied by Kay).

[202] *Claris*, p. 550, ll. 20450-1, p. 682, l. 25416, p. 691, ll. 25771-2; *Floriant*, p. 204, l. 5676 (Elyadus).

[203] *Claris*, p. 358, l. 13264, p. 712, l. 26529; *Erec*, p. 56, ll. 1504-6, p. 69, l. 1847, p. 115,

(2),[204] Espinogres (2),[205] Fel de la Garde (2),[206] Fergus (9),[207] Feugin,[208] Floriant (3),[209] Frions,[210] Gaheriet (4),[211] Galegatins,[212] Galehodinz de Valois,[213] Galehot (2),[214] Galentivet,[215] Galiains,[216] Gaudins,[217] Geogenans (2),[218] Gifflet (Giffés), li fius Deu (4),[219] Gladoains,[220] Gliglois (2),[221] Gorlois,[222] Gornemant de Goort,[223] Gracien (2),[224] the Grail-King (4),[225] the (possible) Grail-Winner (3),[226] the Green Knight (2),[227] Guerin,[228] Guinglain (2),[229] Guivres li Blons,[230] Hermont,[231] Howel,[232] Hunbaut,[233] Hurtak,[234] Immezal,[235] Ivenant,[236] Jaufré (2),[237] Jesus (2),[238] Joseph of Arimathea,[239] Jozefens (2),[240] Kaherdin,[241] Labigodés,[242] Ladont (2),[243] Lancelot (20),[244] Lansonnet,[245] Lanval (Launfal) (4),[246] Laris (24),[247] Legere de Bolyoun,[248] Leodegan,[249] Libeaus (2),[250] Lore de Branlant,[251] Lot (2),[252] Lucans le Bouteiller (3),[253] Lucius,[254] Luguein,[255] Lyone[256] Lyonel,[257] Marc le Galois,[258] Méliador (28),[259] Meliot de Logres (3),[260] Meraugis,[261] Meriadues (3),[262] Merlin,[263] Mordred,[264] Morholt (Morhout) (2),[265] Morphonet,[266] Naciens,[267] Nogans,[268] Pelleas

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l. 3182, p. 120, ll. 3296-7, p. 158, ll. 4414-5.

[204] *Escanor*, pp. 223-4, ll. 8464-7, p. 227, ll. 8578-9.

[205] *Atre*, p. 173, l. 5505; *Meraugis*, p. 149, l. 3825.

[206] *Durmart*, p. 100, l. 3589, p. 146, ll. 5247-8.

[207] *Fergus*, p. 20, l. 34, p. 21, ll. 28-9 (Kay being ironic), p. 32, l. 23, p. 44, l. 7, p. 95, ll. 16-7, p. 108, l. 22, p. 148, ll. 8-9, p. 159, ll. 3, 15-6.

[208] *Méliador*, II, 6, l. 9534.

[209] *Floriant*, p. 173, l. 4825, p. 222, ll. 6186, 6200.

[210] *Rigomer*, p. 131, ll. 4559-60.

[211] *Abenteuer Gawains*, pp. 93, 98; Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 351, ll. 20 ff., 352, ll. 40-1.

[212] *Claris*, p. 696, l. 25945.

[213] *Escanor*, p. 499, l. 18943.

[214] Vulgate-*Livre*, VII, 50, l. 27, 145, l. 28.

[215] *Escanor*, p. 204, l. 7717.

[216] Manessier, V, 298, ll. 29621-2.

[217] *Le Bel Inconnu*, p. 169, ll. 5539-40.

[218] *Durmart*, p. 185, l. 6625, p. 231, l. 8306.

[219] *Escanor*, p. 384, l. 14567; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 234, ll. 16205-6; *Suite du Merlin*, I, 181, 182.

[220] *Meraugis*, p. 134, l. 3454.

[221] *Gliglois*, p. 115, ll. 1713-5, p. 123, l. 2002.

[222] Wace, I, 446, l. 8466.

[223] *Graal*, p. 69, l. 1571.

[224] *Méliador*, I, 139, ll. 4736, 4762-3.

[225] Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 367, ll. 20104-5, IV, 6, ll. 20325-6; Wauchier, V, 145, ll. 34797-8, 149, l. 34923.

[226] *Graal*, p. 465, ll. 307-9, p. 466, ll. 359-60; Wauchier, IV, 294, ll. 29076-82.

[227] *Gawain*, p. 9, l. 276; *Grene Knight*, p. 71, l. 350.

[228] Langtoft, I, 180, [1.16].

[229] *Le Bel Inconnu*, p. 3, l. 90, p. 134, l. 4391.

[230] *Durmart*, p. 164, l. 5888.

[231] *Méliador*, III, 260, ll. 30674-5.

[232] Wace, II, 665, ll. 12764-5.

[233] *Hunbaut*, p. 3, ll. 61-3.

[234] Manning, I, 418, ll. 11947-8. (Hurtak is a Turkish king on the Roman side).

[235] Manessier, VI, 22, l. 41086.

[236] *Yder*, p. 6, l. 188.

[237] *Jaufré*, I, 113, l. 3228, II, 80, l. 8469.

[238] *Folie Tristan*, p. 98, ll. 354-5; *Gawain*, p. 24, ll. 774-5.

[239] Gerbert, II, 107, ll. 10377-8.

[240] *Durmart*, p. 391, l. 14102, p. 395, l. 14233.

[241] Thomas, I, 398, l. 2672.

[242] *Erec*, p. 65, l. 1741.

[243] *Claris*, p. 104, l. 3800, p. 802, ll. 29916-7.

[244] *Charette*, p. 70, l. 1938, p. 155, ll. 4377-8; *Lancelot*, p. 27, l. 918; *Le Morte Arthur*, p. 6, l. 166, p. 7, l. 195, p. 65, ll. 2172, 2185, 2194, 2199-201, p. 68, ll. 2282-3, p. 77, l. 2566; *Perlesvaus*, I, 132, ll. 2752-3, 339, l. 8210, 340, l. 8212; *Rigomer*, p. 154, l. 5339, p. 500, ll. 16935-8; Vulgate-*Lancelot*, III, 131, l. 7, V, 415, ll. 34-5; Vulgate-*Mort*, VI, 333, ll. 31 ff., 350, ll. 6-7.

[245] *Méliador*, I, 95, l. 3245.

[246] *Lanval*, p. 90, l. 113, p. 95, l. 233; *Sir Launfal*, p. 353, l. 251, p. 354, l. 259.

[247] *Claris*, p. 21, ll. 741-2, p. 95, l. 3496, p. 100, l. 3658, p. 121, l. 4466, p. 125, l. 4607, p. 254, l. 9407, p. 272, l. 10071, p. 299, l. 11067, p. 305, l. 11311, p. 323, l. 11987, p. 335, l. 12425, p. 350, l. 12991, p. 409, l. 15176, p. 415, l. 15394, p. 420, l. 15588, p. 436, l. 16193, p. 441, l. 16371, p. 466, l. 17294, p. 494, l. 18337, p. 547, ll. 20332-7, p. 617, l. 22967, p. 641, l. 23889, p. 672, l. 25044, p. 703, l. 26186.

[248] Langtoft, I, 172, [1.5].

[249] Lovelich, II, 407, ll. 15211-2.

[250] *Escanor*, p. 68, ll. 2552-5 (Li Biaus Desconneus); *Libeaus*, p. 104, l. 1861.

[521] Vulgate-*Livre*, VII, 141, ll. 22-3.

[252] *Arthour and Merlin*, p. 88, ll. 3069-70; Wace, I, 466, ll. 8855-6.

[253] *Claris*, p. 269, l. 9955; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 176, l. 14317, 181, l. 14529.

[254] *Morte Arthure*, p. 38, l. 1274.

[255] *Yder*, p. 60, l. 2090.

[256] *Méliador*, II, 276, l. 18733.

[257] Manessier, VI, 88, l. 43140.

[258] *Méliador*, I, 268, ll. 9327-8.

[259] *Méliador*, I, 76, ll. 2599-600, 127, l. 4333, 146, l. 5004, 215, l. 7500, 217, ll. 7559-60, 243, l. 8459, 253, l. 8780, 266, ll. 9237, 9248-9, II, 11, ll. 9700-1, 28, l. 10277, 37, l. 10573, 57, l. 11224, 58, l. 11321, 89, l. 12379, 90, l. 12411, 182, l. 15564, 215, l. 16672, 228, l. 17085, 236, l. 17377, 248, l. 17765, 252, l. 17904, 254, l. 17975, 255, l. 18002, 276, ll. 18743-44, III, 61, l. 23842, 99, l. 25142, 144, l. 26654.

[260] *Perlesvaus*, I, 147, ll. 3142-3, 404, ll. 10030-1, 405, l. 10061.

[261] *Meraugis*, p. 217, ll. 5682-3.

[262] *Deus Espees*, p. 243, l. 7860, p. 280, l. 9083, p. 361, l. 11745.

[263] Lovelich, III, 729, l. 27468 (denied).

[264] Vulgate-*Lancelot*, V, 283, ll. 11-3.

[265] *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 54; *Suite du Merlin*, II, 234 (denied).

[266] *Méliador*, III, 17, l. 22389.

[267] *Arthour and Merlin*, p. 248, ll. 8903.

[268] *Durmart*, p. 296, l. 10678 (denied).

(2),[269] Pellesvaus,[270] Pellinor (4),[271] Perceval (29),[272] Persides (2),[273] Procidas (2),[274] Ris,[275] Roi de Northombeland (nameless) (2),[276] Sagremor (Saigremor) (11).[277] St. Julian,[278] the sons of Salandres des Illes,[279] Sorelais (2),[280] Spynagros (?Espinogres),[281] Talac,[282] Tristram (2),[283] Tristran qui ne rit (2),[284] Urien,[285] Yder (Ydier) (3),[286] Yonez (Yonet) (3),[287] Ywain (27),[288] Ywain l'Avoutre (3).[289]

The list is lengthy and distinguished, but we observe that among the knights most conspicuous for their courtesy are such figures as Claris, Durmart, Laris and Méliador, all invented by the authors of the particular romances in which they appear. Among the traditional knights the leaders in courtesy are Arthur, Lancelot, Perceval and Ywain, and of these only Arthur can possibly be compared to Gawain in number and dispersion of references. Nevertheless it is more than evident that Gawain's reputation for courtesy makes him only *primus inter pares*, and suggests strongly that the term was extremely general.

Another phenomenon which leads us to conclude that the concept of courtesy was more vague than specific is that the words conveying it are so often combined with others generally indicative of noble character, good breeding, and proper behavior. Of the allied words which turn up more than once twenty-six are used only of men[290] and three only of women.[291] From the rest we conclude that the world of romance is filled with men and women of homogeneous manners, who are not only courteous, but are imbued with or to be described as, avenant (21), bel (86), beauté (15), bien (5), bien afatiez (9), bien apris (20), bien emparlée (2), bien fait (3), bien parlant (14), bonté (7), cointe (5), debonaire (31), debonaireté (9), dous (9), enseignié (15), fair (2), fine (6), franc (28), free (3), gent (17), gentil (9), gentillesse (4), gracious (5), hende (8), honor (18), large (14), largece (22), net (6), noble (7), pro (77), proece (16), sage (128), savoir (3), senez (11), sens (28), vaillant (sb., 2), vaillant (adj., 17), valor (10).[292]

In sharp contrast with all these charming and generously endowed people, and especially with Gawain, is Kay, who is singled out for lack of courtesy. The chronicles show Kay as a brave and even courteous[293] figure, but even here blame is likely to be mixed with praise. The later romances nearly all paint an unfavorable picture,[294] but there is one exception. Kay is the hero of a large part of *Escanor*,[295] acts bravely and wins a very noble lady, although he is unable to curb his bitter and sometimes indelicate[296] tongue.

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[269] *Abenteuer Gawains*, pp. 36, 37.

[270] *Escanor*, p. 379, l. 14389.

[271] *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 44; *Suite du Merlin*, I, 184 (twice), II, 125.

[272] Gerbert, I, 55, l. 1751, 99, l. 3204, 145, ll. 4724-5, II, 64, l. 8953, 116, ll. 10666-8; *Graal*, p. 85, ll. 1894-5, pp. 88-9, ll. 1974-9, p. 94, ll. 2088-9 (denied jestingly), p. 175, ll. 3884-5, p. 200, ll. 4458-9; *Le Bel Inconnu*, p. 168, ll. 5501-2; Manessier, V, 152, l. 35000, VI, 12, ll. 40800-1, 21, ll. 41057-8, 31, l. 41373, 39, ll. 41615-6, 137, ll. 48541-2; *Perlesvaus*, I, 245, l. 5669; *Sir Perceval*, p. 53, l. 1642; Wauchier, IV, 113, l. 23528, 178, l. 25491, 267, l. 28250, 281, l. 28675, 301, l. 29287, 312, ll. 29632-3, 328, ll. 30115-6 (denied), V, 120, ll. 34050-1, 129, ll. 34324-5, 149, ll. 34909-15.

[273] Vulgate-*Lancelot*, III, 392, ll. 8-14 (twice) (denied).

[274] *Durmart*, p. 321, l. 11592, p. 338, l. 12198.

[275] *Deus Espees*, p. 33, l. 984.

[276] *Claris*, p. 674, l. 25105, p. 681, l. 25373.

[277] *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 133; *Claris*, p. 261, l. 9666, p. 569, ll. 21168-71, p. 573, l. 21300 (denied); *Durmart*, p. 263, l. 9451; *Méliador*, III, 117, l. 25766, 163, l. 27326, 172, l. 27640, 186, l. 28132; Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 183, l. 19, 432, ll. 2-3.

[278] *Gawain*, p. 24, ll. 774-5.

[279] Manessier, VI, 143, ll. 45011-2.

[280] *Méliador*, I, 214, l. 7483, 217, ll. 7559-60.

[281] *Golagros*, p. 13, l. 363.

[282] *Yder*, p. 30, l. 1038.

[283] *Abenteuer Gawains*, p. 64; Béroul, p. 40, l. 1269.

[284] *Atre*, p. 169, ll. 5366-7, p. 177, ll. 5632-3.

[285] *Claris*, p. 511, l. 18990.

[286] *Durmart*, p. 137, l. 4929; *Raguidel*, p. 171, l. 6017; *Yder*, p. 3, ll. 79-80.

[287] *Escanor*, p. 258, ll. 9787-8; *Graal*, p. 40, l. 920; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 220, l. 15746.

[288] *Abenteuer Gawains*, pp. 10, 75, 83 (denied); *Claris*, p. 244, l. 9034, p. 479, l. 17795, p. 520, l. 19326, p. 561, l. 20846; *Escanor*, p. 454, l. 17233; *Graal*, p. 365, ll. 8152-6 (twice), p. 366, ll. 8162-3; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 71, ll. 11222-3, IV, 23, ll. 20823, 20825; Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 432, ll. 2-3; Vulgate-*Lancelot*, IV, 109, l. 38; Wace, II, 538, l. 10252; *Yvain*, p. 52, ll. 1294-5, p. 86, ll. 2124-5, p. 132, ll. 3192-3, p. 153, ll. 3684-5, pp. 165-6, ll. 4022-3, p. 177, ll. 4329-30, p. 249, ll. 6229-30; *Ywaine*, I, 162, ll. 1895-6, 173, l. 2407, 205, ll. 3884-5.

[289] *Graal*, p. 366, ll. 8162-3; Lovelich, III, 430, ll. 16056-8, 16067.

[290] Adroit (6), afatiez (3), amoureux (2), bien entechié (3), bele parlier (3), bon (2), chevalerie (10), enseignement (2), envoisié (4), fière (4), franchise (7), frice (3), hardi (13), hardiment (4), bonnête (4), honorable (3), joli (2), kind (2), loyal (4), loyauté (2), noblesse (3), pitié (3), raisonnable (3), sagement (2), vrai (2), wi3tschippe (2).

[291] Plaisant (3), simple (2), simplesse (2).

[292] M. Dupin's book (see p. 216 above) is a valuable commentary on many of these qualities.

> Et ce fu unz trop granz damages,
> car il estoit et biauz et sages
> et d'autres choses amiables,
> franz et courtois et honorables
> et abandonez a largesce;
> et fu preuz de haute prouece,
> et fust en grant bien renonmez
> s'il enssi ne fust diffames
> par s'orde langue envenimee
> qui de nului n'estoit amee (p. 12, ll. 435-44).
>
> de cortoisie et de larguece
> n'est nuz de lui mix entechiez,
> mais de sa langue est li meschiez
> trop grant qu'ele est pire que nule (p. 103, ll. 3896-9).[297]

On two occasions outside *Escanor* Kay is said to speak in a courteous fashion,[298] but it is significant that each time he is addressing King Arthur. Once Guenevere calls Kay courteous,[299] although the circumstances show that she is anything but sincere, and elsewhere when Kay's courtesy is spoken of it is in open and obvious irony.[300] Arthur says that Kay is not courteous,[301] and so do Guenevere[302] and Gawain,[303] the Carl of Carlisle offers to teach Kay some courtesy,[304] Ywain says that Kay's villany must be answered with courtesy,[305] and Gawain tells Kay that his villany is very unlike courtesy.[306] Direct comparisons of Kay and Gawain are not infrequent:

> Mult par fu Quois bon chevaliers,
> A poi de mos vos ai conté
> Quanqu'il out [en] lui de bonté,
> Tot tient a cest [la] bone somme;
> Il n'out onques amor vers home,
> Tot dis fu fels e enuios,
> Il ert culvert e rampounos,
> De femmes di[s]t volentiers honte,

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[293] *Morte Arthure*, p. 7, l. 209.

[294] Lovelich (II, 253-4) mingles good and bad, and in *Méliador* (III, 115 ff.) he is thoroughly agreeable; cf. Malory, I, 120-1. The standard explanation of Kay's ill-nature is that he was nursed by a woman of inferior rank; see *Merlin* (ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1886), I, 140 and Lovelich, I, 195.

[295] In this romance Gawain is falsely accused of treachery and undergoes a certain amount of unmerited abuse; cf. p. 558.

[296] Cf. pp. 9, 594.

[297] Kay's courtesy is spoken of without qualification: p. 42, ll. 1550-1, p. 236, l. 8938, p. 641, l. 24345. Gawain once speaks slightingly of his courtesy (p. 10, ll. 343-5), but he also praises him, except for his language (pp. 15-6, ll. 545-64).

[298] *Golagros*, p. 3, l. 53; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 124, l. 12624.

[299] *Charette*, p. 172, ll. 4859-61.

[300] *Fergus*, p. 168, ll. 20-5; Gerbert, I, 48, l. 1513; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 94, ll. 11784-7.

[301] *Raguidel*, p. 10, ll. 241-2.

[302] *Charette*, p. 5, ll. 140-1.

[303] *Raguidel*, p. 120, ll. 4196-8.

[304] *Syre Gawene*, p. 196, ll. 328-30.

[305] *Yvain*, p. 25, ll. 635-6.

[306] *Yvain*, p. 90, ll. 2212-4. See also *Awntyrs*, p. 122, l. 97; *Fergus*, p. 21, ll. 28-9; *Graal*, p. 183, ll. 4078-9; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 255, l. 16800 (but cf. variant); *Yvain*, p. 5, ll. 98-9; and under Calogrenant, p. 219, n. 182 above.

Vos n'orrés ja son los en conte,
Se il n'est de chevalerie.
Cel perdi il par felonie,
  Mult en fu la fame abatue.
Chevalerie est melz perdue,
Quant ele en tel home s'aloe
Ke amblëure en malveise oie;
Mult fu contraire de Gawains,
Li gentilshuem de bones meins,
Li franc, li plein de corteisie,
Qui fu flor de chevalerie.[307]

Thou maist ensample take of Key,
That was somtyme, for mysseiyng,
Hated bothe of olde and ying.
As fer as Gaweyn, the worthy,
Was preised for his curtesy,
Kay was hated, for he was fell,
Of word dispitous and cruell.[308]

  Delyueryt hase thou Kay
With thi laa hase made him leyce.
Butte him is lothe to be in pece,
And thou was aye curtase,
  And prins of iche play.[309]

A final example shows that the contrast was still alive in the sixteenth century:

Where arte thou Gawyn the curtesse and Cay the crabed?[310]

We need do no more than list a majority of the references to Gawain's courtesy,[311] but a number of passages call for special notice.[312] On occasion Gawain is praised highly without specific reference to his courtesy,[313] but ordinarily that virtue is added to his other accomplishments.[314] Thus:

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[307] *Yder*, pp. 33-4, ll. 1144-62. The praise of Gawain is gratuitous, since he has no part in the action.

[308] *Romaunt of the Rose*, ll. 2206-12 (Robinson's *Chaucer*, p. 685). For the French original, see *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Ernest Langlois (5 vols., Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1914-1924), II (1920), 108, ll. 2090-8, and note, pp. 313-4.

[309] *Avowynge*, p. 70, [ll. 8-12].

[310] *A New Enterlude called Thersytes* (c. 1550), Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1912, sig. Aiii^{v}.

[311] *Abenteuer Gawains*, pp. 10, 24; *Arthour and Merlin*, p. 132, l. 4643; *Atre*, p. 3, ll. 86-7, p. 100, ll. 3180-5 (twice), p. 103, ll. 3268-9, p. 179, ll. 5712-3, p. 195, l. 6165, p. 216, l. 128; *Avowynge*, p. 70, [ll. 8-12]; *Awntyrs*, p. 128, l. 153, cf. p. 129, l. 153; Beroul, p. 101, l. 3262; *Carle*, p. 282, ll. 137, 155, 284, ll. 189-90, 287, ll. 287-8, 290, l. 373; *Charette*, p. 23, ll. 589, 596, p. 230, ll. 6508-9; *Claris*, p. 307, l. 11382; *Deus Espees*, p. 117, ll. 3740-1, p. 162, ll. 5196-7, p. 163, l. 5235, p. 184, ll. 5938-9, p. 218, l. 7052, p. 297, ll. 9634-5, p. 326, l. 10584, p. 330, ll. 10708-9, p. 331, l. 10746, p. 361, l. 11745; *Durmart*, p. 274, l. 9861; *Enfances*, p. 24, l. 149, p. 28, ll. 379-80, 435; *Epée*, p. 10, l. 136, p. 13, ll. 274-5, p. 15, l. 382, p. 20, l. 571, p. 28, l. 933; *Escanor*, p. 78, l. 2948, p. 186, ll. 7024-5, p. 191, l. 7238, pp. 192-3, ll. 7287-8, p. 218, l. 8243, p. 372, ll. 14100-1, p. 416, ll. 15783-5, p. 532, l. 20191; *Floriant*, p. 84, ll. 2336-8, p. 228, l. 6366; Gerbert, II, 191, l. 13164, 211, ll. 13824-5; *Gliglois*, p. 74, l. 436; *Golagros*, p. 13, l. 376, p. 14, l. 383; *Graal*, p. 198, l. 4414, p. 364, ll. 8131-2, p. 478, ll. 19-21; *Grene Knight*, pp. 60-1, ll. 64-5, 74, l. 433; *Hunbaut*, pp. 8-9, ll. 266-7, p. 28, ll. 918-9, p. 36, ll. 1210-1, p. 64, ll. 2170-1, p. 73, ll. 2472-4, p. 76, ll. 2575-6; *Jaufré*, II, 123, l. 9797; *Le Morte Arthur*, p. 20, l. 623; Lovelich, III, 514, ll. 19251-2, 679, ll. 25591-2; Manessier, V, 260, l. 38271; *Marriage*, p. 236, [st. 6]; *Perlesvaus*, I, 106, ll. 2082-3, 214, ll. 4865-6; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 103, ll. 12036-7; *Raguidel*, p. 97, ll. 3411-3; *Rigomer*, I, 39, ll. 1321-6, 86, ll. 2949-54, 216, l. 7373; Robert, I, 306, l. 4351; *Sir Launfal*, p. 374, l. 853, p. 375, l. 892; *Sir Perceval*, p. 10, ll. 285-6 *Suite du Merlin*, II, 84, 98-9, 100, 238; *Syre Gawene*, p. 192, l. 184, p. 197, l. 337; *Tyolet*, p. 48, ll. 535-6; Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 192, ll. 6-7, 308, ll. 7-8, 321, ll. 16-7, 328, ll. 8-9, 394, ll. 10-1, 407, ll. 38-9, 432, ll. 2-3; Vulgate-*Lancelot*, IV, 147, ll. 3-4, 358, ll. 38-40; Vulgate-*Aventures*, VI, 141, n. 15; Vulgate-*Livre*, VI, 162, ll. 40-1, Wace, II, 616, l. 11832, 665, ll. 12764-5; Wauchier, V, 54, ll. 32085-6, 56, ll. 32147-8, 77, ll. 32778-9, 78, ll. 32813-5; *Weddynge*, p. 260, ll. 700-1, p. 262, ll. 781, 778-9; *Ywaine*, I, 200, ll. 3660, 3665. One or two of the cases cited above are ambiguous, since the reference might be to Gawain or to another, and in several instances Gawain is grouped with others in general praise.

[312] *Gawain* will be discussed in Part V.

Car cil en cui Dix avoit mise
Loiauté, prouece et francise,
K'il avoit fait cortois et sage,
Sans vilounie et sans outrage,
Sans orguel et sans desmesure.[315]

Gauvains mes niés est de grant pris
Et connëus de mainte gent,
Et si est preus et biaus et gent,
Bien parlans et cortois et sage.[316]

Mais pour ce que vouz estes tiex,
si nes, si courtois, si gentiex
que vous aidìez totes puceles,
a dames et a damoiseles
quant eles ont de vouz besoigne.[317]

Miröez dist: "Jo n'en sai prou,
Qui Gagain est; onc nel conui,
Mes que tuit diënt bien de lui,
Tuit le löent, grant e petit;
Si ço est voirs que l'om en dit,
O de cel'honor la moitié,
Jo di qu'il a tant esploitié
Par mesure e par corteisie,
Par armes, par chevalerie,
Qu[e] il n'est soz ciel, qui le vaille."[318]

Now ys Waweyn comen hom,
fful blithe ys Loth al of his com;
Noble he was, & ful curteys,
Mykel honur of hym euere men seys:
He loued mesure & faire beryng;
Pruyde ne bost loued he no þyng;
Vnkynde, false, & fykele, he hated;
Lesynges, alle swilk he abated;
More he gaf þan he by-hette,
Wel more he dide þan terme of sette.[319]

In hyme was manhed, curtessy, and trouth,
Besy trawell In knychthed, ay but sleuth,
Humylite, gentrice, and cwrag;
In hyme thar was no maner of outrage.[320]

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[313] See p. 196 above.

[314] The books on our list which do not refer to Gawain's courtesy are *Arthur*, *Cligés*, *Folie Tristan*, *Lanval*, Lawman, *Libeaus*, *Mantel*, *Méliador*, *Morte Arthure*, *Mule*, *Sir Tristrem*, Thomas, Vulgate-*Mort* and *Yvain*. Lawman, *Mule* and *Sir Tristrem* do not mention courtesy at all, and it is worth observing that whereas *Lanval* and *Yvain* do not call Gawain courteous, *Sir Launfal* and *Ywaine* both do.

[315] *Atre*, p. 157, ll. 4994-9.

[316] *Hunbaut*, p. 4, ll. 110-3. (Arthur is speaking).

[317] *Escanor*, p. 532, ll. 20179-83. (A girl is addressing Gawain).

[318] *Yder*, pp. 169-70, ll. 5930-9.

[319] Manning I, 373, ll. 10675-84.

[320] *Lancelot*, p. 82, ll. 2753-6. (The speaker is Lancelot).

A fairy at Gawain's birth promises him beauty, courtesy and honorable estate.[321] He is called the most courteous knight of Arthur's court,[322] or, indeed, of all the world.[323] Courteous often has the force of a fixed epithet, so that "le cortois" becomes almost as much a part of his name as Mesire.[324] There are few things which Gawain cannot do courteously if he sets himself to it. In *Epée*, when about to go out on an adventure, "cortoisement s'aparella" (p. 8, l. 37), and in *Carle*:

> Gawaine hent the hammer in his hand,
> & curteouslye on the gates dange (p. 282, ll. 133-4).

In the latter poem courtesy pays off handsomely. Despite great provocation Gawain is consistently polite and deferential to his rude and violent host. As a final reward for exquisite manners the Carl turns his daughter over to Gawain for the night:

> saith, "Gawaine, now for thy curtesye,
> gett thee to bedd to this ffaire Lady" (p. 289, ll. 353-4).

Gawain not only practises courtesy, but likes to talk about it as well. He often refers to the courtesy of others or urges others to show courtesy.[325] Sometimes he almost overemphasizes the theme, perhaps a little self-consciously:

> Et mes sire Gauvains respont
> Com li plus cortois del mont:
> "Ma dame la reïne saut
> Cil sire au cui nus biens ne faut,
> Et vos come la bien parlant,
> Et la cortoise et l'avenant!
> Mout est, ce cuit, la dame sage
> Quant si cortois sont si message:
> Ele set bien que a mestier
> Et qui covient a chevalier."[326]

Naturally enough, it is in his relations with ladies that Gawain's courtesy flashes most brightly and, often, has the most pleasing results.[327] Courteous himself, he demands the same quality in a girl:

> Car pucele doit courtoise estre,
> sage et plaisanz et de simple estre
> et de tout bon affaitement.[328]

His approach is marked by courtesy; in *Epée*, for example, he talks with a maiden:

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[321] *Escanor*, p. 74, ll. 2799-800.

[322] *Carle*, p. 278, ll. 29-30; Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 303, ll. 10-12.

[323] *Atre*, p. 31, ll. 956-8; *Rigomer* I, 424, ll. 14365-6; Vulgate-*Merlin* II, 314, ll. 15-17.

[324] *Arthour and Merlin*, p. 239, l. 8550; *Atre*, p. 186, l. 5927; *Claris*, p. 199, l. 7367, p. 476, l. 17685, p. 548, l. 20370; *Durmart*, p. 202, l. 7263, p. 277, l. 9983, p. 366, l. 13181, p. 367, l. 13218; *Erec*, p. 244, l. 6827; *Fergus*, p. 39, l. 4, p. 183, l. 2, p. 189, l. 17; Langtoft, I, 198, [l. 1], 218, [l. 22]; *Le Bel Inconnu*, p. 4, l. 93; Manning I, 334, l. 9546, 363, l. 10410, 405, l. 11593; *Meraugis*, p. 194, l. 5069; Wauchier V, 92, l. 33246.

[325] *Abenteuer Gawains*, pp. 5, 7, 37, 54; *Atre*, p. 106, l. 3357, p. 189, l. 5964, p. 209, l. 6607; *Deus Espees*, p. 125, ll. 3996-8; *Durmart*, p. 269, ll. 9667-8, 9671-2; *Escanor*, p. 10, ll. 343-5, p. 68, ll. 2552-5; *Floriant*, p. 80, ll. 2214-5, p. 174, l. 4846; *Graal*, p. 200, ll. 4458-9, p. 365, ll. 8152-6, p. 366, ll. 8162-3; *Hunbaut*, p. 59, ll. 1975-7; *Lanval*, p. 95, l. 233; Lovelich, III, 729, l. 27468; *Perlesvaus*, I, 245, l. 5669, 288, ll. 6767-9; Pseudo-Wauchier IV, 6, ll. 20325-6; *Suite du Merlin* II, 81, 94, 234; Vulgate-*Lancelot*, III, 297, l. 8, IV, 73, ll. 36-7, 193, ll. 40-1, V, 277, ll. 27-8, 471, ll. 37-8; Vulgate-*Mort* VI, 217, l. 2, 218, ll. 4-5, 350, ll. 6-7, 356, n. 1; Vulgate-*Livre* VII, 50, l. 27, 85, l. 1, 162, l. 45, 275, l. 19.

[326] *Graal*, p. 357, ll. 7969-78.

[327] We are already prepared (see pp. 196-198 above) to find Gawain's courtesy unmixed with chastity.

[328] *Escanor*, p. 78, ll. 2929-31.

Tant l'ot cortoisement parler
Et tant lo voit de bones mors,
Que ele l'amast par amors,
S'ele descovrir li osast (p. 14, ll. 314-17).[329]

Because of Gawain's reputation as a lover he is the secret passion of many maidens who have never seen him in the flesh, and as such is the medieval prototype of some of our own cherished heroes of radio and film. A few examples will show that there was an active Gawain Club among the young ladies of romance. In Pseudo-Wauchier he meets a damsel whom he addresses as "dame," but at once, with the smoothness of what appears long usage, he alters his salutation to "pucele." The poet makes the approving comment, "Cortoisement et biau li dist" (III, 103, l. 12044). The damsel is impressed and, although the knight is unidentifiable in his armor, something leads her to talk about Gawain:

Sire, bien a .ii. ans passés,
Si com je quic, et plus assés,
C'oï primes de lui parler,
Et si grans biens de lui conter
Qu'en lui a plus sens et proèce,
Biauté, cortoisie et largèce,
Qu'il n'an en chevalier vivant (III, 104, ll. 12063-69).

She is too polite to dwell long on an absent ideal:

"Dont vos pri-jou par cortoisie
Que vos nommés." "Ma douce amie,
J'ai nom Gauwain." (ll. 12075-7).

At first she does not believe it, not apparently so much doubting his word as her own luck. She has once seen a portrait of Gawain, and feels certain that she would recognize

Ses bones teces, ses bontés,
Ses courtoisies, ses biautés (III, 105, ll. 12103-4).

Will the stranger be so kind as to disarm and let her see if he is really and truly Gawain? He will, he does, and he is. Their acquaintance grows by leaps and bounds:

Par .i. baisier l'en a saisie;
D'amours, de droit, de cortoisie,
Ont plus ensamble tant parlé
Et boinement ris et jué
Qu'elle a pierdu nom de pucele:
Sel nomme amie et damosele (III, 106, ll. 12127-32).[330]

Soon after Gawain leaves—since he is on a quest he cannot linger—the young lady's father rides up, and she is so indiscreet as to inform him that she has lost her virginity to Gawain, omitting any mention, however, of her own enthusiastic complicity. Ensuing events are fatal to the father and damaging to her brother. She herself, as it turns out, is pregnant, but Gawain escapes with his courtesy.[331]

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[329] The girl's courage is aided by the fact that her father is an imperious host, although the affair is complicated by the disconcerting appearance of a magic sword from the wall above the bed; see p. 210 above. Magic once came between Gareth and his lady; see Malory, I, 275-8.

[330] The power of heredity appears in a similar scene in *Le Bel Inconnu*, where Gawain's son Guinglan is in bed with the fée; the author observes

Je ne sai s'il le fist s'amie,
Car n'i fui pas, ne n'en vi mie,
Mais non de pucele perdi
La dame dalés son ami (p. 147, ll. 4815-8).

At a time when, according to *Deus Espees*, a rumor is about that Gawain is dead, he stops at a castle and agrees to assist an harassed knight if the knight's beautiful seventeen-year-old daughter will give him her love. The father, mother and daughter agree to this not very characteristic demand (pp. 139-42). Gawain kills the knight's oppressor, and he and the girl are brought to bed by her mother (pp. 151-2). They kiss and embrace for a time, and then, all at once, the girl begins to weep (p. 154). Gawain, startled, asks the reason and learns that when the girl was fifteen she first heard of Arthur's nephew, Gawain:

> Et ot un neueu si cortois
> Ke il pasoit de cortoisie,
> De biaute, de cheualerie
> Trestout les cheualiers ki sont,
> Ne ke tuit cil ki soient n'ont
> De boines teches autretant (p. 155, ll. 4970-5).

She had vowed to yield herself only to him, but now he is dead and it is a sudden memory of him which causes her tears. This confession makes Gawain all the more amorous and he tells her the good news that Gawain is not only alive but present. She refuses to believe him and insists that she will go to Arthur's court to discover the truth. Despite his anguished protestations she departs, denying him now so much as a farewell kiss. Her going leaves Gawain "Pensis et destrois et ires" (p. 158, l. 5087), but he has no redress. Five thousand lines and many adventures later, as the story draws to a close, she comes to court and now believes the evidence of her eyes (pp. 362-3). Gawain is so overcome that he kisses her in public, at which the knights laugh. That night they go to bed again, this time without reservations on either side:

> Tant li souffri la nuit la biele
> Qu'ele perdi non de pucele,
> Dont ele gaires n'estriua
> Ne de lui pas ne s'eschiua
> Ne de plourer ne s'entremist
> Quant il de li son uoloir fist (p. 371, ll. 12051-6).

When he asks her why she had not believed him before, she replies, with a smile, that it was because he had permitted her crying and talking to put him off:

> Ne dui croire, si dix m'ait,
> Que ia ior mes sire Gauuains
> Fust si lasques ne si uilains,
> Que por plaindre ne por plorer
> Peust de lui feme escaper,
> Qu'il eust si en son uoloir
> Que uous auies moi la endroit (p. 372, ll. 12072-8).

Gawain laughs heartily at her logic; perhaps it reminded him of a passage in *Perlesvaus*, where some girls had refused to credit his identity because he had gone to sleep when they offered him their services:

> se ce fust cil Gavains qui niés est le roi Artu, il parlast a nos autrement,

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[331] This episode, which is told more than once and with varying details, is the source of the *Jeaste of Syr Gawayne*; see Madden, pp. 349-51; Weston-*Perceval* I, 285; Bruce II, 93-4.

> e trovissions en lui plus de deduit que en cestui; mes cist est uns Gavains contrefez (I, 95, ll. 1814-6).

Again, in the Vulgate-*Livre*, Gawain rescues a girl from a giant, and accompanies her on her way. They are observed by a friend of Gawain's named Eliezer:

> Mais il not granment ale quant il uoit uenir une damoisele qui molt li sembloit de grant biaute & encoste de luj uenoit messires Gauuain parlant damors & dautre chose. & li auoit demande se ele amoit nul home par amors ne auoit ame (VII, 86, ll. 9-12).

The damsel replies that she has once heard her father describe Gawain in such glowing terms that she has often wished that he might love her enough to marry her, but she realizes that she is not of sufficient rank or beauty to win Gawain's love. Either because of her mention of marriage or for some more obscure reason, Gawain does not reveal himself:

> Bele pucele fait messires Gauuain si uoirement mait diex uostre pensers fu doz & debonaires. & se messires Gauuain sauoit uostre corage & il uos eust sanz plus regardee il ne seroit mie cortois se il ne uos uenoit faire compaignie en aucun tens. & gel conois a tel & a si cortois que se il en sauoit la uerite il uos uendroit ueoir ia si long ne seriez. [*The girl speaks:*] si mait dex ge [le] uerroie uolentiers car de si preudome com en dit que il est iuennes hom ne porroit en se amender non. & ge ai oi dire que il est le plus cortois cheualiers qui uiue (VII, 86, ll. 26 ff.).

Gawain promises to give Gawain her message, for which she thanks him, and then, with notable selflessness, tells him of another girl who loves Gawain as much as she does.

Later Gawain stops at the second girl's castle, does a little fighting, and retires. The girl, whose name is Floree, comes to his room, finds him "entre ueillant & dormant" (p. 109, l. 27), and asks him if he is well covered and wants a drink. He is well covered and wants no drink. She kneels beside the bed and talks about the fight; he kisses her, notices that she is cold, and suggests that she undress and get into the bed where she will be warm. She replies that she must go back to her own bed, but if he chooses he may follow her there. He does so and, *lestoire* says, she loses her virginity. She goes to sleep and has a dream which Gawain later interprets as meaning that she will have a son. Not unnaturally, she asks his name and he tells her, after swearing her to secrecy. She is very happy to discover the identity of her lover:

> car ge me suj fait ele prise au meilleur cheualier qui uiue si com len dit & au plus cortois (p. 111, ll. 1-2).

It was this side of Gawain's courtesy which moved John Gower to use him as an example in his *Traitié* for the instruction of married lovers:

N'est pas compaigns q'est comun a chascune;
Au soule amie ert un ami soulain:
Mais cil qui toutdis change sa fortune,
Et ne voet estre en un soul lieu certain,
Om le poet bien resembler a Gawain,
Cortois d'amour, mais il fuist trop volage:
A un est une assetz en mariage.[332]

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[332] *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay (4 vols., Oxford, 1899-1902) I, 390, xvii, 2. Earlier Gower had pointed out Lancelot and Tristram as warnings to others (I, 389, xv, 1).

The most succinct summation of Gawain as a courteous lover is made by the Loathly Lady in *Weddynge*:

> A, Sir Gawen, syn I haue you wed,
> Shewe me your cortesy in bed (p. 258, ll. 629-30).

Gawain is seldom accused of lack of courtesy. Once he is charged with using improper weapons in a joust and told "vous nestes mie si courtois ne si preudomme comme len tesmoigne".[333] On another occasion he is so deep in thought that he fails to salute a passing damsel. She says indignantly that though "on dist apres que tu es li plus courtois & li plus frans del monde," she thinks him "li plus vilains cheualiers del monde."[334] To implement her displeasure she decrees that for a time he must take the semblance of the first man he meets—a dwarf, as it happens. Again, a lady tries to persuade Gawain to kill her husband, and when Gawain prefers to believe the husband's story, she calls him lacking in sense and courtesy.[335] Arthur says to him, "S'onques fustes frans ne cortois,"[336] but the king plainly does not mean it very seriously, and the Green Knight tells Gawain that though

> Of curtesie thou might haue woon the crowne
> aboue both free & bound,[337]

he has now forfeited his highest reputation because of concealing the scarf. Finally, Guenevere declares that Gawain's "curtessy was All be-hynde,"[338] when he reported that Lancelot had been the Maid of Astolat's lover but we know that her anger was not wholly justified.[339] Obviously, none of these charges carries very much weight.[340]

Before leaving Gawain's courtesy it might be well to notice the English word which was gradually supplanted by "courteous". This native word is "hende",[341] memorable from "hende Nicholas", the hero of Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*. Nicholas is hende even as Gawain is courteous, and both are amorous, but there the resemblance ends, for Nicholas is an adept at "deerne love"[342] in which Gawain, as we have seen, had no interest.

Lawman, who employs relatively few words of Romance provenience, never uses "courteous". Where Wace has *cortois*, and in other places as well, Lawman has "hende",[343] but he applies it to Gawain only once and then not by name.[344] He calls Gawain "kene",[345] and "sele",[346] and once seems to discriminate:

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[333] Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 327, ll. 38-9; cf. p. 328, ll. 8-9.

[334] Vulgate-*Merlin*, II, 459, ll. 11-12.

[335] Vulgate-*Lancelot* V, 459, ll. 39-40.

[336] *Erec*, p. 147, l. 4078.

[337] *Grene Knight*, p. 75, ll. 473-4. In *Gawain* there is no reference to courtesy at this point.

[338] *Le Morte Arthur*, p. 37, l. 1150.

[339] See p. 202 above.

[340] See also *Claris*, p. 73, ll. 2666-7. Gawain's manners, if not his courtesy, are put to a severe test in *Atre* when, in the midst of dinner, a knight rides into the hall and carries off a maiden whose adventure has just been assigned to Gawain (pp. 5 ff.). Should Gawain jump up from the table to rescue the maiden, or should he finish his meal like a proper courtier? His decision to continue eating and then trust to the speed of his horse is in accord with a rule of table manners laid down by Merlin in *Suite du Merlin*, II, 78-9.

[341] For the history of the word, see NED, *s.v.* hend.

[342] *Canterbury Tales*, I(A), 3199-200, and note, p. 787. In Chaucer's certain works he uses "hende" only twice save in connection with Nicholas, and one of the two (III[D], 628) may well be an echo; in the other instance the Host bids the Friar be "hende And curteys" (III[D], 1286-7). If Chaucer wrote Fragment A of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, there are two more examples (ll. 285, 1306).

[343] For examples, see II, 347, l. 18379, 351, l. 18466, 354, l. 18535, 357, ll. 18611-2, 361, l. 18707, 366, ll. 18833, 18843, 400, l. 19624, 424, l. 20194, 436, l. 20497, 510, ll. 22236, 22240, 539, l. 22912, 543, l. 22998, 577, l. 23795, 595, l. 24230, 596, l. 24252, 612, l. 24618, 613, l. 24642, 634, l. 25129, III, 12, l. 25522, 17, l. 25652, 29, ll. 25920, 25941-2, 125, ll. 28170-1.

[344] "the king nom thas threo cnihtes hende" (III, 43, l. 26249), of whom Gawain was one.

[345] II, 554, l. 23261, III, 48, l. 26362, 54, l. 26526, 58, l. 26608, 86, l. 27262.

[346] II, 626, l. 24954, III, 52, l. 26462, 55, l.

Þat Geren & Beof þe hende,
and Walwain þe balde (III, 44, ll. 26275-6).

Sir Tristrem also has "hende"[347] rather than "courteous", but neither with Gawain. *Arthour and Merlin* has both "hende" and "courteous", but only the latter for Gawain. Robert of Gloucester speaks once of Gawain's courtesy and calls him hende three times.[348] He is neither courteous nor hende in *Morte Arthure*, where his epithets are determined by alliteration and he is "Sir Waywayne þe worþye,"[349] "Sir Gawayne the gude,"[350] or "Sir Gaweayne the gracyous".[351] *Sir Launfal* has Gawain courteous twice and hende once,[352] while *Le Morte Arthur* goes the other way, with hende three times[353] and courteous (or courtesy) twice. Chaucer calls his Nicholas hende more often than all the authors do Gawain, but it would be unfortunate to forget that Gawain has been hende as well as courteous.

V. *GAWAIN IN THE* SQUIRE'S TALE

Why did Chaucer bring Gawain into the *Squire's Tale* at the place where he did? Was it solely because of Gawain's well-established reputation for courtesy, or was there some more specific reference in Chaucer's mind? The English poet, who must have read more romances than those to which he refers directly,[354] could have read about Gawain's courtesy in many of the works already cited in this paper[355] and in more besides, but a case of sorts can be made for his familiarity with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

No one seems to have made public reference to the general similarity between the opening scenes of the *Squire's Tale* and *Gawain*,[356] and yet the similarity is marked. Each poem opens with a king holding high festival on a special occasion. Both kings are famous, strong and in the prime of life:

But of all the kings of Britain who dwelt here Arthur, as I have heard say, was ever the noblest. . . . They remained there together in all the pleasure in the world, the most famous knights beneath Christ himself, and the loveliest ladies who ever lived, and he who ruled the court was the fairest of kings. All these comely people in the hall were in the prime of life, the most fortunate under heaven, and the king the greatest in spirit. . . . But Arthur would not eat until all were served, he was so gay in his youth and somewhat boyish: he liked his life to be an active one, and he loved little either to lie or to sit too long, his young blood and his restless brain stirred him so.[357]

This noble kyng was cleped Cambyuskan,
Which in his tyme was of so greet renoun
That ther was nowher in no regioun

26536.

[347] See p. 2, l. 55, p. 3, ll. 62, 89, p. 12, ll. 404-5, p. 70, l. 2503, p. 82, l. 2934.

[348] I, 261, l. 3705, 312, l. 4435, 319, l. 4532.

[349] P. 8, l. 233, p. 39, l. 1302.

[350] P. 41, l. 1368, p. 109, l. 3706, p. 110, l. 3724, p. 114, l. 3876, p. 116, l. 3943; cf. p. 84, l. 2851, p. 89, l. 3005, p. 114, l. 3858. "Sir Wawayne the gude" (p. 65, l. 2218) is doubtless due to a scribal error.

[351] P. 43, l. 1468.

[352] P. 367, l. 662. For other use of hende, see p. 347, l. 42, p. 348, l. 79, p. 350, l. 151, p. 356, l. 313, p. 374, l. 855.

[353] P. 18, l. 541, p. 19, l. 600, p. 83, l. 2771.

[354] See Howard R. Patch, "Chaucer and Mediaeval Romance" *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), pp. 95-108.

[355] The almost proverbial nature of Gawain's courtesy appears in *Sir Perceval:*

Scho calde appon hir chaymbirlayne,
Was called hende Hatlayne,
The curtasye of Wawayne
He weldis in wane (p. 41, ll. 1261-4).

That Chaucer knew *Sir Perceval* is suggested by the closing lines of *Sir Thopas* (*Canterbury Tales*, VII, 915-6 [B 2105-6] and note, p. 846).

[356] The fact that both the *Squire's Tale* and *Gawain* describe knights riding into a hall is mentioned by J. M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1928), p. 599.

[357] *Gawain*, p. 115, stanzas 2, 3, 5; this and subsequent translations from the romance are taken from *The College Survey of English Literature* (New York, 1942), I, 114 ff.

So excellent a lord in alle thyng.
Hym lakked noght that longeth to a kyng. . . .
Yong, fressh, and strong, in armes desirous
As any bacheler of al his hous.[358]

Each monarch has in his household one of the most beautiful of women:

Queen Guenever, very fair, was placed in the middle, . . . The fairest to behold looked on there with gray eyes; no man could say truthfully that he ever saw one more beautiful (p. 115, st. 4).

A doghter hadde this worthy kyng also,
That yongest was, and highte Canacee.
But for to telle yow all hir beautee,
It lyth nat in my tonge, n'yn my konnyng;
I dar nat undertake si heigh a thyng (ll. 32-36).

The feasts are described in considerable detail, but in each case the author makes a conventional excuse for not telling more:

After they had washed with due dignity, they went to their seats, the noblest knight always in a higher seat, as seemed best. . . . Thus the bold king himself stood there, talking of courtly trifles in front of the high table. Gawain the good was set beside Guenever, and Agravain of the hard hand on the other side, both of them sons of the king's sister and very trusty knights. Bishop Baldwin sat at the head of the table, and Iwain, the son of Urien, dined beside him. These were set on the dais and sumptuously served, . . . Then the first course came with the blaring of trumpets, . . . Dainties of very costly foods came in addition, an abundance of fresh meats, and so many dishes that it was difficult to find a place before the people to set the silver plates which had the various stews on the table.

Now I shall tell you no more of how they were served, for every man may know well that there was no lack there (pp. 115-6, sts. 4, 6, 7).

This Cambyuskan, of which I have yow toold,
In roial vestiment sit on his deys,
With diademe, ful heighe in his paleys,
And halt his feeste so solempne and so ryche
That in this world ne was ther noon it lyche;
Of which if I shal tellen all th'array,
Thanne wolde it occupie a someres day;
And eek it nedeth nat for to devyse
At every cours the ordre of hire servyse.
I wol nat tellen of hir strange sewes,
Ne of hir swannes, ne of hire heronsewes.
Eek in that lond, as tellen knyghtes olde,
Ther is som mete that is ful deynte holde,
That in this lond men recche of it but smal;
They nys no man that may reporten al.
I wol nat taryen yow, for it is pryme,
And for it is no fruyt, but los of tyme;
Unto my firste I wole have my recours.
  And so bifel that after the thridde cours,
Whil that this kyng sit thus in his nobleye,
Herknynge his mynstralles hir thynges pleye
Biforn hym at the bord deliciously, . . . (ll. 58-79).

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[358] *Canterbury Tales,* V(F), 12-24.

At a specified time in each meal, during the first course in *Gawain* (p. 116, st. 7) and after the third course in the *Squire's Tale* (ll. 76 ff.), an unexpected and extraordinary guest suddenly enters the hall, and in each instance the newcomer's steed is unusual. In *Gawain*, the stranger is an unarmed man of gigantic stature, green in color and clothing and riding on a green horse; in the *Squire's Tale*, he is a normal man, armed except for his head, carrying a glass mirror, with a noticeable gold ring on one thumb and with a naked sword by his side, riding on a horse made of brass. The behavior of the two visitors is very unlike. The green knight is anything but polite at the outset, and before long he proves rude and insulting; the knight on the steed of brass is, as we noted earlier,[359] a model of good manners.

These parallels are striking, but they would be far more striking if *Gawain* and the *Squire's Tale* were the only romantic stories which survive from the Middle Ages. Everybody knows, however, that romances, especially those of the Matter of Britain, have a way of beginning with a feast at a king's court, usually at Pentecost, which is interrupted by the entrance of a suppliant damsel or a challenging knight. In most examples, the king, as in *Gawain* but not the *Squire's Tale*, has refused to eat until some adventure has occurred. Also, knights, and sometimes ladies or dwarfs, riding into the king's hall on horseback or muleback are so numerous as to be almost a commonplace.[360]

No one would argue that Chaucer owes the machinery of the beginning of the *Squire's Tale* to *Gawain*. There are too many openings of the same general sort to permit even the most optimistic source-hunter to light with confidence on any one. What can be argued, however, is that Chaucer, whatever his own source, if he had a concrete source, was reminded after he had written the first ninety or so lines of the *Squire's Tale* of a very similar scene in which courtesy was talked about, even though the visitor himself was hardly courteous. He would have been further reminded that in the other story the courtesy of Gawain was strongly emphasized, and from this recollection would have come the reference to "Gawayn, with his olde curteisye". We may now profitably consider the rôle of courtesy in *Gawain*.

When the Green Knight appears there is a stone-still silence in the hall, in explanation of which the author, anxious for the reputation of Arthur's knights, adds

> I deme hit not al for doute,
> Bot sum for cortaysye (p. 8, ll. 246-7).

The Green Knight answers Arthur's question by saying that he has heard much good of Arthur's realm, among other things, "And here is kydde cortaysye, as I haf herd carp" (p. 9, l. 263). In reply, Arthur calls his visitor "Sir cortays kny3t" (p. 9, l. 276), a compliment which the Green Knight is speedily to belie. After the Green Knight's departure, Arthur attempts to remove the queen's tears with "cortays speche" (p. 15, l. 469), and when, the following autumn, as Gawain is about to depart on what seems certain to be his last adventure, the king holds a feast on All Saints Day, although "kny3te3 ful cortays and comlych ladies" (p. 17, l. 539) grieve at the hero's impending fate, they are considerate enough to hide their emotion. On the day before Christmas, when Gawain, anxious lest he be deprived of the proper religious observances for our Saviour's birth, comes at last in sight of a handsome castle, he removes his helmet and gives due thanks to

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[359] See p. 193 above.

[360] *Atre*, p. 5, ll. 144 ff.; *Charette*, p. 18, ll. 432 ff.; *Deus Espees*, p. 15, ll. 389-395, p. 40, ll. 1214-19, but cf. p. 8, ll. 175-8; *Durmart*, p. 278, ll. 9996-10001, p. 279, ll. 10043-6; *Escanor*, p. 184, ll. 6858-65; *Fergus*, pp. 20-5; *Gliglois*, p. 65, ll. 131-48; *Graal*, p. 40, ll. 903 ff.: *Jaufre*, I, 22, ll. 523-6, 23, ll. 577-9; *Kuhlwch and Olwen* in the *Mabinogion*, trans. T. P. Ellis and J. Lloyd (2 vols., Oxford, 1929), I, 177-8; *Lanval*, p. 111, ll. 617 ff.; *Le Bel Inconnu*, p. 3, ll. 71-81, pp. 5-6, ll. 133-170, p. 89, ll. 2910-1; *Le Morte Arthur*, p. 45, ll. 1554-9, p. 81, ll. 2708-11; Malory, III, 51; *Meraugis*, p. 51, ll. 1273-81, p. 195, ll. 5085-95, pp. 205 f., ll. 5381 ff.; *Perlesvaus*, I, 48, ll. 596 ff., 338, ll. 8168 ff.; Pseudo-Wauchier, III, 125, ll. 12638 ff., 217, ll. 15672 ff., 255, ll. 16800 ff.; *Raguidel*, II, 23, ll. 721 ff., esp. ll. 858 ff., pp. 120-1; *Sir Perceval*, pp. 16-7, ll. 481 ff., p. 20, ll. 603-5; *Suite du Merlin*, I, 184, 212, 218, II, 69, 78, 79, 87; *Tyolet*, p. 45, ll. 281 ff., Vulgate-*Livre*, VII, 172, ll. 28-9; *Yder*, pp. 108-9, ll. 3779-86. For references to examples outside the Matter of Britain see F. J. Child's notes to "King Estmere" (60), *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (5 vols., Boston, 1882-98), II, 51, 510, III, 508, and *Graal*, p. 637.

> Jesus and sayn Gilyan, þat gentyle ar boþe,
> Þat cortaysly had hym kydde (p. 24, ll. 774-5).

We first hear of Gawain's courtesy in the account of the pentangle, where we learn that "His clannes and his cortaysye croked were neuer" (p. 20, l. 652). At the Green Knight's castle, in answer to discreet questions put to him by his host, Gawain "beknew cortaysly of þe court þat he were" (p. 28, l. 903), and the next day, when seated at table by the Green Knight's lady, who is later to cause him so much embarrassment, they both converse "Wyth clene cortays carp closed fro fylþe" (p. 31, l. 1013). His reputation for courtesy begins to plague Gawain as soon as his hostess invades his bedchamber. Gawain comports himself with perfect decorum, but this behavior does not altogether satisfy the lady, who expresses her doubt as to whether he is really Gawain.[361] The hero, greatly alarmed lest he have not evaded her with complete politeness, asks the reason for her doubt, and she responds:

> So god as Gawayn gaynly is halden,
> And cortaysye is closed so clene in hymselven,
> Couth not ly3tly haf lenged so long wyth a lady,
> Bot he had craued a cosse, bi his courtaysye (p. 40, ll. 1297-1300).

Since there seems no suitable retreat for a master of courtesy, he kisses her, but is careful to pass the kiss on to her husband that night, as the terms of their bargain require. The next morning the lady goes forward from the position already prepared, or taken, and immediately chides him for not having learned from the lesson of the day before that, where kissing is concerned, to take advantage of a favorable look "bicumes vche a kny3t þat cortaysy vses" (p. 46, l. 1491), and so, cornered again, he forces himself to another kiss. She goes on to ask him why, being so young, so brisk, "So cortayse, so kny3tyly, as ye are knowen oute" (p. 47, l. 1511), he has not talked to her about love; surely one who is "so cortays and coynt of your hetes" (p. 47, l. 1525), ought to show himself an eager instructor to a young thing who is ever and ever so anxious to learn the ways of true love. Gawain is well aware of the dangers inherent in conversation about love, no matter how theoretical, in a bed-chamber, and succeeds in putting her off, but not without being driven to sacrifice still another kiss. However, faithful to the letter of his bond, he gives the husband both the kisses when he returns from the hunt. On the third morning the lady is even more insistent and persistent than before, and Gawain finds himself in his most trying predicament. Shall he yield to her advances, which are pressing, as a sociable man might be expected to do, or shall he reject her and be loyal to his host and to his religious code?

> He cared for his cortaysye, lest craþayn he were,
> And more for his meschef, 3if he schulde make synne (p. 55, ll. 1773-4).

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[361] See page 227 above, for similar doubts.

He denies himself her body, but accepts her protecting girdle, and this he does not give to her husband. As a result, his reputation for absolute truth is somewhat tarnished, but so perfect are his manners that even after he has been told the nature of the trick to which he has been subjected, he can say to the Green Knight, "And comaundeȝ me to þat cortays, your comlych fere" (p. 74, l. 2411).

The reader has already been patient, or perhaps impatient, with "statistics," but he must now be burdened with something more of that order. Twenty-seven[362] of our sixty-four documents have more uses of courteous, courtesy and courteously than has *Gawain* so far as actual numbers go, but all of these are longer than *Gawain* by from one thousand to twenty-seven thousand lines.[363] When we come to Gawain's courtesy we find that only *Deus Espees*, five times its length, surmounts *Gawain* in actual number of references by twelve to nine, and those which equal *Gawain*, namely, *Atre*, *Escanor* and the Vulgate-*Merlin*, are all many times longer. *Hunbaut*, only a thousand lines longer, and the Vulgate-*Livre* tie for third place with seven each. So far as Gawain's *courtesy*, to differentiate the noun from the adjective and adverb, is concerned, only *Deus Espees* with seven has more occurrences than *Gawain's* five, and only Pseudo-Wauchier, five times as long, has as many as four.

We may conclude, then, that even one who read widely in Arthurian romance would come away from no other work with as clear and concentrated an impression of Gawain's courtesy as he would have after putting down *Gawain*. When one adds to this the marked similarity of the openings of the *Squire's Tale* and *Gawain*, shared though the details may be with other romances, the theory is inviting, and certainly not incredible, that Chaucer had read *Gawain* at some time before he began the *Squire's Tale*, and thus was moved to use Gawain as the model and touchstone of courtesy in that poem. There is reason to think that *Cléomadès*, possibly introduced to him by Froissart years before,[364] gave Chaucer the horse of brass, and if we are willing to credit him with reading that lengthy and rather indifferent poem, how much better to have cause for feeling that he also knew the best romance written in any language during his lifetime!

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[362] *Abenteuer Gawains*, *Atre*, *Claris*, *Deus Espees*, *Durmart*, *Erec*, *Escanor*, *Fergus*, *Floriant*, Gerbert, *Graal*, *Hunbaut*, *Jaufré*, Manassier, Manning, *Méliador*, *Meraugis*, *Perlesvaus*, Pseudo-Wauchier, *Rigomer*, *Suite du Merlin*, Vulgate-*Merlin*, Vulgate-*Lancelot*, Vulgate-*Livre*, Wace, Wauchier, *Yvain*.

[363] Two of the documents only, *Hunbaut* and the Arthurian portion of Wace, are not some multiple of the length of *Gawain*.

[364] See Whiting, "Froissart as Poet." *Mediaeval Studies*, viii (1946), 195, n. 29.

Annales Domitiani Latini: An Edition[*]

FRANCIS P. MAGOUN, JR.

FOREWORD[1]

OF THE surviving texts of the *Old-English Annals* those preserved in British Museum *Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII*, fol. 29^r (30^r)-69^v (70^v)[2] have been the most neglected, though the OE text (*F*) was long ago edited by Benjamin Thorpe.[3] On the other hand, apart from a few excerpts of special interest, the Latin text (*ADL*) has never been printed.[4]

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[*] To the memory of my teacher and friend Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster († 31 October 1942).

[1] At the outset I should like to acknowledge certain obligations gratefully incurred in the preparation of this edition. Originally I had contemplated editing both the Old-English (*F*-text of the *Old-English Annals*) and Latin (*ADL*) texts as combined in Brit. Mus. *Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII*, in collaboration with Mrs. Marie Hoffmann-Hirtz of Strasburg (Alsace), with whom I had had the pleasure of coöperating in some measure in her competent French translation of the *Parker Chronicle* (*A*-text): *Une chronique anglo-saxonne, traduite d'après le manuscrit 173 de Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Strasburg: Librarie d'Alsace, 1933). By correspondence in 1938 and 1939 we worked out from photostats a first draft of these texts and, though the circumstances of World War II made continued collaboration impossible, I am exceedingly grateful for her help at that stage of the work. In the course of time I decided against attempting an edition of both *F* and *ADL*, since *F* had already been adequately if somewhat carelessly edited by Thorpe (*ed. cit. infra*), and limited myself to the hitherto unpublished *ADL*. In 1945 I published an edition of the Preface of *ADL* (*Speculum*, XX, 65-72) including general remarks, some of which, thanks to permission from *Speculum*, I repeat or summarize below.

Due to many erasures, corrections, interlinear and marginal insertions not improbably by more than one, and perhaps by several hands and often minutely written (see p. 238, below), the text is often difficult, at times impossible, to make out. Some of the writing is irretrievably lost, some passages are difficult to read both in the manuscript and in the photostats. Indeed, without help from persons better equipped than myself I should have been more than reluctant to publish the present edition. I have, however, been doubly fortunate; for I have been able to profit from corrections and improvements based on an examination of the manuscript itself by Dr. George Kane of University College London, who has also contributed the most important part of the "Description of the Manuscript" (pp. 236-239, below), and no less from a study of the photostats by the Rev. Dr. J. Reginald O'Donnell of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, for the benefit of whose experience and skill as a palaeographer I am most grateful. To both these scholars, also to Mrs. R. P. Lister of Lymister, Sussex (pro tem. Cambridge, Mass.) for help in proof-reading, I owe much in the way of clearing the text of errors great and small. For the published text I alone am responsible.

In conclusion I would note that the photostats of this text are now in the possession of the Pontifical Institute.

[2] The folio numbers in brackets refer to numbers pencilled in the lower right-hand corners of most folios and are those occasionally cited by Charles Plummer in his *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, II (Oxford, 1899), xxxvi-vii (hereafter cited as Plummer). The unenclosed numbers used here are in ink and of the eighteenth century and are written in the upper right-hand corners. See further p. 238, below.

[3] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle according to Several Original Authorities*, I (Rolls Series, No. 23, London, 1861), pp. 3 ff., on the odd pages, right-hand column, occasionally at the foot of the page. For numerous minor corrections of Thorpe's text see Carl-Henric Fernquist, "Study on the O.E. Version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Cott. Domitian A. VIII," *Studier i modern Sprakvetenskap*, XIII (Uppsala, 1937), 39-103, and F. P. Magoun, Jr., "The Domitian Bilingual of the *Old-English Annals*: Notes on the *F*-text," *Modern Language Quarterly*, VI (1945), 371-80.

[4] Sixty-six years ago Reinhold Pauli in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XIII (Hannover, 1881), 94, commented on this deficiency: "Versionem enim illam Latinam s. xii. ab editoribus omnibus hucusque praetermissam esse, valde miramur." Pauli here printed a number of short selections dealing with Frankish affairs, while Plummer included some odds and ends in his *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, also a few short items in his *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica*, etc., II (Oxford, 1896), *passim*. On the inserted documents see pp. 242-43, below.

1. Description of the Manuscript

Lacking the opportunity to inspect the manuscript, I am singularly pleased to be able to communicate the following information furnished me by Dr. George Kane of University College London, for whose generous help in connection with the present edition I gratefully refer in n. 1, above.

Cotton Domitian A. VIII is a 4to vellum manuscript contained in the original Cotton binding; the binding has now perished at the inside edge of the front board and has broken away from the sewing at the back. The average size of the pages, apparently cut down for uniformity, is 6″ x 8½″ (14.7 x 21 cm.). In *Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), p. 573, the bilingual version of the *Old-English Annals*, listed as item 11 (item 10 in the *Elenchus*, below) is described as:

> Chronicon Saxonico-Latinum a Christo nato, fere ad mortem Edwardi R. et Conf. cum praefatione Saxonica, ex initio Hist. Eccles. Bedes desumpta. Multa comentitia inseruntur in hoc codice à monacho quodam (ut videtur) Eccl. Chi. Cantuariae. Hic est ille codex quem describere operae pretium duxit Fr. Junius. Cujus discrepantes lectiones diligentissime notavit in chronici sui Saxonici imo margine, vir Clar. Edm. Gibsonus.

The second of the vellum flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript contains an *Elenchus contentorum in hoc codice*, probably in the hand of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton's librarian, Richard James; the present text appears as item 10 in a list of 25:

1. Compendium historicum de Regibus Anglosaxonicis.
2. Nomina antiquorum Episcoporum Cantuarie et Eboraci cum nominibus etiam episcoporum Dunelmensium et notâ de deportatione corporis sancti Cuthberti.
3. De Successione Comitum Northumbriae post ultimum Regem Eiricum.
4. Paschalis Papae rescriptum ad Henricum primum Regem Angliae super investituris.
5. Paschalis investituras Teutonici regni permittit Henrico Imperatori.
6. Henricus Imperator resignat investituras Paschali Papae.
7. Iuramentum quod Episcopi olim praestabant Romano Pontifici.
8. Versus quidam rythmici gravem querimoniam et fidei pariter symbolum exprimentes. videntur esse Hyldeberti.
9. Compendium historiae a turri Babilonicâ ad Ludovicum filium Caroli Magni.
10. Historia Latino-Saxonica à primis Brytanniae incolis ad tempora Edwardi Confessoris.
11. Epistola Roberti Abbatis montis sancti Mishaelis de chronica Eusebii continuata per Hieronymum Prosperum et Sigebertum, et de suis supplementis.
12. Historia Romanorum Anglorum et Francorum ab anno Domini 1153 ad anno 1179.
13. Tractatus imperfectus de Legibus Angliae scriptus tempore Henrici primi Regis Anglorum divisus in 4^{or} libris quorum primus continet leges Anglicas in Latinum translatas. Secundus habet quaedam scripta ut inquit author temporis nostri necessaria. Tertius est de statu et agendis causarum. Quartus est de furto et partibus eius.
14. Liber de contemptu mundi ad Walterum consortem authore Henrico Huntendonensi.
15. Fragmentum chartae Henrici primi de libertatibus Angliae.
16. Cantredae Wallenses.
17. Historia breuis de Regibus Angliae incipiendo a Rollone primo duce Normanniae et desinendo in tempore Edwardi 2^{dj}.

18. Nota de temporibus quibus bella praecipua temporibus Edwardi tertij Regis Anglorum pungnata sint.
19. Nota de Cantredis Wallicis.
20. De fundatione monasterii sancti Petri Gloucestrensis vbi de dotatione eius et gubernatione sub abbatissis primum deinde sub clericis.
21. De successu monasterij eiusd. sub Abbatibus ab anno Domini 1072 ad anno 1381.
22. Donationes omnium bonorum monasterij sancti petri Gloucestriae tam temporalium quam spiritualium per modum alphabeti.
23. Scutum dei triangulum in quo de mysterio trinitatis agitur.
24. Abecedaria nescio quae quibus explecandis Oedipo opus est.
25. Calendarium.

The manuscript consists of twenty-five gatherings of unequal numbers of leaves:

Gathering	*Foldings*	*No. of Leaves*	*Contents*
1[5]	2	4	*Elenchus* on recto and verso of 2d leaf
2	4	8	items 1-8, with last 2 leaves blank
3[6]	4	8	
4	5	10	item 9
5	2	4	
6	4	8 (fol. 29-36)	item 10. The odd leaf is numbered 59, mounted on stiff paper, and sewn in with gathering 9. The text reads vertically upward.
7	4	8 (fol. 37-44)	
8	6	12 (fol. 45-56)	
9	6	12 (fol. 57-69)	
		and 1 odd leaf	
10[5]	1	2	blank
11	4	8	item 12
12	4	8	
13	4	8	
14[5]	1	2	blank
15	4	8	item 13
16	4	8	
17[5]	1	2	blank
18	4	8	item 14
		and 1 odd leaf	end of item 14 and item 15
19	5	10	items 16-22
20	4	8	
21	4	8	
22	4	8	
23	4	8	
		1 leaf sewn in with gathering 24	item 23
24	3	6	item 24
25	3	6	item 25

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[5] Not numbered.

[6] The blank leaves are not numbered.

The pages of the manuscript are numbered in the upper right-hand corner in ink in an eighteenth-century hand, beginning with the first page of the copy proper. The blank leaves, as noted in the scheme above, are unnumbered; counting these the total is 173 leaves. In the lower right-hand corners of the same pages is a second, later numbering in pencil, beginning with the flyleaf containing the *Elenchus*, then skipping to the first leaf of gathering 2; this total consequently reaches 174.[7]

It is clear that what is now one book was once several. One cannot be certain when or by whom this miscellany was bound together, but the obvious inference is that Cotton here indulged in his practice of binding together independent items of the same size, an inference neither confirmed nor refuted by the make-up of the book. The ecclesiastical calendar (item 25 of the *Elenchus*), by not conforming to the Gloucester model, virtually rules out the possibility that the present book with its interest in English antiquities, the West Country and the Welsh Marches (cantreds), and St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester—not unrelated material—was put together at St. Peter's, Gloucester, or in a sister or daughter house at some time before the Reformation.

Turning to item 10, containing the present Latin annals and the Old-English *F*-text, it may be noted that the vellum is of good quality and well finished. There is no trace of ruling, but the writing on many pages is too level to have been done without a guide. The ink of the main writing has become a dark sepia, but the ink of the marginalia and interlineations is almost everywhere lighter, at times so much so as to be completely illegible. Compared with such books as the *Parker Chronicle* this is an unimpressive copy, one might say almost cheaply got up, though it appears to have been planned as something better. The first page (fol. 29^r-29^v) is in a careful, regular script, with respectable margins, but the progressive diminution in the size of the writing is a good index of how the script deteriorates steadily until it can only be described as hasty, slipshod, careless and mean. On fol. 29 the minuscules are at least ⅛″ high, the majuscules ¼″ or more. Already by fol. 30^r the minuscules are down to less than 1/12″, the majuscules to ⅛″, and on fol. 30^v the first of the minute writing—palaeographically the manuscript's sole claim to distinction—begins, where it is still 1/16″ high. On fol. 35^v there is a splendid example of minuscules 1/32″ high!

There appears to be only one gap proper in the next, namely, on fol. 56^v after the entry date 936. It would seem that an entry had been planned for this year but was never made. Might the scribe have been looking for a copy of the Brúnanburh poem?

At some period certain folios have been heavily discolored. Foll. 29^r and 69^v are stained, though the stain is confined to the part of the page written on and looks as if it might have been caused by a brush. It would seem that the manuscript was at one time unbound, that these two outside leaves became in time very faded, and that some eager scholar touched them up so as to be able to read them. Foll. 29^v and 30^r show the effects of some liquid spilled on them. Fol. 53^r (right and bottom margin), fol. 59 (the inserted sheet), fol. 60^r (lower right hand and bottom margin), fol. 66^r (about ll. 6-14 and bottom margin) all show a darkened vellum coinciding with a much fainter writing. It is practically certain that a reagent was here applied to already faint writing in order to bring it up. But after a time the effect disappeared and in the end resulted in a darker parchment and a writing even fainter than before. The basis of this conjecture are the apparent brushmarks on foll. 29ʳ and 69ᵛ.[8]

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[7] See further n. 2, above.

To the foregoing Fernquist (p. 41, §1) adds a few details:

> It is written in black except the dates which are in red ink . . . The dates have sometimes been erased to make room for entries, sometimes they stand side by side in a long line. Two annals have been lined through (fol. 38, 40), and additions have been inserted, now in the margin, now between the lines . . . In the margin of the Latin version there is often an index pointing to some important fact or name.

These index fingers are at times accompanied by marginal annotations (the latter sometimes with an index) in a later hand, presumably of the sixteenth century, which Plummer (II, xxxvi, n. 2) would identify with that of the antiquary Robert Talbot (1505?-1558) found in the *C*-text of the *Annals*.[9]

The hand at its best is illustrated by Thorpe's lithographed Plate VI (in front matter to Vol. I of his edition), showing fol. 30ʳ (29ʳ) with the beginning of the Latin preface of *ADL*. It seems likely that the main scribe of the manuscript is the same as the principal interpolator of the *A*-text (*Parker Chronicle*, a Canterbury book) (Plummer, II, xxxvi, §27; Fernquist, p. 53, §4a).[10] The date of the manuscript is probably between 1110 and 1150, on palaeographical and linguistic grounds most likely to be dated about the middle of this period (Fernquist, p. 101, §112 *ad fin.*; p. 53, §4d). Language and material emphasis point to this having been from the outset a Canterbury book (Fernquist, pp. 101-02, §113; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 1943, p. 681) and may well be identical with the item entered in a thirteenth-century catalogue of Christ Church as "*Cronica Latine et Anglice.*"[11] The Latin *ADL* end with the year 1057, the OE *F*-text carrying on through 1058, but at this point a gathering is missing, so that it is impossible to know the original extent of either the English or the Latin text.

2. The Affiliations of the OE and Latin Texts

Both *F* and *ADL* are evidently closely related to *E* (Peterborough Chronicle), though scarcely to be thought of as an epitome of the same, as Plummer would have it (II, xxxviii, §32; xliii, §38). Plummer is probably right in assuming that *E*, *F*, and *ADL* look back ultimately to an antecedent text which he designates *e* or rather epsilon (II, xxxix-xl; stemma, p. lxiii); as one particularly obvious feature one may note in all three the omission of the great annals of 894 to 897.[12] Fernquist (*op. cit.*, p. 97) describes *F* as a "sister-MS" of *E*, and *loc. cit.*, n. 1, summarizes Plummer to the effect that "F. is based not upon E. itself but upon that chronicle from which E. was transcribed at Peterborough (the so-called Augustinian part of E. transcribed at Canterbury between 1023 and 1067 from a copy of MS.D.)." The scribe of *F* and *ADL* seems to have had access to the Canterbury book *A* (Plummer II, xxxix, §34, and esp. n. 4, also pp. lxiii-iv, n. 3), in which, as noted above, he apparently made insertions. *F* and *ADL* also show considerable use of miscellaneous additional materials (Plummer II, xl-xli).

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[8] Here I note for bibliographical completeness the rather sketchy observations on this matter by previous scholars: Thorpe, *ed. cit.*, I, xix-xx (of trifling consequence); Plummer, II, xxxvi, §27 (I, xii-xiii, is merely a general statement); and Fernquist, *art. cit.*, pp. 41-42).

[9] In the margin of the *A*-text, fol. 16ᵛ opposite the annal for 893 I note (in EETS facsimile, *cit. infra*) in a sixteenth-century hand: "R. Talbotus in suo Itinere transfert hec verba in Latino." For editions and Mss. of Talbot's commentary on the Antonine Itinerary, see *Dict. Natl. Biog.*, XIX, 337, col. 1.

[10] For specimen of this see Robin Flower and (Arthur) Hugh Smith, *The Parker Chronicle and Laws* (*Corpus Christi Cambridge Ms. 173*), *a Facsimile* (Early Engl. Text Soc., Orig., Ser. No. 208, London, 1941), e.g., fol. 7ʳ.

[11] Fernquist, p. 41. See further Montague R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, etc. (Cambridge, 1903), p. 51, item 318, and Introduction, p. xxvii, No. 15.

[12] For *E* and *F* see Thorpe, *ed. cit.*, I, 165-78, 165, n. 1; for *ADL* p. 259, below.

3. The Mutual Relations of *F* and *ADL*

Of greater interest in the present connection are the mutual relations of *F* and *ADL*. At the outset it may be said that *ADL* is no systematic translation of the OE of *F*, with which it is physically combined in *Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII*, nor, to be sure, is the reverse the case. The essential divergencies between these texts have been analysed quite fully by Plummer (II, xli-iv, §38) and are as follows: (1) Where the source of an OE entry in the scribe's or compiler's exemplar is a Latin work, e.g., the Bible or Bede,[13] the scribe or compiler turned to, and drew upon, the Latin original rather than attempt a Latin retroversion from the OE immediately before him; (2) in many instances either the OE or the Latin entry is fuller than the corresponding entry in the other language and will show occasional scribal attempts to adjust such discrepancies by means of interlinear or marginal insertions; (3) many entries are not common to the two versions, missing OE entries are shown in the present edition by the occasional absence of points of interruption (. . .).[14] To these features noted by Plummer I would add the following: (1) the preface of *ADL* is a very different affair from that of *F*, with which it is physically associated; it is, indeed, quite different from the preface of any OE version of the *Annals*.

> "It draws directly on Bede for two passages which had been used in English translation in the *D, E, F* (§I) and *A, B, C* (§III) type of preface respectively—thus producing a conflate type—and it adds in somewhat abridged form a longish passage from the Nennian *Historia Brittonum* (§III). As far as the preface is concerned, *ADL* must be viewed as relatively independent of other versions of the *OE Annals*."[15]

(2) Apart from the frequent but by no means invariable addition of Latin inflectional endings to proper names, in *ADL* the spelling of these names often varies between the corresponding English and Latin entries;[16] proper names in *ADL* often show *d* for OE *ð*. More examples of all features noted by Plummer in his footnotes *loc. cit.* can easily be collected by a comparison of the present text of *ADL* with *F* in Thorpe's *ed. cit.*, but such additional material, while sharpening the picture, will not substantially alter it.

4. The Production of the Domitian Bilingual

Throughout his discussion of *F* and *ADL* Plummer regularly refers to the "scribe" in a fashion strongly suggesting that he thought of the latter as identical with the adapting translator of *ADL*. With particular reference to certain linguistically hybrid annals he observes, for instance, that "the scribe was embarassed by his task of bilingual writing" (II, xliii). By assuming some rather elaborate procedure this might be the case. For example, while translating into Latin in the present manuscript the OE entries as they came along, so to speak, he may have had recourse to various Latin works in order to give the *ipsissima verba* of sources (e.g., the Bible or Bede) which he recognized. He may intentionally have omitted certain English annals and added certain Latin annals and vice versa; he may have composed a new preface *ad hoc* and frequently have made almost capricious changes in the spellings of proper names in *ADL* vs. what he would have written down a few seconds before in the immediately preceding OE entry. Subsequently, he may have partially assimilated one text to the other, where such differences as he originally made came subsequently to strike him as somewhat inconsistent or undesirable. On this basis it is possible to view *ADL*, as it stands, as a translation made on the spot by the scribe for inclusion in *Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII* which he was preparing. But another explanation of the production of this bilingual seems to me more likely.

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[13] To which in the present edition I have furnished references.

[14] See p. 243, below.

[15] Magoun, "The Domitian Bilingual of the *Old-English Annals*: the Latin Preface, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 72 *ad fin.*

[16] Observable at a glance by comparing corresponding entries of the Latin and OE texts.

Before the Latin text of *ADL* was combined with OE *F* in the present manuscript, it was in my opinion an independent book, somewhat, though not greatly different from the present text. It was almost certainly a Canterbury book and translated and adapted from an OE text much like, but not identical with, *F*; it may well have been based on a modified copy or version of the exemplar of *F*. On such a distinct work and undertaking separate from, and antecedent to, the preparation of *Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII*, the compiler would seem to have bestowed a good deal of special attention. One may not be far wrong in fancying that he may have made his Latin version for the benefit of foreign clerics at Christ Church, Canterbury.[17] To this compiler would be due the special preface (p. 240, above, also pp. 243-44, below, for text) with its emphasis on the Trojan origin of the British (English) royal line, a point apparently made in the cause of English political-social prestige vis-à-vis the Norman conquerors who were then enjoying a very newly-acquired and similarly flattering dynastic tradition.[18] It would be he, too, who may have omitted various annals occurring in his OE source and who added Latin annals not in his source. Where translating from OE he presumably did not spell every name exactly as in his OE source, yet as a matter of mechanical convenience presumably by and large followed its orthography; such would be the natural thing for a translator to do. At any rate, if I am right or nearly right, the spellings of these proper names would in this regard have differed in his source from those of *F* or rather the source of *F*, as such orthographic differences would tend to prevail between almost any two OE manuscripts. This Latin version, essentially the exemplar of *ADL*, I can imagine being prepared at Canterbury in the last quarter of the eleventh century, certainly after 1058 (the last surviving entry of *F*) and perhaps, as suggested above, during the primacy of Lanfranc. This compiler of mine (Plummer's scribe) who here and there may have been "embarassed by his bilingual writing" (Plummer, II, xliii), nevertheless, on the whole did "his work as a translator well" (Plummer, *ibid.*)

Some years later—any time before Fernquist's upper limit of 1150—a man conceived the idea of preparing a bilingual, not impossibly for the purpose of language teaching in one form or another. For this he would have found conveniently at hand two very like but not identical versions of the *OE Annals*, one in OE in the exemplar of *F*, one in Latin in the exemplar of *ADL*. These two texts I conceive of his having combined in *Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII*, at the same time partially though by no means completely assimilating to one another the already very like versions.

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[17] Perhaps during the primacy of Lanfranc (1070-89) who largely increased the number of monks at Christ Church. See E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, IV (rev. American ed., Oxford, 1873), 243, ch. XIX, §2; art. "Lanfranc" in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, XI, esp. p. 527, col. 1; and F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943), pp. 664-65.

[18] See Magoun, "Brutus and English Politics." *ELH, A Journal of English Literary History*, XIV (1947), 178-80.

5. The Five Inserted Documents

Whether spurious or genuine the five documents inserted in the annals for 694, 742, 796, 870 and 995 are of interest for the history of the Roman Catholic Church of Anglo-Saxon England. These have to some extent been studied and edited, and variant texts from manuscripts other than the present have been published. For convenience of future study the following bibliographical data are appended.

(i) *King Wihtred's Grant*

This grant of privileges, inserted in the annal for 694 (pp. 250-51, below) exists in three manuscripts outside of the present one, where, beside the Latin text, there is (fol. 43^v-44^r) also an Old-English translation.[19] The present Latin text was printed by Birch (*op. cit.*, I, 138-40, No. 95), together with three variant versions (his Nos. 91-93, pp. 127-37). Birch's No. 91 is also in Haddan-Stubbs, III, 239, his No. 92 (pp. 133-135) in J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, V (London, 1847), 36-39, No. 997; also in Benj. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum* (London, 1865), pp. 9-11, and Hadden-Stubbs, III, 239.

(ii) *King Æthelbald's Confirmation of Wihtred's Grant*

This grant, confirming the privileges of No. i, above, is inserted in the annal for 742 (p. 253, below); it has no counterpart in the preceding Old-English entry (fol. 46^v; Thorpe, I, 79), where there is only a brief notice of the Council of Clovesho. The Latin text has been printed from three other manuscripts by Kemble, I, 105-07, No. 87; Haddan-Stubbs, III, 340-42; Birch, I, 233-37, Nos. 162, 162A; John Earle, *A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters* (Oxford, 1888), pp. 36-40; and Hubert Pierquin, *Recueil général des chartes anglo-saxonnes* (Paris, 1912), pp. 63-64. The present text is closest to that of Lambeth *Ms. 1212* (see Earle, pp. 39-40).

(iii) *Archbishop Æthelhard on Pope Leo III's Edict*

This statement of Pope Leo III's edict concerning lay power in the Church, made at an alleged synod, is inserted in the annal for 796 (pp. 254-55, below), where, beside the Latin text, there is also an Old-English translation (fol. 49^r).[20] The Latin text is printed in Thorpe, *ed. cit.*, I, 103; Haddan-Stubbs, III, 517; and Birch, I, 404-05, No. 290A. As preserved in other texts it is given in Kemble, V, 56-57, No. 1018; Haddan-Stubbs, III, 517-18 (see also p. 547); and Birch, I, 402-03, No. 290.

(iv) *Archbishop Æthelred's Chaplains*

This admonition against the employment of secular clerics, echoed in No. v, below, is inserted in the annal for 870 (pp. 257-58, below), with a preceding Old-English version (fol. 53^r; Thorpe, I, 134-35, foot of page; and Plummer, I, 283-84). The Latin text is printed in Plummer, I, 284-85, with some discussion in Haddan-Stubbs, III, 596, 575-77.

(v) *Archbishop Ælfric and the Expulsion of Secular Clerics*

This pronouncement, echoing No. iv, above, is inserted in the annal for 995

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[19] In Henry Petrie—John Sharpe, edd., *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (London, 1848), pp. 324-25 (with Engl. transl.); Thorpe, *ed. cit.*, I, 66-67 (foot of page); A. W. Haddan—Wm. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III (Oxford, 1878), 240-247; W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, I (London, 1885), 137-38, No. 94; transl. Jas. Ingram, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (many printings), *sub anno.*

[20] Edited in *Mon. Hist. Britannica*, p. 339 (with Engl. transl.); Thorpe, *ed. cit.*, I, 102-03; Haddan-Stubbs, III, 516; and Birch, I, 404, No. 290A; transl. Ingram *sub anno.*

(pp. 262-64, below), with a preceding Old-English version (fol. 58^{v}-59^{r}). The Latin text is printed in Thorpe, *ed. cit.*, I, 245-47 (bottom of page) and in Plummer, I, 285-87. For some discussion see Plummer, II, 178-79 and Plummer's Bede, II, 83 (notes to bk. i, ch. 33), also Kemble, III, 346-48, No. 715, dealing with what Plummer calls "this pretended reform."

6. Plan of the Edition

The present edition has for various reasons, technical and other, been constructed along the simplest lines. The published text is intended to give the reader the words of the manuscript as far as these are still legible, but it cannot and does not attempt to show the position and arrangement on the pages of those parts of the text inserted between lines or disposed here and there about the margins. Nor does it indicate changes in the size and style of the script (see p. 238, above). To emulate, let us say, Plummer in this regard would require a press with very extensive and elaborate resources. Thus, a reader comparing the printed text with the manuscript may on occasion, though probably only rarely, have to move slowly in order to follow the course of certain marginal additions.

Capitalization, punctuation and the use of *u* and *v* follow modern practice, but lower-case ę's have been kept and not resolved to *ae*. The omission of the Old-English entries, already edited by Thorpe (see p. 235, n. 3, above) is shown by three points of interruption (. . .) . Space left by erasures is not indicated, but illegible portions of the text are shown by colons (: : :); some of these portions might well be retrieved by the use of ultraviolet light. Supplied letters and words are placed in angular brackets; those in the inserted documents (pp. 242-43., above) derive mainly from Thorpe and Plummer, in whose time some of the writing at least was evidently clearer than today. Other information is put in round brackets, including folio-indications, glosses, and scribal corrections. Manuscript contractions and suspensions have been silently expanded or resolved I have been free in querying uncertain readings.

(ANNALES DOMITIANI LATINI)

. . . (*fol. 30^{r}*) Britannia insula habet in longitudine octingenta miliaria, in latitudine .CC^{ta}. miliaria.

In ista insula habentur quinque gentes: Angli, Britoni, Waloni, Scithi et Picti.

Britones primi possessores huius insulę fuerunt, qui venientes de Armenia in primis incoluerunt australem partem huius insulę.

Contigit etiam tunc temporis Pictos venire de Scithia cum paucis longis navibus et, circumagente flatu ventorum, extra omnes fines Brittanię Ybernię septentrionales oras intrasse.

Ad hanc ergo Picti pervenientes petierunt in ea sibi quoque sedes et habitationem dari. Responderunt Scotti, quia non ambos caperet eos insula, 'sed possumus,' inquiunt, 'salubre vobis dare consilium. Novimus,' inquiunt, 'insulam aliam non procul a nostra contra ortum solis, quam sepe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere solemus. Hanc adire si vultis, habitabilem vobis facere valetis; et, siquis vobis restiterit, nobis auxiliariis utimini.' Itaque petentes Brytanniam Picti habitare per septentrionales insulę ceperunt partes, nam australia Britones occupaverunt. Cumque uxores (*fol. 30^{v}*) non habentes Picti peterent a Scottis, ea sola conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent; quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.

In annalibus Romanorum scriptum est: Eneas post Troianum bellum Albam condidit; postea vero uxorem duxit, que peperit ei filium, et nomen eius vocavit Silvium. Silvius etiam uxorem duxit, et gravidam factam Eneas fecit quondam magum mulierem explorare, quid haberet in ventre, masculum aut feminam. Considerata muliere, magus rediens ad dominum suum Ascanium dixit: 'Mulier concepit masculum et est filius mortis, qui perempturus est patrem et matrem, et omnibus erit exosus.' Sicque evenit. Nam, nato puero, ex partu mortua est mater. Vocatus est puer Britto.

Qui post aliquanto temporis ludens cum ceteris pueris coram patre ictu sagittę, non industria, occidit patrem. Qui ab Italia expulsus pervenit ad Gallos ibique condidit civitatem Toranorum, que dicitur Tornis. Postea ad istam pervenit insulam, que ab eo vocata est Brittannia.

Hec consurgit ab Affrico boreali ad occidentem versus. In ea sunt .XXVIII civitates et innumerabilia promuntoria cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et latere fabricatis, et in ea habitant .iiii. genera hominum: Scotti, Picti, Saxones, Britones.

Habet etiam tres magnas insulas, quarum una vertit contra Armoricos et vocatur Inis Gueiht; secunda sita est in umbilico maris inter Hiberniam et Brittanniam et vocata Eubonia, id est Manau; tertia sita est in extremo limite orbis Brittanię et dicitur Orc.

Anno sexagesimo ante Incarnationem Dominicam Gaius Iulius Cesar primus Romanorum Brittanniam bello pulsavit, et vicit, nec tamen ibi regnum potuit optinere (*fol. 31*^{r}).

V Milia CCXX.

Anni Domini Nostri Iesu Christi. Anno ab urbe condita septingentesim<o> LIII anno.

Anno I. Octavianus regnavit LVI annis, et XLII anno regni eius natus est Christus.

Anno II. Adventus Magorum et Passio Infantum.

Anno III. Obitus Herodis et Relatio Pueri ex Egipto.

Anno VII. A principio mundi usque adhuc sunt V milia et ducenti.

Anno XII. Christus in templo doctores interrogavit . . . Divisio Iudaici Regni in IIII tetrarchias.

Anno XV. Obiit Octavianus; successit Tiberius.

Anno XVI. . . . Imperium Tiberii Cesaris incipit.

Anno XXV. Hunc annum primum ponit in ciclo suo Victorius, in quo fuerunt duo gemini consules, et est annus XV Tiberii.

Anno XXVI. . . . Pilatus in Iudea procurator efficitur.

Anno XXVIIII. Hunc annum primum ponit in ciclo suo Victorius, in quo fuerunt duo gemini consules, qui est quintus decimus Tiberii Cesaris.

Anno XXX. Christo baptizato, doctrina eius et miracula incipiunt. In isto anno in aliabus cronicis passio Iohannis sub anno tricesimo . . . (*fol. 31*^{v}). Iohannes Baptista in castro Macherunta occiditur. Christus baptizatur. Petrus et Andreas et XII apostoli eliguntur.

33. . . . Christus crucifigitur a mundi exordio V milia CCXXVI anno.

34. . . . Conversio Sancti Pauli et Lapidatio Sancti Stephani.

35. . . . Cathedra Sancti Petri in Antiochia.

38. . . . Matheus hoc tempore scripsit evangelium. Pilatus seipsum manu sua peremit.

39. . . . Gaius Cesar cepit imperare.

40. . . . Herodem, a vinculis liberatum, regem Iudeę facitum (?). Herodes tetrarcha Romam veniens, accusatus ab Agrippa, tetrarchiam perdit fugiensque in Hispaniam cum Herodiade in carcere periit. Matheus in Iudea evangelium scribit.

44. Pilatus, infestante se Gaio, propria manu se peremit. . . . Petrus cathedram sedit aput Romam.

45. . . . Decedente Gaio, successit Claudius. Hic occiditur Iacobus, frater Iohannis, ab Herode.

46. Nero obiit; Vespasianus successit.

47(?) . . . Hic Claudius adiens Brittanniam plurimam insulę partem recepit in deditionem; Orcadas quoque insulas adiecit Romano Imperio.

47. Petrus Rome cathedram Rome suscepit. . . . (*fol.* 32^{r}). Marcus evangelium in Egipto scribit.

48. . . . Fames gravissima facta est.

49. . . . Nero incipit regnare.

51. . . . Paulus Romam vinctus mittitur.

52. Claudius Iudeos Roma expulit.

53. Fames maxima, de qua Lucas refer<t>.

56. Mortuo Claudio, successit Nero, sub quo persecutio prima.

58. Festus procurator Iudeę, a quo Paulus vinctus mittitur Romam; tunc agente Nerone, ad predicandum post biennium dimittitur.

62. Sanctus Iacobus, frater Domini Nostri, lapidatur . . . Iacobus, frater Domini, a Iudeis passus est.

63. . . . Marcus evangelista et tunc obiit.

68. Linum et Cletum Petrus ordinavit ad(?) <e>xemplanda exteriora ministeria; ipse vero orationis verbo instabat.

69. Crucifixio Petri et decollatio Pauli.

70. Obiit Nero; successit Vespasianus. Vespasianus regnare incipit.

71. Titus filius Vespasiani in Ierusalem undecies centena milia occidit. Alii dicunt C milia et XI milia (*fol.* 32^{v}).

72. Linus obiit, et Clemens successit Petro. Subversio Ierselom sub Vespasiano.

81. . . . Titus Vespasiano in regno succedit, qui dixit "se illum diem perdidisse, in quo nil boni fecisset."

83. . . . Domicianus frater Titi imperium suscepit.

84. Iohannes Apocalipsin scribit.

96. Hic passio Sancti Dionisi.

98. Iohannes Ephesum redit.

99. Obierunt Marcus, Clemens papa, Anacletus papa.

Anno C. Obiit Nerva imperator; successit Traianus ab urbe condita octingentesimo quinquaginta. Crucifixio Simonis apostoli, propinqui Salvatoris, et dormitio Iohannis Evangelistę. Ignatius episcopus bestiis traditur.

101. . . . Clemens papa obiit.

104. Obiit Evaristus papa.

110. . . . Passio Sancti Ignatii episcopi.

112. Simon Ierosolimorum episcopus crucifigitur.

114. Alexander papa hic constituit aquam benedictam fieri.

116. . . . Adrianus imperare incipit et regnavit XXI annos.

124. Obiit Sixtus papa; hic constituit in officio missę decantare 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.'

134. Obiit Thelesphorus papa; hic constituit 'Hymnum Angelicum' (*Ms.* ancelicum) cantare.

137. . . . Antoninus incipit regnare et regnavit XXI annos (*fol.* 33^{r}).

145. Obiit Heginus papa.

160. Policarpus Romam adveniens multos ab heresis liberavit.

164. Pius papa, sub quo Hermis scripsit librum Pastoris.

167. . . . Eleutherus suscipit papatum et viriliter regit XV annos. Cuius tempore Lucius rex Brytonum, missa epistola ad eum, ut Christianus efficiatur impetrat et permansit (*from* -serunt) fidelis (*from* -le) usque ad tempora Dioclitiani.

188. . . . Severus in Brittannia magnam fossam firmissimamque vallem crebris turribus communitum per CXXII milia passuum a mari ad mare eduxit, et Eboraci obiit (*fol. 33*ᵛ).

200. . . . Inventio Sanctę Crucis.

286. . . . Hic passus est Sanctus Albanus.

Anno CCCXLIII° dominicæ Incarnationis. . . . Hic obiit Sanctus Nicolaus archiepiscopus. Hec inveni in Gestis Britonum: tempore Gratiani imperatoris venit Sanctus Germanus in Brittanniam ad predicandum (*fol. 34*ʳ).

(381). . . . Maximus in Brittannia creatus imperator in Galliam transiit et Gratianum interfecit, et tempore istius Pelagiana heresis orta et divulgata est.

409. . . . Roma a Gothis (*fol. 34*ᵛ) fracta est. Ex quo tempore Romani in Brittannia regnare cessarunt; CCCCLXX annis regnabant, postquam Gaius Iulius primus venit in Brittanniam.

418. . . . Hic Romani omnes thesauros Brittanię in terra absconderunt et multos secum in Galliam portaverunt; quos autem absconderunt postea inveniri non potuerunt.

423. . . . Hic Theodosius iunior cepit regnare.

430. . . . Hic Palladius ad Scottos Christum predicaturus a Celestino papa primus mittitur episcopus.

443. . . . Hic miserunt Britones Romam propter ausilium contra Pictos et Scottos nec impetraverunt, quia eorum principes in Britannia occiderunt. Qua de re, spe frustrata, miserunt in Germaniam et inde nobilem iuventutem ad se invitaverunt.

(444). . . . Hic obiit Beatus Martinus. Anno CCCCXLIIII° (*fol. 35*ʳ).

448. . . . Hic Iohannes Baptista caput suum duobus monachis orientalibus revelat, qui ad orationem Ierosolimam venerunt iuxta Herodis quondam regis habitaculum.

Martiano et Valentiniano regnantibus, gens Anglorum ducibus Hengest et Horsa Bryttaniam, invitante Guorteguirno, tribus longis navibus in loco, qui dicitur Hypwinesflieot, advehuntur. Primo hostes, propter quos venerant, abigunt; deinde in socios arma verterunt totamque prope insulam ab orientali plaga usque ad occidentalem igni et ense subigunt.

(455). . . . (*fol. 35*ᵛ) . . . Hic Hengest et Horsa contra Britones dimicant, et Horsa occiditur in loco qui vocatur Agelesdreap.

(456). . . . Hengest et Asc filius eius IIII milia Brytonum gladio perimerunt in loco qui dicitur Creccanford, et Britones Cantiam dimiserunt et cum magno timore Lundoniam fugerunt.

465. . . . Hengest et Æsc XII duces Brytonum cum omnibus suis exercitibus sternunt, et hoc factum in loco qui dicitur Uuippedes- (*gloss.* vel Wippedes-) fleot. Ibi etiam quidam perdives nomine Uuipped ex parte Hengest occiditur.

473. . . . Hengest et Æsc iterum contra Britones dimicant et innumerabilia spolia diripiunt, et Brytones ab Anglis sicut a facie ignis fugiunt.

477. . . . Hic Ælle rex venit in Britanniam cum tribus (*fol. 36*ʳ) navibus et tribus filiis Cimen, Wlencing et Cissa, et maxima multitudo Britonum more gladii ab eis perimitur.

482. . . . Benedictus abbas virtutum gloria mundo claruit anno Domini CCCCLXXXXI, sicut beatus Gregorius in Libro Dialogorum scripsit.

490. . . . Ælle et Cissa civitatem Andredes (*Ms.* Andrecles) obsident et omnes habitatores eius more gladii perimunt, nec (*Ms.* neo) unus quidem Britonum remansit in ea.

495. . . . Duces duo, Certic et filius eius Ceneric, in Brittanniam cum V navibus advehuntur, et in ipsa eadem die bellum cum Britonibus commiserunt.

501. . . . Hic venit Port in Brittania<m> et duo filii eius cum eo, Biedda et Megla, cum II navibus in loco qui modo nominatur Portesmuthe.

508. (*fol. 36*ᵛ) . . . Cerdic et Cynric una die V milia Britonum cum rege suo

Nazaleod occidunt, et post illud tempus terra illa vocata est Nazaleod usque Certicesford.

509. . . . Beatus Benedictus abbas, pater monachorum, migravit ad cęlos.

513. . . . Hic venerunt Occidui Saxones in Brittanniam cum tribus navibus, et Stuf et Wihtgarus bellum committunt cum Britonibus, et omnes in fugam vertunt.

519. . . . Hic Cerdic et Cinric suscipiunt regnum et hoc eodem anno pugnaverunt contra Britones in loco qui nominatur Cerdingesford.

527. Cerdicius et Kenricus pugnaverunt cum Britannis apud Cerdicesleah (*corr. from* -leag).

530. . . . Hic Ceardic et Cineric acceperunt Vectam Insulam.

534. . . . Hic Cerdic, primus rex Occiduum Saxonum, obiit et filius eius Cynric suscepit regnum et dedit duobus nepotibus suis Stufo et Uuihtgaro Vectam Insulam. Iste Cynric regnavit XXVIII annis.

538. . . . Eclipsin solis facta est XIIII Kalendas Martis ab hora matutina usque ad tertiam.

540. . . . (*fol. 37*^{r}) . . . Eclipsin solis facta est XII Kalendas Iulii, et apparuerunt stelle pene dimidiam horam post tertiam.

544. . . . Hic obiit Wihtgarus rex et sepultus est in loco qui vocatur Wihtgaresbyri, hoc est in curia Wihtgari.

547. . . . Hic Ida suscepit regnum et XII annis regnavit et ipse construxit castrum Bebbanburh, a quo etiam Nordanhimbrorum regum prosapia est.

552. Hic Cynricus pugnavit contra Britones in loco qui nominatur Seleberi, et Ægelberhtus rex nascitur, qui fuit filius Eormenrici regis et XXX^{mo} anno regni sui suscepit baptismum regum Anglorum.

Cyniricus fuit filius Oesci, unde Cantuariorum regum prosapia vocantur Oescingas (*Ms.* oe Oescingas?)

559. . . . Hic cepit Ceulin regnare in Westsexan, et Ælle suscepit regnum Nordanhimbrorum post obitum Idę, et uterque regnavit XXX annis.

565. . . . (*fol. 37*^{v}) . . . Hic Ægelberhtus cepit regnare in Cantia et in diebus suis, videlicet XXXII anno regni sui, beatus Gregorius misit nobis baptismum. Columbanus (*corr. from* Columba) etiam presbiter de Scotia venit in Brittanniam et in insula Ii monasterium fecit et ibi per XXXII annos abbas permansit. Australes Picti iam baptizati erant diu ante per Ninan episcopum qui fuit doctus Romę, cuius ęcclesia habetur apud Huuiterne, ubi etiam sepultus dicitur et cum eo multi sancti viri. Iccirco apud Ii monasterium Sancti Columbani (*corr. from* Columba) abbatis semper debent esse abbates, non episcopi, quia Columbanus (*corr. from* Columba) fuit abbas non episcopus. Cui etiam abbati subiecti esse debent omnes Scotię episcopo (*fol. 38*^{r}).

568. . . . Hic Ceaulin et Cuda frater eius dimicaverunt contra Ægelberhtum, qui territus ab eis fugit in Cantiam.

577. . . . Hic Cuþuuinus et Ceaulin pugnaverunt contra Britones et occiderunt III reges Coinmagil, Candidan, Farinmagil in loco vocato Deorham et abstulerunt eis tres civitates Glaucister, Cirencister et Badanciester.

583. . . . Hic cepit Mauricius imperare.

588. . . . Hic Ælla rex defunctus est.

596. Hic se papa Gregorius sende to Brytene Augustinus cum monachis (*gloss.* mid munecum), ða Godes word scoldan bodian Angelcynne.

Hic misit papa Gregorius Augustinum cum monachis, qui genti Anglorum verbum Dei evangelizarent (*fol. 38*^{v}).

597. . . . Hic venit Augustinus et socii eius in Angliam anno plusminus centesimo quinquagesimo adventus Anglorum in Brittannia.

601. . . . Hic papa Gregorius misit Augustino (*corr. from* -a) pallium in Britannia et plures servos Dei, monachos, inter quos fuit Paulinus, qui postea convertit Eaduuinum regem.

604. . . . Hic Augustinus consecravit duos episcopos Mellitum et Iustum; Mellitum misit predicare Orientalibus Saxonicis fidem Christi. Postea Æðelbertus rex dedit Mellito episcopatum Lundonię, Iusto autem dedit sedem episcopalem in civitate Hrophis.

605. . . . Hic obiit Gregorius papa decimo anno postquam nobis Anglis evangelizavit, et hic occisi sunt ab Æðelfrido rege innumera multitudo Britonum apud Legacistre, et sic impleta est prophetia Augustini, qua dixit: "Si Britones nolunt pacem habere nobiscum, male peribunt a Saxis (cf. *HE* II, iii)." Ibi etiam occisi fuerunt CC presbiteri cum Scrocmagil duce eorum (*fol. 39*^{r}).

(614). . . . Hoc anno VII Kalendas Iunii beatus Augustinus, finito labore huius erumnosę vitę, adeptus est consortium angelorum; qui fuit apostolus Anglorum, anno Dominicę Incarnationis DCXIIII. Cui successit Laurentius, quem ipse adhuc vivens Augustinus ad hoc consecravit, ut ei succederet in archiepiscopatu.

616. . . . Hic obiit Ædelberhtus rex Cantię et Eadbold filius eius suscepit regnum, qui, relicta vera fide, fornicatus est tali fornicatione "qualem nec inter Gentes auditam apostolus testatur (*cf. I Cor.* v, 1), ita ut uxorem patris sui haberet" (*cf. HE* II, v).

Eo tempore tenebat Laurentius archiepiscopatum Cantuarię, quem beatus (*fol. 39*^{v}) Augustinus iccirco adhuc vivens ordinaverat, ne se defuncto status ęcclesię tam rudis, vel ad horam pastore destitutus vacillaret. Qui videns et dolens infidelitatem regis cepit meditare fugam. Quadam autem nocte venit ad eum beatus Petrus et "multo tempore noctis illum flagellis artioribus afficiens sciscitabatur, quare gregem, quem sibi crediderat, relinqueret" (*HE* II, vi), precepitque ei, ut regem adiret et rectam fidem illi ostenderet. Mox mane facto venit ad regem et "ostendit quantis verberibus causa illius esset laceratus" (*HE, ibid.*) a beato apostolo. Qui videns pontificem sic male tractatum extimuit et, accepta ab eo atque audita Christi fide, dimissa uxore (*deleted*) fornicaria et aliis superstitionibus, devotus permansit in fide Catholica. Cuius regis, videlicet Eadbaldi, tempore idem Laurentius archiepiscopus defunctus est, et post eum Mellitus episcopus Lundoniensis suscepit archiepiscopatum et V annis tenuit.

Ab initio mundi V mille DCCC anni.

619. . . . Hic obiit Laurentius archiepiscopus.

624. . . . Hic obiit Mellitus archiepiscopus.

625. . . . (*fol. 40*^{r}) Hic Iustus archiepiscopus ordinavit (*gloss.* vel sacravit) Paulinum ad archiepiscopatum Nordanhumbrorum.

627. . . . Hic Paulinus baptizavit Eduuinum regem in Pasca et ante eodem anno baptizaverat filiam suam in Pentecosten nomine Eanflæd. Honorius quoque accepit apostolatum post Bonifatium et ipse misit Paulino pallium. Iustus etiam archiepiscopus obiit IIII Idus Novembris, et Honorius est consecratus a Paulino ad archiepiscopatum Cantuarię; cui etiam prefatus papa misit pallium.

633. . . . Hic rex Eduuinus occisus est, et Paulinus reversus est Cantiam cum Ædelburga, que fuit uxor Eduuini, et Honorius archiepiscopus suscepit eos cum magno honore et dedit Paulino sedem episcopalem in Hroveciestre, et ibi mansit usque ad finem vitę suę. Et Osuualdus regnare incipit (*fol. 40*^{v}).

Hic de Burgundię partibus venit episcopus quidam nomine Felix, qui predicavit fidem populis Orientalium Anglorum; hic accersitus a Sigeberto rege suscepit episcapatum (*sic*) in Domuce, in quo sedit XVII annis.

634. . . . Hic Birinus predicavit Christi fidem Wessaxon<ibus?>

635. . . . Hic Cynegils rex baptizatus est a Birino episcopo apud Dorcaceastre, et Osuuald eum accepit.

636. . . . Hic Cuicelm rex baptizatus est.

639. . . . Hic Birinus babtizavit (*sic*) Cuðredum regem.

640. . . . Hic Eadbald obiit et filius eius Erconberhtus suscepit regnum, qui primus destruxit omnia idola, que fuerant in regno suo, et primus regum

Anglorum constituit in regno suo XL dierum ieiunium ante Pasca. Hic habuit filiam nomine Ercengotam, sanctam ac Deo devotam, cuius mater fuit Sexburh, filia Anne regis.

641. . . . Hic Osuualdus rex occisus est, et Cenuualh cepit regnare (*fol. 41*^{r}) in Westsexa et iste precepit fieri ecclesiam Sancti Petri Uuen<to>nię.

644. . . . Paulinus quondam archiepiscopus Eborace, nunc autem episcopus Hroweceastre, apud eandem Hroveceastre obiit VI Idus Octobris.

645. . . . Hic pulsus est Cenwalh de regno suo a rege Penda.

646. . . . Hic Cyneuualh rex baptizatus est.

648. . . . Hic constructa est Uuentoniensis ecclesia et dedicata, quam rex Cenuualchus fieri fecit in honorem Sancti Petri.

650. Her forðferde (*gloss.* obiit) Birinus se biscop (*gloss.* episcopus) and Æge<l>bertus Francigena (*gloss.* se Frencisca) ordinatus (*gloss.* was gehado<d>).

651. . . . Obitus Aidani episcopi.

653. . . . Obitus Honorii archiepiscopi II Kalendas Decembris et, cessante episcopatu per annum et sex menses, electus est ad archiepiscopatum Deusdedit. Et Thomas episcopus obiit in Domuce.

654. . . . Hic occidit Osuuius rex regem Pendam et cum eo XXX regulos, et beatus Botulfus incipit monasterium construere in Ikanhou (*fol. 41*^{v}).

655. . . . Hic Ithamarus Hrofensis episcopus sacravit Deusdedit ad archiepiscopatum Cantuarię VII Kalendas Aprilis.

656. . . . Hic fuit Peada occisus et Wu<l>fhere filius Pendæ suscepit regnum Merciorum.

661. . . . Hic Eoppa presbiter per preceptum Uuilferdi et Uulfheri regis primus portabat baptismum in Insula Vecta.

664. . . . Eclipsin solis facta est V Kalendas Maii, et Deusdedit archiepiscopus obiit.

667. . . . Hic Osuui et Egberhtus duo reges miserunt Romam quendam presbiterum nomine Wighardum, ut ibi sacrari deberet ad regnum sanctę Dorobernensis ęcclesię. Qui cum sui adventus inter nuntios Vitaliano papę, qui tunc preerat ęcclesię Romanę, intimaret, infirmitate preventus mortuus est.

668. . . . Vitalianus papa (*fol. 42*^{r}) sacravit Theodorum ad archiepiscopatum Cantuarie et misit eum in Brittannia.

669. . . . Egbrihtus rex dedit Basso presbitero Raculf ad construendam ęcclesiam.

670. . . . Hic Osuui rex obiit, et Lotherus episcopus consecratus est super Occidentales Saxones a Theodoro archiepiscopo.

672. . . . Cenuualh rex obiit et regina sua Sexburg regnavit I annum post eum.

673. . . . Hic Egcbyrhtus rex Cantię obiit, et Theodorus archiepiscopus congregavit concilium apud Heortforda, presente Egcfrido rege, <et docuit> utilissima X Capitulorum. Et Sancta Æðeldriða Eli cenobium construere cepit.

675. . . . Rex Wlferus obiit.

676. . . . Hic Æðelredus rex Merciorum vastavit (*gloss.* vel depredavit) Cantiam, et Hedda suscepit episcopatum, et Centwinus cepit regnare super Occidentales Anglos (*gloss. rectior* Saxones).

677. . . . Cometa apparuit per III menses et luxit omni die mane, et Wilfridus ab archiepiscopatu suo expulsus est ab Egfrido rege.

Hoc tempore fuit ue(?)sanctus(?) Ianbertus(?).

679. . . . (*fol. 42*^{v}) . . . Sancta Æde<l>drida obiit, et Coludesburh combusta est celico igni.

680. . . . Sinodus constitutus est in Hædfelda de fide Catholica ab archiepiscopo Theodoro, et Hilda abbatissa obiit on Streonesheale.

681. . . . Hic consecratus est Trumberhtus episcopus ad regimen ęcclesie, que

nominatur Hagustaldesea, et Trumwine Pictis, quia pertinent Anglis(?).

685. . . . Pluvia sanguinea facta est in Britannia, et lac et butirum versa sunt in sanguinem. Et Lotherus rex Cantię obiit. Cuthberhtus hoc eodem anno sacratus est a beato Theodoro archiepiscopo apud Eboracam civitatem ad Hagastaldensis (*Ms.* -staldelmensi) ęcclesię; episcopus enim eiusdem ęcclesię Trumbertus pulsus est ab episcopatu illo.

686. . . . Ceadwala et Mul frater eius Cent depredaverunt et Vectam Insulam.

687. Hic fuit Mul combustus et XII homines cum eo in Cent, et Cedwala iterum depredavit Cantiam . . .

688. . . . Ceaduuala ivit Romam et baptizatus a papa Sergio et VII° (*fol. 43*^r) die defunctus est, cum adhuc esset in albis, et sepultus est in Ecclesia Sancti Petri. Post eum suscepit regnum Ina et regnavit XXVII annis et post ivit Romę et ibi defunctus est.

690. . . . Theodorus archiepiscopus defunctus est et tenuit episcopatum XXII (*gloss.* obiit) annis.

692. . . . Hic electus est Brihtwoldus, qui fuit abbas Raculfe. Hucusque fuerunt Romani archiepiscopi, dehinc fuerunt Angli. Tunc temporis fuerunt duo reges in Cantia, Wihtredus et Webheardus.

693. . . . Hic consecratus est Brihtuualdus a Goduno quodam episcopo metropolitano Galliarum. Hoc eodem tempore defunctus est episcopus Hrofensis Gifmundus; in cuius loco ordinatur a Brihtuualdo archiepiscopo Tobias.

694. . . . (*fol. 43*^v) . . . (*fol. 44*^r) . . . Hic populus Cantię fecerunt pacem cum Ina rege, dantes ei XXX milia librarum, eo quod tradiderunt Mul, fratrem iam dicti Ine, incendio et combusserunt eum. Wihtredus quoque suscepit regnum Cantię et rexit XXXIII annis.

(The Council of Bapchild, K.)

Statim autem cum potitus est regno, precipit congregari magnum concilium in loco, ubi nominatur Baccancelde, presidente eodem concilio Wihtredo clementissimo rege Cantuariorum necnon Brih<t>uualdo reverentissimo archiepiscopo et patre et primate totius Brittannię simulque Tobia episcopo Hrofensis ęcclesię, cum cęteris episcopis, abbatibus, abbatissis, presbiteris, diaconibus, ducibus, satrapis, in unum glomeratis, pariter tractantes de statu ęcclesiarum Dei vel monasteriorum intra Cantiam et de his quę a fidelibus regibus predecessoribus eius (*over* meis *expuncted*) et propinquis Æðelberhto posterisque eius Deo Omnipotente in propriam hereditatem condonata fuerunt, quomodo vel qualiter secundum normam ęquitatis stare valeant quidve servare oporteat a modo et usque ad finem (*fol. 44*^v) seculi constituentes.

(King Withred's Grant)

"Ego", inquid, "Wihtredus, rex terrenus a Rege Regum compunctus, zelo rectitudinis accensus ex antiqua traditione sanctorum patrum et mandatis, didici non esse licitum alicui homini ex laico habitu sibi ipsi usurpare vel ad se trahere quasi suam propriam possessionem quod ante fuerat Domino concessum et cruce Christi firmatum atque dedicatum. Scimus enim, et veraciter extat, quia quod semel acceperit homo de manu alterius in propriam potestatem, nullatenus sine ira et ultione illud iterum dimittet impuniter (?). Ideoque dico, horrendum est hominibus expoliare Deum Vivum et scindere tunicam Eius et hereditatem. Cum autem Deo oblatum aliquit fuerit de terrenis substantiis ad hoc, ut facilius promereri valeant ęternam retributionem percipere in cęlis, manifeste declaratur, quod quanto incautius applicuerit se homo secularis in hereditatem Regis Eterni, tanto districtius ab eodem Deo inextinguibili igni punietur (*corr. from* puniatur).

Pro hac re firmiter decernimus et in nomine Omnipotentis Dei omniumque sanctorum precepimus omnibus successoribus nostris, regibus, principibus, et omnibus qui in habitu laico constituti sunt, ut nullus umquam habeat licentiam accipere alicuius ęcclesię vel familę monasteriorum dominium, quę a me vel ab antecessoribus meis priscis temporibus tradita erant in perpetuam hereditatem Ihesu Christo et sanctis. Sed magis, sicut decet et in canonibus precipitur, hoc servandum est: quando evenerit, ut ex numero prelatorum(?) dominorum migret de seculo episcopus vel abbas vel abbatissa, invitetur (*corr. from* -atur) archiepiscopus proprię parochię et cum eius consilio et consensu quisquis dignus invenitur (*corr. from* -iatur). Eius vita atque munditia ab illo archiepiscopo examinetur talisque eligatur et ab archiepiscopo vel episcopo benedicatur et nullo modo sine consensu et consultu et licentia eius abbas vel abbatissa eligatur. Si quis per insipientiam aliter fecerit, pro nichilo habeatur citiusque abiciatur. Neque de hac re aliquid pertinet ad regis secularis imperium, quia illius personę est principes, prefectos seu iudices seculares (*fol.* 45^r) statuere; metropolitani autem archiepiscopi est ecclesias Dei regere, gubernare, atque episcopos, abbates, abbatissas, presbiteros, diacones eligere, statuere et sanctificare, firmare et admonere, ne quis de ovili Christi, scilicet Eterni Pastoris, aberret.

Hoc preceptum statuimus monasteriis, quorum nomina hic sunt annotata: primum : : : apostolorum principis Petri, id est Upmynster; aliter Raculf, Suðmynster in insula que nominatur Tenet, Dofras, Folcanstan, Limming, Sceapeag, et Hou. Hęc omnia interdiximus sicut ante nos factum est(?) ad se pertrahat vel suscipiat ullius monasterii prelationem de his prenominatis. Hęc lex supradicta per evum permaneat completa.

In primis, Ecclesię Christi que est in Dorebernia, ęcclesię cum omnibus agris ad eam pertinentibus, similiter Hrophensi ecclesię cum suis cęterisque predictis omnibus ęcclesiis Dei Nostri—pro salutę animę meę meorumque predecessorum, pro spe Cęlestis Regni et ex hac die et dehinc—concedimus et donamus ab omnibus difficultatibus secularis servitutis, a pastu regis, principum, comitum necnon ab operibus maioribus minoribusve gravitatibus et ab omni debito vel pulsione regalium tributorum liberas eas esse perpetua libertate statuimus (*expuncted*), nisi sua spontanea voluntate ex largitate beneficiorum quid facere velint. Tamen hoc in posterum non servetur nec habeatur in malam consuetudinem, sed magis secure sint, ut possint pro nobis Deo Omnipotenti hostias dignas offerre et immaculatis muneribus nostra abluere peccata. Si quis autem rex post nos unquam levatus in regnum, aut episcopus, aut abbas, vel comes seu ulla potestas hominum contradixerit huic cartulę aut eam infringere temptaverit, sciat se sequestratum a corpore et sanguine Domini Nostri Iesu Christi seu etiam sic excommunicatum sicut qui non habet remissionem neque in hoc seculo neque in futuro nisi ante pleniter emendaverit iudicio archiepiscopi. Manente tamen hac (*fol.* 45^v) cartula, que irrefragabilis sua firmitate muniat (ur?), servetur et habeatur semper in Ecclesia Salvatoris, quę sita est in civitate Dorobernia, ubi metropolis habetur ad exemplum atque defensionem omnibus ecclesiis Dei que : : : est. Hęc lex inviolabilis permaneat usque ad consummationem seculi, quia nulli hominum terreno data sunt, set hęc omnia in manus Dei Omnipotentis sanctorumque Eius concedimus et donamus."

Ego Wihtredus, auxilio Christi rex, his legibus constitutis pro me et Warburga regina itemque filio nostro Alrico, subscripsi.

Ego Brihtuuoldus, gratia Dei archiepiscopus, his legibus constitutis subscripsi.

697. . . . Hic Australes Humbri occiderunt Ostridam, reginam Æðelredi, sororem Egfridi.

702. . . . Hic Cenræd suscepit regnum Australium Humbrorum.

703. Her Hædde biscop forðferde et XXVII annis tenuit espiscopatum.

704. . . . Hic Æðelredus rex Merciorum suscepit monachicum habitum.

705. . . . Hic Alfridus rex Aquiloniorum Humbrorum obiit, et filius eius Osred suscepit regnum.

709. . . . Obitus Aldelmi episcopi. Ipse fuit episcopus in (*corr. from* ex) parte Occidentis Silvę, et episcopatus ille partitus est in duo. Hic est episcopatus Westsaxonum. Primus fuit unus, et unum tenuit Aldelmus, alterum Daniel; post (*fol.* 46^{r}) Aldelmo suscepit For<d>here. Eodem anno obiit Wilfridus in Undala, et corpus eius deportatum est ad Hripe; fuit per XLV annos episcopus.

710. . . . Acca presbiter Wilfridi suscipit episcopatum post beatum Wilfridum.

714. Her forðferde Guðlac se haliga and Pipinnus rex (*gloss.* cing). Obitus Sancti Guthlaci.

715. . . . Obitus Dagoberti regis.

716. . . . Ædelbold incipit regnare, et Egcberhtus vir Domini Iienses monachos ad Catholicum Pascę et ęcclesiasticam correxit tonsuram.

718. . . . Obitus Ingildis; cuius soror nomine Cudburhga fecit monasterium Winburnense.

721. . . . Hic Daniel episcopus ivit Romam, et Iohannes episcopus obiit; tenuit autem episcopatum XXXIII annos et VIII menses et XIII dies.

725. . . . Obitus Wihtredi, gloriosi regis Cantię, et Eadberhtus suscepit regnum post eum.

726. . . . Obitus Ina rex, et Adelhardus suscepit regnum Occidentalium Saxonum et tenuit XIIII annis.

727. . . . Obiit Tobias Hrofensis episcopus, et in loco eius sacratus est Aldulfus a Brihtuualdo archiepiscopo.

729. . . . Duę cometę apparuerunt, et Sanctus Egcberhtus transivit, et Osricus rex obiit (*fol.* 46^{v}).

730. . . . Obiit Osuualdus regulus.

(731). . . . Hic obiit in(?) isto(?) anno(?) Osuualdus regulus, et Brihtuualdus archiepiscopus tenuit autem archiepiscopatum XXXVII annis et VI mensibus et XIIII diebus . . .

Hoc anno sacratus est Tatwinus ab istis episcopis: Daniele Uuentano et Inguualdo Lundenense et Ælduuino Licifeldensi et Aldulfo Hrofensi. Tenuit autem archiepiscopatum III annis.

733. . . . Hic sol obscuratur, quia eclipsis facta est, et totus orbis solis quasi nigerrimo et horrendo scuto videbatur esse coöperatus circa III^{am} horam diei.

734. . . . Hic facta est luna quasi sanguine perfusa. Tatuuinus archiepiscopus obiit, qui tenuit archiepiscopatum tres annos, et Beda presbiter etiam obiit.

735. . . . 736. . . . Nothelmus factus archiepiscopus suscipit pallium a Romano episcopo et tenuit V annis.

737. . . . Fordherus episcopus et Fridegith regina iverunt Romam, et Ceoluulf rex accipit clericatum, et Aðeluuoldus et Acca episcopi obierunt.

738. . . . Ædberhtus suscipit regnum Nordanhumbrorum et Egcbertus archiepiscopus frater eius fuit.

740. . . . Adelhardus rex obiit, et Cutredus suscipit regnum, et Cutbertus consecratur ad archiepiscopatum et Dunn ad episcopatum Hrofensem.

742. . . . Hic congregatum est magnum concilium apud Clovesho, presidente Adelbaldo rege Merciorum cum Cutberhto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi cęterisque episcopis simul assidentibus, diligenter examinantes (*sic*) circa (*fol.* 47^{r}) necessaria de statu totius religionis et de simbolo ex antiquis sanctorum patrum institutionibus tradita, vel qualiter in primordio nascentis ęcclesię iubebatur habere aut ubi honor cęnobiarum secundum normam equitatis servaretur.

(The Council of Clovesho, K.)

Hęc et his similia anxie inquirentes et undique privilegia antiqua requirentes et recitantes, tandem pervenit ad manus libertas ęcclesiarum et institutio vel preceptum Wihtredi gloriosi regis de electione cęnobiarum in regno Cantię, quomodo vel qualiter secundum imperium et electionem archiepiscopi Cantuariensis fieri <et> stare precipitur. Ex precepto itaque regis Adelbaldi lectum est hoc privilegium et hęc libertas coram omnibus et placuit cunctis pariterque condixerunt nullam aliam tam nobilem tamque prudenter constitutam invenire potuisse secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam. Et hoc annuentes stare <et> ab omnibus firmare sanxerunt.

(King Æthelbald's Confirmation of Wihtred's Grant)

"Ego igitur Adelbaldus ręx Merciorum pro salute animę meę et pro stabilitate regni mei, necnon ex persona Ædelberhti regis Cantie seu etiam pro reverentia Cutberhti archiepiscopi, hoc idem munifica mea propria manu subscribo:

Ut per omnia honor, autoritas et securitas Christi Ecclesię a nulla persona denegetur, necnon omnium cęnobiarum intra Cantiam constitutis tam in libertate secularium servitiis quamque etiam in omnibus causis maioribus minoribusve secura permaneant, sicut Wihtredus rex pro se suisque constituit servandum et optinendum, ita per omnia irrefragabiliter et immutabiliter usque in finem seculi perdurare precipimus. Si quis autem regum successorum nostrorum seu episcoporum vel principum hoc salubre decretum infringere temptaverit, reddet rationem Deo Omnipotenti in die tremendo. Si autem comes, presbiter, diaconus, clericus aut monachus huic institutioni restiterit, sit suo gradu privatus et a participatione corporis et sanguinis separatus et alienus a Regno Dei, nisi ante ea satisfactione emendaverit quod malo superbię inique gessit, quia scriptum est (*Matth.* xviii, 18): 'Quęcumque ligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata et in celo, et quecumque solveritis, et soluta sunt et in celo.'

Ego Adelbaldus rex divino suffragio fultus, gentis Merciorum imperium regens, signum Sanctę Crucis subscribo.

Ego Cutberhtus archiepiscopus propria manu subscribo."

Cum his etiam XIIII episcopi subscripserunt, et multę alie persone diversorum ordinum.

754. . . . Hic Cudredus rex obiit, et Cynehardus suscipit episcopatum post Hunfredum.

755. . . . Hic Cynewulf abstulit Sigberto regnum, qui Cynewulf postea occiditur apud Meredune a Cynhardo fratre iam dicti Siberti. Eodem anno Aðelbaldus rex Merciorum occiditur in Hreopandune, et Offa suscipit regnum, fugato Bernredo rege herede Adelbaldi.

757. . . . Eadberhtus rex Nordanhumbrorum suscipit clericalem coronam et filius eius Osulfus regnavit pro eo I anno.

758. . . . Cuthberhtus archiepiscopus obiit; rexit autem archiepiscopatum XVIII annis (*fol. 47*^{v}).

759. . . . Breguuinus sacratus est ad archiepiscopatum et tenuit IIII annis. Et Moll Ædelwold cępit regnare in Nordhumbra et VI annis regnavit.

760. . . . Æðelberhtus filius Wihtredi regis, rex Cantię, obiit.

761. . . . Hic fuit magna hiemps, et Moll occidit Osuuine ad Edwinesclife.

762. . . . Hic obiit Breguuinus archiepiscopus Cantię, et Ianbertus sacratur ad archiepiscopatum Cantię XL^{ma} die post Nativitatem Domini et tenuit XXVI annis. Et Friðeuuald episcopus de Hwiterne obiit et in loco eius ordinatus est Pihtwinus ad Ælfetee.

763. . . . Hic Ianbertus suscipit pallium.

765. Alhred cepit regnare in Nordhumbra . . .

766. . . . 767. (*Ms.* 757). Hic rex Carlomannus obiit.

768. . . . Hic obit Eadberhtus cognomento Eating.

772. . . . Mildredus obiit.

744. . . . Æðedred filius Moll cepit hic regnare, et visum est Crucis signum in cęlo post solis occubitum. Et eodem anno pugnaverunt inter se Merci et populus Cantię apud Otteford, et in Suðsexa visę sunt serpentes mirabiles.

776. . . . Pehtuuinus episcopus obiit; ipse fuit episcopus XIIII annis.

777. . . . Ædelberhtus sacratur episcopus ad Hwiterne in Eboraca (*fol. 48*^{r}).

778. . . . Aluuoldus incipit regnare et regnat X annis.

779. . . . Obit Æðelbertus archiepiscopus, et consecratio Eanbaldi, qui ei successit.

780. . . . Alcmundus episcopus obiit et Ti<l>berhtus sacratur in loco illius, et Higbald to Lindisfaranee, qui fuit sacratus apud Soccabyri. Et Aluuoldus rex misit propter pallium Romę ad opus Eanboldi archiepiscopi sui.

782. . . . Cynewulfus episcopus obiit, et concilium fuit apud Aclea.

784. Hic tunc temporis fuit in Cantia rex Ealhmundus . . .

785. . . . Hic fuit plenum concilium in loco, qui dicitur Cealchyðe, et Ianberhtus archiepiscopus perdidit partem episcopatus sui, et Higbertus electus est ab Offa rege. Et Egfredus consecratur in regem. Isto etiam eodem tempore missi sunt ab Adriano papa nuntii in Angliam ad renovandam fidem, quam beatus Gregorius misit nobis, et cum magno honore recepti sunt.

787. . . . Brihtricus rex accepit filiam regis Offe sibi in uxorem. Hic advenerunt III primę naves de Danis; primę fuerunt, quia nunquam ante has, postquam Angli intraverunt Britanniam, venerant alię (*fol. 48*^{v}).

788. . . . Hic congregatum est concilium apud Pincanheale.

789. . . . Hic Aluuoldus rex occisus est, et cęlica lux sepe visa est, ubi sepultus est. Et Osred suscepit regnum, quia fuit nepos iam dicti Alfwoldi. Et concilium congregatum est ad Aclea . . .

790. . . . Ianbertus archiepiscopus obiit, et eodem anno Aðelardus abbas Hludensis monasterii electus est ad archiepiscopatum. Et Osredus rex Nordanhymbrorum expulsus est a regno et Æðelredus Aðelwolding recepit regnum.

791. . . . Baldulfus consecratur episcopus ab archiepiscopo Eanbaldo et episcopo Æðelberto ad regimen Hwiterne.

792 (793?) . . . Offa rex precepit abscidere caput Æðelberhti regis.

793. . . . Hic ostensa sunt seva prodigia in Norðhumbra, quę populum miserabiliter terruerunt, nam ignei dracones visi sunt in aere et statim secuta est magna fames. Eodem anno paganorum irruptio totam regionem et ęcclesias depredavit et vastavit terram rapinis et homicidiis. Translatio Sancti Albani martiris.

794. . . . (*fol. 49*^{r}) . . . Hic Adrianus papa obiit et Offa rex, et Æðelredus rex Nordhumbre occiditur. Ceoluulfus et Eadbaldus episcopi exeunt de terra. Egcfridus cepit regnare in Mercia. Et eodem anno Eadberhtus Prean incipit regnare in Cantia.

795. . . . Eclipsis lunę facta est inter galli cantum et auroram VI Kalendas Iunii. Et Eardulfus suscepit regnum Norðhumbre et consecratus est Eboraco ab archiepiscopo Eanbaldo et Ædelberto et Baldulfo episcopis.

796. . . . (*fol. 49*^{v}) Hic obiit Offa rex Merciorum et Eanbaldus archiepiscopus Eborace civitatis. Hoc eodem anno Ceoluulfus rex Merciorum devastavit provinciam Cantuariorum miserabili depredatione: regum eorum nomine Eadberhtum Prean ligatum duci fecit in Merciam ibique, evulsis oculis eius, manus quoque eius fecit abscindere.

(Archbishop Æthelhard on Pope Leo III's Edict)

"Ego Adelhardus, gratia Dei humilis sanctę Dorobernensis ęcclesię archiepiscopus, unanimo consilio totius sancti sinodi congregationibus omnium monasteriorum, quę olim a fidelibus Christo Domino in perpetuam libertatem dedita fuerant, in nomine Dei Omnipotentis et per Eius tremendum iudicium precipio sicut et ego mandatum a domno apostolico Leone papa percepi:

Ut ex hoc tempore nunquam temerario ausu super hereditatem Domini laicos et seculares sibi presumant dominos eligere. Sed sicut in privilegiis ab apostolica sede datis habetur, seu etiam ab apostolicis viris in initio nascentis ęcclesię traditum est per sanctos canones, vel etiam a propriis possessoribus monasteriorum constitutum ea regula et observantia disciplinę, sua monastica iura studeant observare. Si ergo quod absit, ipsi hoc nostrum mandatum et domni apostolici papę spreverint et pro nichilo ducunt, sciant se ante tribunal Christi, nisi ante emendaverint, rationem reddituros."

Et subscripsit Aðelhardus archiepiscopus cum XII episcopis et XX^{ti} III^{bus} abbatibus, exceptis aliis diversis ordinibus et gradibus.

797. . . . Hic Romani Leonis pape linguam absciderunt et oculos evulserunt et de sede apostolica pepulerunt, sed non multo post vidit et locutus est et in propriam sedem restitutus. Et Eanbaldus suscepit pallium. Ædelbertus episcopus obiit. Et Alfunus episcopus obiit in Sudberi et in Domucę sepultus est et pro eo Tidfridus electus est. Eodem anno Sigeric rex Orientalium Saxonum Romam perrexit. Eodem anno corpus Wihtburge sine corruptione inventum : : :

800. . . . Æðelhardus archiepiscopus et Cynebrihtus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus iverunt Romam.

801. . . . (*fol. 50*^{r}). Eclipsis lunę facta est II^{a} hora noctis, XVII Kalendas Februarii. Et Brihtricus rex obiit et Egcberhtus filius Ealhmundi regis suscepit regnum Occidentalium Saxonum.

802. . . . Eclipsis lune facta est XIII Kalendas Ianuarii, et Beornmod sacratus episcopus Hrofensi<s> ecclesie.

803. . . . Hic Aðelhardus archiepiscopus Dorobernensis obiit et Wlfredus eligitur in loco eius.

804. . . . Wulvredus archiepiscopus accipit pallium.

805. . . . Cuthredus rex obiit in Cantia et Ceolburhga abbatissa.

806. . . . Eclipsis lune facta est in Kalendas Septembris, et Eardulfus rex expulsus est regno, et Eanbertus episcopus Hagustaldensis obiit. Hoc anno etiam II Nonas Iunii, luna XIIII, signum Crucis mirabili modo in luna apparuit feria V, aurora incipiente, hoc modo ☩. Eodem anno, III Kalendas Septembris, luna XII, die Dominica, hora IIII, corona mirabilis in circuitu solis apparuit.

809. . . . Eclipsis solis facta est XVII Kalendas Augusti, incipiente V^{a} hora, II^{a} feria, luna XXIX.

814. . . . Rex Carolus obiit; regnavit autem XLV annis. Et Wlvredus archiepiscopus et Wigbertus episcopus iverunt Romam.

815. . . . Wlfredus archiepiscopus revertitur cum benedictione pape Leonis ad propriam sedem. Et Egcbertus rex vastavit totam Walam Occidentalem ab oriente usque ad occidentem.

816. . . . Hic obiit sanctus Leo papa et Stephanus suscepit apostolatum post illum (*fol. 50*^{v}).

817. . . . Stephanus papa obiit et post eum Pascalis suscepit pontificatum.

822. . . . Cenuulfus rex Merciorum obiit et Ceoluulf suscepit regnum.

823. . . . Hic fuit magnum bellum apud Gafolfordan. Et eodem anno Egcberhtus (*Ms.* -o) Occidentalium Saxonum rex et Bernulfus rex Merciorum bellabant inter se ad Ællandune, et Egcberhtus accepit victoriam et post statim misit filium suum Adulfum (*expunct. from* Adeluulfum) et Alhstanum episcopum Cantia<m> et cum eis multos de exercitu. Et ipsi venientes pepulerunt Baldredum regem ultra flumen Tamisiam, et tota Cantia transivit in deditionem et Sudrei et Australes Saxoni et Orientales Saxones. Eodem quoque anno Orientales Saxones occiderunt Beornuulfum regem Merciorum.

825. . . . Ludica rex Merciorum et V duces eius occiduntur et Wiglaf suscepit regnum.

827. . . . *(fol. 51*^{r}*)* . . . Hic eclipsis lune facta est in nocte Nativitatis Domini. Hoc anno Egcbehrt rex adquisivit regnum Merciorum et quicquid ex australi parte Humbre est. Et ipse fuit octavus rex, qui rexit Bryttanniam: primus fuit Ælle rex Australium Saxonum, II^{dus} fuit, qui tantum habuit, Ceawlin rex Occidentalium Saxonum, III Ædelbyrht rex Cantwariorum, IIII Reduualdus rex Orientalium Saxonum, V Eduuinus rex Nordanhumbrorum, VI Oswald, qui post Eduinum regnavit, VII Osuui frater Osualdi, VIII Egcberht, rex Occidentalium Saxonum. Iste Egbert rex duxit exercitum ad Dor, quod est in aquiloni parte Humbre, et homines loci dederunt manus et ita rex reversus est.

828. . . . Wiglaf rex reversus recipit regnum Merciorum et Adelboldus episcopus obiit.

829. . . . Wlvredus archiepiscopus obiit et electus est Feologildus abbas ad archiepiscopatum die VII Kalendas Maii; ordinatus est autem V Idus Iunii, die Dominica, et defunctus est III Kalendas Septembris.

830. . . . Ceolnodus eligitur ad archiepiscopatum Cantie III Kalendas Iulii et consecratur eodem anno VI Kalendas Septembris.

832. . . . Ceolnodus archiepiscopus suscepit pallium.

834 (833) . . . Egcberhtus rex pugnavit contra XXV naves Danorum et Dani potiti sunt victoriam. Et II episcopi Hereferdus et Wigferðus obierunt.

835. . . . Hic venit multitudo navium in Westwala (*gloss.* ad Occidentales Uualones) et rex Egcberhtus pugnavit contra eos ad Hengestesdune et utrosque fugavit, et Danos et Uualones.

836. . . . *(fol. 51*^{v}*)* . . . Egcberhtus rex obiit. Istum, antequam esset rex, duo reges Offa et Brihtricus pepulerunt de Anglia in Galliam; et erat per tres annos ibi et ipse (*erased*) postea reversus regnavit in Anglia XXXVII annos et VII menses. Et post ipsum filius suus Æðeluulfus suscepit Occidentalium Saxonum regnum et Æðelstanus, alius filius eiusdem, suscepit regnum Cantię et Sudreian et regnum Australium Saxonum.

840. . . . Rex Æðeluulfus dimicavit apud Carrum contra XXXV naves Danorum et Dani vicerunt. Et Lothwicus imperator obiit.

845. . . . Arnulfus dux et Eahlstanus episcopus et Osricus dux cum Sumersætan et Dorseton dimicaverunt ad os fluminis, qui nominatur Pedredan, contra Danos (*corr. from* Danis) et victi sunt Dani.

851. . . . *(fol. 52*^{r}*)* Hic venerunt CCCL naves in os Tamisie de Danis et exierunt de navibus et venerunt usque ad civitatem Dorobernensem et destruxerunt eam et Brihtulfum regem Merciorum cum exercitu suo fugati sunt; postea inde reversi transierunt Tamisiam in Sudrei. Ibi habuerunt obviam Æde<l>wulfum regem et Adelbaldum filium eius in loco, qui dicitur Aclea, et commissum est bellum. Et tanta strages paganorum facta est ibi, quanta ante illa tempora non fuit audita in Anglia, et ibi iam dicti reges, videlicet Aðulfus et filius eius, acceperunt victoriam. Eodem anno Æðelstanus rex pugnavit navali bello contra paganos et magnam multitudinem occidit apud Sanduuic et IX naves cepit et alias fugavit.

856. . . . Hic primum pagani hiemabant in Sceapege. Hoc etiam anno Adult rex decimam partem totius terrę regni sui obtulit Deo ad laudem Eius et pro salute animę suę eodemque anno ivit Romam cum magno honore et ibi moratus est per annum integrum. Rediens autem per Franciam accepit filiam regis Caroli Francię nomine Iotheta in coniugium et, incolumis in regnum suum reversus, cum magno gaudio a populo suo recipitur. Secondo itaque anno reversionis suę defungitur et duo filii eius regnum accipiunt, scilicet Aðelbald et Aðelberhtus. Aðelbaldo contigit Occidentalium Saxonum regnum (*fol. 52*^{v}) et Æðelberhto regnum Cantię (*corr. from* C. regnum) et Orientalium (*corr. from* orident-) Saxonum et Australium Saxonum et Sudregia. Alvredum vero tertium fratrem iam pater miserat Romę ad Leonem papam, qui, videlicet papa, audiens

patrem eius defunctum benedixit et unxit eum in regem et eum ad confirmandum tenuit.

861. . . . Hic obiit Sanctus Suithunus episcopus et rex etiam Adelbaldus, et sepultus est Scireburne et Æðelberhtus frater eius suscepit totum regnum. Et in diebus istius regis venit in terram istam magna copia navium et exeuntes de navibus venerunt usque Uuentoniam et fregerunt eam, quibus obviatae sunt Hamtunscire et Bearrucscire et fugaverunt hostes et victoriam acceperunt. Et ipse rex regnavit V annis; corpus autem eius iacet apud Scireburne.

866. . . . Hic Æðeredus, frater Æðelberhti regis, suscepit Occidentalium Saxonum regnum.

867. . . . Duo reges Osberhtus et Ælla occisi sunt a paganis apud Eboracam. Et eodem anno Ealhstanus episcopus Scirburnensis obiit, qui eandem sedem L annis rexit, et ibi requiescit.

868. . . . Hic exercitus Danorum procedit usque ad Snotingam. Burhredus autem rex Merciorum, missis legatis ad Æðeredum regem Occidentalium Saxonum et ad (*fol. 53*^{r}) fratrem eius Alfredum, rogat, ut cum exercitu illorum veniant ad oppugnandum gentem Danorum. Qui eius precibus libenter annuentes cum exercitu Occidentalium Saxonum insecuntur hostes usque ad Snotingaham (*Ms.* -bam). Set cum reges cum exercitu suo venissent illuc, iam Dani receperunt se infra opus, quod ibi construxerant, et non fuit adeo magnum bellum. Merciorum exercitus tantum a Danis securitatem acceperunt.

870. . . . Hic iam sepe dictus exercitus Danorum transivit per regnum Merciorum et venit in regnum Orientalium Saxonum. Tunc rex Eadmundus venit et dimicavit contra eos, et Dani acceperunt victoriam; regem occiderunt Sanctum Eadmundum totamque terram male perdiderunt. Nomina principum, qui present(em?) regem occiderunt, fuerunt Inguare et Ubba. Eodem anno Ceolnoðus archiepiscopus obiit XLI anno archiepiscopatus sui. Tunc Aðered rex et Alfred<us frater eius dederunt> epi<scopo Wiltuns>cire archiepiscopatum Cantię, eo quod <ante fuerat monachus> eiusdem ecclesię.

(Archbishop Æthelred's Chaplains)

Cum autem venisset Cantuariam, statim cogitare cepit, quomodo possit eicere clericos de Ecclesia Christi, quos Ceoln<oðus> pro tali necessitate compulsus ibi posuit. Primo igitur anno ordinationis suę tanta mortalita facta est in Ecclesia Christi, ut de tota <cong>regatione monachorum non remanerent nisi quinque. Qua de causa, quia ita subito non potuit invenire tot monachos, qui ibi servitium Dei facere possent, ex simplicitate cordis precepit capellanis clericis suis, ut essent cum eis usque quo Deus pacificaret terram, que tunc nimis erat turbata propter nimias (*Ms.* -os) tempestates bellorum. Accepit etiam de villis suis presbiteros, ut <essent> cum monachis, ita tamen <ut> monachi semper haberent dominatum super clericos. Cogitavit idem archiepiscopus et sepe suis dixit, quia "statim cum Deus pacem nobis dederit, aut isti clerici monachi fient aut ego ubicumque monachos inveniam, quos reponam. Scit enim Deus," inquid, "quod aliter facere non possum." Sed nunquam temporibus suis pax fuit in Anglia, et ideo remanserunt clerici cum monachis, nec ullo tempore fuit ecclesia sine monachis. Sed nec iste Aðeredus archiepiscopus aliter(?) potuit facere.

871. . . . Hic exercitus superius memoratus equitavit ad Readingas, et rex Æðeredus et frater eius Alfredus cum magno exercitu secuti sunt eos usque (*fol. 53*^{v}) Readingas et pugnaverunt acerrime contra eos, et ceciderunt multi ex utraque parte. Dani tamen optinuerunt campum. Iterum post IIII dies Æðeredus rex et frater eius Alfredus dimicaverunt contra totum exercitum in loco, qui dicitur Æscesdune. Et partiti sunt in duos exercitus Dani: in uno fuerunt duo reges Bagsecg et Halden pagani, in alio fuerunt comites quamplurimi. Rex autem Æðeredus cepit fortiter bellare contra partem regum et Ælfredus non minus

contra partes comitum: uterque vero, Christo auxiliante, victoriam accepit. Nam rex Ǽderedus Bagsegc regem prostravit, Alvredus autem V comites occidit, videlicet Sidroc seniorem necnon Sidroc iuniorem, Osbernum, Haroldum, et Frenam omnemque exercitum in fugam verterunt. Peractis itaque XV diebus, iterum iam sepius memoratus rex Æðeredus cum fratre suo Ælvredo cum Danis ad Basingas dimicat, set peccatis exigentibus Dani campum ceperunt. Post autem duobus dimensis mensibus iterum congreditur Ǽderedus et frater suus Alvredus contra Danos (*corr. from* Danis) et contra omnem exercitum apud Merendune; ibi etiam(*erased*) occiditur Heagmundus episcopus et multi alii strenui viri cum eo. Et eodem anno post peracta Pasca Ǽderedus rex obiit et sepultus <est> ad Winburnan et V annis regnavit. Post Ǽderedum frater eius suscepit regnum Occidentalium Saxonum et post I mensem dimicavit contra totum exercitum apud Wiltune. Sicque factum est, ut eo anno novies bellatum sit apertis bellis contra Danos. Et unus rex illorum occisus est et novem duces ex parte illorum.

874. . . . Hic exercitus Danorum expulit Burhgredum regem a regno suo. Qui transiens mare perrexit Romam et permansit ibi quoad vixit; sepultus est itaque in Ecclesia Sancte Marie in Scola Anglorum.

875. . . . Hic Ælfred in mare dimicat contra VII naves et unam cepit et alias fugavit.

876. . . . Hic Rolla cum suis penetravit Normanniam et regnavit L annis. Eodem quoque anno exercitus Danorum in Anglia (*fol. 54ʳ*) Ælfredo (*Ms.* Æðelr-) iusiurandum super sacrum armillum[21] fecerunt, quod nunquam antea alicui genti facere voluerunt, insuper et obsides de nobilioribus, qui post regem fuerunt, dederunt se a regno illius discedere velle quam citius. Set pars exercitus, qui equestres fuerunt, eadem nocte quę secuta <est> diem, in quo ista omnia peracta sunt, iuramentum pro nichilo ducentes furtive recesserunt et civitatem (*gloss.* castrum *expuncted*) Exonię invaserunt. Quos iterum sequenti anno insequitur rex usque Exoniam et iterum sacramenta ab eis magna et obsides plures prioribus accepit. Et non post multum temporis a regno eius, videlicet Occidentalium Saxonum, discedunt.

878. . . . Hic Ælfredus rex pugnavit contra paganos apud Eðandune et fugavit eos et persecutus est eos usque ad opus, quod fecerunt sibi ad munimen, et obsedit eos XIIII diebus; tunc miserunt ei obsides et sacramentum fecerunt se cito discessuros de regno suo et promiserunt etiam, quod rex illorum susciperet baptismum. Post tres septimanas venit rex Godrum et XXX viri, qui nobiliores erant de toto exercitu ad Alre—hic (*corr. from* hoc) locus est iuxta Æthelinganige —et rex Ælfredus accepit eum de fonte. Fuit autem cum rege Ælfredo per XII dies et rex honoravit eum et socios eius multis muneribus.

879. . . . Eclipsis solis facta est per unam horam.

880. . . . Piratę, qui iacebant ad Fuleham, transeunt mare et veniunt usque ad Gent et ibi morantur per annum integrum.

882. . . . (*fol. 54ᵛ*) . . . Hic exercitus, qui transivit mare, processit navigando per Mese in Franciam et ibi mansit per I annum. Hoc eodem <anno> rex ÆLFREDUS in mare dimicavit contra IIII naves piratarum et duas cępit et homines occidit et duas fugavit; et vulnerati sunt multi antequam transissent in deditionem.

883. . . . Hic exercitus, qui mare transivit, processit in antea ad locum, qui vocatur Cundot, et ibi mansit per I annum. Hoc quoque anno Marinus papa misit regi Ælfredo de Ligno Domini. Et rex Ælfredus misit elemosinam, quam voverat, dum sederet contra exercitum cum paucis, cum multi essent inimici,

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[21] On the oath-ring (*armilla*) here intended see my paper "On the Old-Germanic Altar- or Oath-Ring (Stallahringr)" forthcoming in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* (Copenhagen).

Romę et etiam in Indiam ad Sanctum Thomam et Sanctum Bartholomeum.

884. (*misplaced entry, transferred to 984.*)

885. . . . Marinus papa obiit; ipse rogatus a rege Alfredo concessit magnam libertatem loco, qui dicitur Scola Anglorum. Ipse etiam eidem regi plura donaria, scilicet de Cruce Dei et de reliquiis sanctorum, contulit. Carolus etiam rex Francorum obiit, et frater eius (*i.e.*, Ludowicus) obiit uno anno ante. Qui fuerunt filii Lothewici, qui fuit filius illius Caroli, cuius filiam nomine Iothetam Adulfus rex Occidentalium Saxonum accipit in coniugium.

886. . . . Hic rex Ælfredus sedit in Lundonia, et omnis Anglia conversa est in deditione illius.

887. . . . (*fol.* 55^{r}) . . . Hic exercitus, qui sedebat apud Cundotum, processit usque Cari et Ionan ibique in his duobus locis sedebat duobus annis. Hoc anno quoque rex Carolus defungitur, quem nepos illius, nomine Ernulfus, sex septimanis antequam decessisset, exheredavit. Et divisum est tunc regnum in quinque ita ut V reges sacrarentur et hoc per consensum Ernulfi, quia promiserunt se ad nutum illius omnia velle tenere, eo quod nullus tam prope esset regio genere sicuti ipse. Ernulfus itaque mansit in Regno ultra Hrenum fluvium, et Rodolfus Medium accepit Regnum, Odo vero Regnum Occidentale, Beringarius autem et Wido Regnum Longabardorum et alias terras, quę sunt ultramontana, et illa cum magna dissidentia tenuerunt. Nam duo aperta bella cum magnis exercitibus pugnabant, et sepe alius alium a regno expellebat et multotiens totam terram devastabant.

888. . . . Æderedus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obiit; et Æðelswyð soror Alfredi regis obiit in itinere Romę et sepultum est corpus illius in Pavia.

890. . . . <Hic Pleg>mundus a Deo et omni populo eligitur ad archiepiscopatum Cantie. Godrum rex obiit; quem dum (?) Ælvredus rex de fonte baptismi suscipit et vocavit Æðelstanum. Eodem anno exercitus movit se et, exiens de flumine Sigene, venit ad locum, qui nominatur Scandlaudan, et est locus inter Brittanes (*corr. from OE* Brittas) et Francigenas. Audientes hoc, Brytones exeuntes dimicabant contra eos et, victis Danis, propulsabant in quandam aquam (*Vire R.*), ubi plures eorum demersi sunt (*fol.* 55^{v}).

891. . . . Hic tres viri venerunt de Hibernia in navicula facta de duobus coriis et dimidio sine omni gubernatione humana ad regem Ælfredum. Cum vero exissent de Hibernia, accipiebant cibum VII dierum secum et VII^{mo} die applicuerunt in Cornwala. Nomina autem illorum ista fuerunt: Dubslana, Maccbethu et Mælinmun. Nam quartus socius eorum obiit nomine Suifneh, qui fuit peritissimus doctor. Et eodem anno apparuit cometa stella circa Ascensionem Domini.

892. . . , Hic ille magnus exercitus, de quo iam olim prefati sumus, reversus est a Orientali Regno in occidente usque Boloniam et, ibi intrantes naves cum omni comitatu cum equis et omnibus rebus suis, applicuerunt in ore cuiusdam fluminis nomine Limine cum CCL navibus. Ostium fluminis iam nominati in orienti parte est Cantię ex orientali parte magnę silvę, quam vocant Andred. Silva illa ab oriente in occidente tendit CXXIIII (*fol.* 56^{r}) miliariis, latitudo autem eius XXX miliariis. Flumen superius dictum fluit de illa magna silva in mare; per istud flumen traxerunt naves suas IIII miliaria per silvam usque ad quoddam opus, quod ibi inceptum fuit, in quo quidam rustici manserunt. Post non multum temporis quidam Hæsten venit in ostium fluminis Tamisię cum LXXX navibus et cepit ibi edificare aliud opus apud Mideltune, et illi aliud apud Apuldre. Hic etiam obiit Wlferus Norðanhymbrorum archiepiscopus.

901. . . . Rex Ælfredus obiit, et filius eius Edwardus suscepit regnum. Ælfredus regnavit XXVIII annis.

903. . . . Obitus Sancti Grimbaldi sacerdotis, et adventus Sancti Iudoci, et dedicatio Novi Monasterii Wentoniensis.

909. . . . Denulfus episcopus Wentanus obiit.

910. Asser biscop of Scirburnan obiit. . . . Hic rex Eaduuardus suscepit Lundoniam et Oxanaford et omnes terras, que illis adiacent. Fridestanus suscepit episcopatum Wentoniensem.

921. . . . Rex Sihtricus occidit fratrem suum Niellum.

923. . . . Rex Regnoldus devicit Eboracam.

924. . . . Hic Eduuardus, filius Alfredi, electus est a rege Scotię et ab omnibus Scottis in patrem et dominum, et a Regnoldo rege et a cunctis de Nordhumbra et a rege Streclæde-Uualorum (*Ms.* a Streclæde rege Uualorum) et a populo eius.

925. . . . Hic obiit Eduuardus rex, filius Alfredis regis, et Ædestanus suscepit regnum. Et Wlfelmus ordinatus est ad archiepiscopatum Cantię, et beatus Dunstanus natus est (*fol. 56*ᵛ).

927. . . . Rex Æðestanus pepulit Guthfridum regem, et Wlfelmus archiepiscopus perrexit Romę pro pallio.

928. Willelmus . . . suscepit Normanniam regendam et XV annis tenuit.

931. . . . Fridestanus episcopus Wyntoniensis obiit, et Byrnstanus ordinatur in loco eius.

934. . . . Rex Æðestanus vadit in Scotiam cum magno exercitu per terram et per mare et magnam partem terre depredavit. Et Byrnstanus episcopus Uuentoniensis obiit.

935. . . . Alphegus suscipit pontificatum Wentoniensem (*fol. 57*ʳ).

938. . . . Hic factum est illud magnum et famosum bellum in Brunanbyri, cum rex Æðestanus et frater eius Eadmundus pugnavit contra Anelaf et, auxiliante Christo, victoriam cepit. Et occiderunt V reges et VII comites de sociis Anelafi (*Ms.* -fu).

940. . . . Hic Ædestanus rex obiit VI Kalendas Novembris, XLI anno post mortem Alvredi regis solum modo una nocte excepta, et Ædmundus frater eius suscepit regnum.

942. . . . Anelaf rex obiit. Et Ricardus Vetus suscepit regnum et regnavit LII annis.

(943) . . . Hic Eadmundus rex dedit Sancto Dunstano Glastingabyri(?).

944. . . . Eadmundus rex subiecit sibi omnem Nordhumbram et fugavit de regno illo duos fortes viros de regali genere, Anlaf et Reinold.

945. . . . Edmundus depredavit totam Cumbram.

948. . . . Hic Edmundus rex occisus est, et Edredus, frater eius, regnavit pro eo et statim accepit totam Nor<ð>humbram in potestatem propriam. Et Scotti ei iusiurandum fecerunt, quod, quicquid vellet, facerent.

949. . . . Hic venit Anelaf Cuiran in Nor<ð>humbran.

951. Hic obiit Ælfegus Wentanus episcopus in festo Sancti Gregorii.

952. . . . Hic Nordhumbreni pepulerunt regem Anelaf, ne regnaret super eos, et receperunt Yric, filium Haroldi.

954. . . . Hic Nordhumbreni propulsaverunt Yric, et Eadredus rex accepit regnum Nordanhumbrenorum.

955. . . . Eadredus rex obiit, et Edwi, filius regis Eadmundi et Sancte Ælfgivę, suscipit regnum; et ipse expulit extra Angliam beatum Dunstanum. Tertio anno regni obiit.

956. . . . Wlstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopus obiit.

958. . . . (*fol. 57*ᵛ) . . . Eduuius rex obiit et Eadgarus, frater eius suscepit regnum totius Brittannię.

(Encomium Eadwini)

Tempore istius meliorata est terra Anglorum et Deus pacificavit dies eius (*viz.* Eadgari) ita ut, quamdiu viveret, status pacis in nullo sit lesus. Sine bello omnia sui iuris custodivit, circa cultum Dei diligenter se exhibebat, laudes Dei ubique erigebat, legem Dei intente meditabatur, meditando implere studebat, et cunctis sibi subiectis consulebat sapienter secundum Deum et seculum.

959. . . . Rex Edgarus hic reducere beatum Dunstanum fecit ab exilio et dedit ei episcopatum Wigornensis ęcclesię insuper et pontificatum Lundonię cumulavit.

961. . . . Oda archiepiscopus obiit et beatus Dunstanus Cantię archiepiscopatum subit.

963. . . . Adeluuoldus abbas ordinatus est III Kelendas Decembris.

964. . . . Hic expulsi sunt canonici de Veteri Monasterio a rege Edgaro et de Novo Monasterio et de Certesige et de Mideltune, et ordinavit in eisdem ecclesiis monachos et constituit abbates, Æðelgarum videlicet ad regimen Novi Monasterii, Orðberhtum ad Certesige, Cyneuuardum ad Mideltune.

965. . . . Hic Edgarus rex accipit Ælðridam (*Ms.* ðri *over* uui), filiam Ordgari ducis, in uxorem (*erased*).

966. . . . Hic Thored filius Gunneres devastavit totam Westmoringaland.

969. . . . Rex Edgarus precepit depredari (*Ms.* -i *over* expuncted -e) totam terram de Tanet.

972. . . . (*fol. 58*^{r}) . . . Hic rex Eadgarus consecratur in regem apud Acemannesbyri (*gloss.* Baðan) XIII anno postquam cepit regnare in die Pentecostes, et habuit tunc ętatis XXIX annos. Non multo autem post rex congregat navalem exercitum et secum ducit usque Legeceastre. Cui occurrunt ibi VI reges et fidem dantes spondent, se ei per omnia affuturos terra et mare (*Ms.* mari).

975. . . . Rex Eadgarus obiit et Eadwardus filius eius optinet regnum. Eodem anno in autumno apparuit stella, qui nominatur cometa, et secundo anno valida ingruit fames et multę motiones (*over* -tęones) diversis in locis per Angliam factę sunt. Nam quidam dux nomine Ælferus precepit destrui plura monasteria, quę Edgarus rex antea precepit construi per beatum Aðeluuoldum Wentanum episcopum.

978. . . . Hoc anno cuncti principes Anglię congregati in uno solario apud Calne ceciderunt deorsum excepto solo beato Dunstano, qui stans, auxiliante Christo, remansit in uno de laquearibus et permansit inlesus.

979. . . . Eaduuardus rex occiditur circa occubitum solis in loco, qui dicitur Porta Corf, XV Kalendas Aprilis et sepelitur in Uuarham sine omni regali honore. Nam nequius actum est in Anglia, postquam Angli intraverunt terram istam. Eodem anno Ædelredus successit fratri suo in regnum. Tempore suo multa mala venerunt in Angliam et postea semper hucusque creverunt.

980. . . . Hic Ædelredus (*fol. 58*^{v}) consecratur in regem apud Cingestune. Et Ælferus dux cum beato Dunstano perrexit ad Wareham et accepit corpus Sancti Æduuardi regis et deportavit cum maximo honore Sceftoniam et tumulavit illud ibi honorifice.

984. . . . Sanctus Adeluuoldus episcopus Wentanus obiit et Ælfegus consecratur <in> loco eius.

984^{a} (*from fol. 54*^{v}, *where wrongly inserted under 884*) . . . Hic obiit Adelwoldus episcopus Wentoniensis et electus est in loco eius Alfegus, qui alio nomine vocabatur Godwinus.

986. . . . Hic Ægelredus rex destruxit episcopatum Hrophensem.

987. . . . Hic arsit Wæcedport.

988. . . . Hic obiit beatus DUNSTANUS archiepiscopus et ad vitam celestem migravit; cui successit Ægelgarus, abbas Novi Monasterii, parvo post tempore sanus. Nam unum annum et octo menses in archiepiscopatu vixit et sic vita decessit.

989. . . . Hic consecratus est Siricus ad archiepiscopatum Cantię; hic Siricus (*erased*) ivit Romam pro pallio.[22]

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[22] For Sigeric's most valuable travel-diary of this trip to Rome in Brit. Mus. *Ms. Cotton*

quia nullum signum nec a rege nec a populo terre secum haberent. <Disce>dentibus clericis, venit archiepiscopus ad papam, qui suscepit eum cum magno honore. In crastino fecit eum celebrare missam ad altare beati Petri et impo<suit> ei proprium pallium suum. Cum hec ita facta essent, archiepiscopus cepit dicere pape de clericis, quomodo venerunt ad eum et quod obtulerunt sibi magnam pecuniam pro pallio, et adiecit papa:

"Redite in Angliam cum benedictione Dei et Sancti Petri et in ęcclesia tibi commendata eiusdem ordinis in ea ponite, quem papa Gregorius (*Ms.* G) Augustino precepit. Et hoc tibi precipio ex parte Dei et beati Petri et nostra."

Tunc archiepiscopus ita rediit. Cum autem revertisset, statim adiit ecclesiam suam et post adiit regem, et letatus est rex et omnis (*fol. 59*^{r}*, top marg.*) <de reditu suo> et quod omnia secundum voluntatem regis peregit. Post hec reversus ad sedem suam, et, eiectis clericis, locavit ęcclesiam monachis sicut papa illum <imperavit, secundum> quod beatus Gregorius (*Ms.* G) precepit Augustino facere in primordio ecclesię.

996. . . . Hic consecratus est Wlstanus ad archiepiscopatum Lundonie.

997. . . . Hic Ælfricus perrexit Romam (*fol. 60*^{v}).

999. . . . Hic iam dictus exercitus venit in Tamisiam et inde per Medeuuæge navigat usque Roveceaster. Ibi obviam habuit exercitum Cantię et commiserunt bellum duriter; Danus tamen optinet campum et, acceptis equis, percurrit totam regionem, devastans et destruens omnia, ita ut fere occidentalis pars Cantię ad nichilum redigeretur. Iterum autem cępit rex consilium, ut prepararetur navale bellum, ut sic per terram et per mare exercitus adversariorum omnino deleretur et abigeretur sed et hoc sicut antea sepius contigit: ad extremum nil aliud operatum est quam cassum laborem pauperis populi et detrimentum pecunię et extollentiam inimicorum.

MILLESIMUS . . . Hic rex devastavit totam Cumbram et pene omnino delevit; exercitus autem Danorum iam paulo ante ierant trans mare in regnum Ricardi.

1001. . . . Hic applicuit exercitus adversariorum in ostium (*Ms.* hostium) fluminis, quod vocatur Exanmuth, et, exeuntes, usque ad civitatem venerunt et acriter contra eam pugnaverunt. Sed cives de intus civitatem nobiliter defendebant. Exercitus autem, secundum morem illorum recedentes a civitate, totam regionem percurrentes, igne et gladio omnia devastabant, nec aliquis eis obsistebat. Nota: Sed bellum in terra nullus ausus est contra eos facere nec navale certaman (*erased*) incipere; hostes vero numquam a malo cessabant.

1002. . . . Hic iterum rex censuit (*fol. 61*^{r}) cum optimatibus suis dari censum Danis, ut cessassent a tanta vastatione. Persoluta sunt illis igitur XXIIII milia librarum, eo tenore, sicut iam dictum est, ut tardarent a tanta destructione. Isto anno Eadulfus : : : (*suprascript*) archiepiscopus defunctus est. Hoc anno in Quadragesimo adducta est filia Ricardi in Angliam nomine Ymma. Hoc etiam eodem anno precepit rex occidere omnes Danos, qui fuerunt in tota Anglia, in die festi Sancti Britii, hoc autem ideo, quia notum factum est regi et primatibus Anglię, quod Dani idem facturi essent regi, si potuissent, et omnibus Anglis, ut postea libenter possiderent terram sine aliqua contradictione.

1003. . . . Hic destructa est Exonia propter quendam Francigenam nomine Hugo, quem regina prepositum fecit. Et congregatus est magnus exercitus contra eos, quem videlicet Alfricus dux ducere debebat. Sed dum ventum est, ubi utrique exercitus sese invicem aspiciunt, dux Alfricus solito more fingit se infirmum et sic decepit exercitum. Cum autem Swanus videret exercitum Anglorum ita inconstanter agere, duxit usque Wiltoniam exercitum suum et combusserunt eam et sic processerunt usque ad Selesberi indeque ad naves suas.

1004. . . . Hic venit Swænus cum navibus suis ad Norðwic (*altered from* Norþ-) et totam civitatem depredavit igneque cremavit. Tunc Ulfcytel consilium cepit cum principibus Orientalium Anglorum, eo quod hostes improvise super eos venirent; exercitus sub tam districto tempore congregari non potuit. Visum est pacem facere cum Suano. Cum autem indutię datę et acceptę essent, furtive hostes exierunt de navibus et perrexerunt usque Theotford (*Ms.* Heortford). Quos insecutus idem Ulfcytel cum exercitu pervenit usque ad illos et commisit cum eis fortiter; ibi occisi sunt optimi quoque seniorum principum Orientalium Saxonum.

1005. . . . (*fol. 61*^{v}). Hic facta est fames valida in Anglia, quanta numquam antea facta est in terra ista. Eodem anno exercitus Danorum reversus est in Denmarcam ab Anglia et post non multum temporis regressus est.

1006. . . . Hic obiit Ælfricus archiepiscopus, et Alfegus Wentanus episcopus suscepit archiepiscopatum Cantie, et Brihtuuoldus suscipit episcopatum Serberiensem. Et Cenulfus episcopus obiit. Eodem anno reversus est exercitus Danorum ad Sanduuic et, exiens de navibus, more suo cepit omnia vastare, occidere, igne consumere. Tunc rex precepit congregare exercitum per totam Angliam, ut pugnaret contra eos. Congregato igitur exercitu, totum autumnum permansit in expeditione, nihil aliud agens nisi sua in vanum consumens. Nam Dani libere omnia secundum libitum fecerunt. Cum autem hiemps appropinquaret, Dani petebant solitam sedem, Vectam Insulam videlicet, et, veniente Domini Nativitate, movit se exercitus Danorum et pertransiens Hamtunscire venerit Readinges et inde ad Walingaforda et combusserunt eam. Et congregatus est exercitus contra eos in loco, qui dicitur Cynete. Set Dani prima statim congressione fugaverunt exercitum regis et, acceptis spoliis, confidenter redeunt ad naves suas, nullo obsistente. Ibi Uentanus populus videre potuit strenuum et nichil timentem exercitum, qui, ante portas eiusdem civitatis transiens, intrepide per L miliaria a mari euntes et redeuntes victum et multas divitias et quęque bona terrę secum accipiebant. Hoc eodem tempore Nativitatis Christi tenuit rex curiam suam apud Scropesberi, et tantus timor invasit omnes, ut nullus omnino auderet quoquam ire propter exercitum (*fol. 62*^{r}). Redit itaque rex ad solitum refugium. Ibi mandat hostibus, se daturum illis vectigalia et cibaria, ne omnino destruant terram.

1007. . . . Hic persoluta est pecunia hostibus, scilicet XXX milia librarum. Hoc etiam anno Eadricus constitutus est super totam Merciam.

1008. . . . Hic rex precepit naves facere per totam Angliam, hoc est de CCC hidis et X unam magnam navem, quę Anglice nominatur "scegþ" (*ON skeið*), et de VIII hidis galeam et loricam.

1009. . . . Hic paratę sunt naves, quarum tanta fuit multitudo quanta antea non fuit visa in Anglia, et ductę sunt omnes Sanduuic, ut (*over* et *expuncted*) ibi deberent defendere Angliam contra exteras gentes; set, sicut sepe ante factum est, ita quoque et hoc ad nichilum omnino devenit. Hoc eodem tempore Brihtricus, frater Eadrici ducis, accusavit quendam nobilem virum nomine Wlnoðum, patrem Godwini ducis, apud regem. Qua de causa idem Ulnodus, exiens Anglia, cum XX navibus devastavit <au>stralem partem Anglię. Tunc cogitavit iam dictus Brihtricus adquirere sibi (*fol. 62*^{v}) laudem et accepit secum de navibus regis LXXX naves et putabat, se posse Ulnodum vivum aut mortuum capere, set, cum navigassent ad illas partes, ubi illum esse putabant, tanta tempestas facta est, ut totum navigium Brihtrici deperiret et naves ad litus proiecti sint. Et miseri homines, qui remanserunt in navibus, vacui redibant. Tunc venit iam dictus Ulnodus et combussit omnes naves. Hoc audito, rex, dimisso navigio, rediit Lundoniam. Sic periit pro nichilo labor totius populi. Post hęc venit immensus exercitus paganorum ad Sanduuic et recta via perrexerunt Cantuareberi. Convenientes itaque principes Cantię fecerunt conventionem cum eis et dederunt III milia librarum et discesserunt a Cantia et recte fecerunt viam ad Oxanaforda et combusserunt civitatem et sic tetenderunt viam ad naves. Audientes, quod exercitus esset congregatus contra eos apud Lundoniam, quia nullum signum nec a rege nec a populo terre secum haberent. <Disce>dentibus clericis, venit archiepiscopus ad papam, qui suscepit eum cum magno honore. In crastino fecit eum celebrare missam ad altare beati Petri et impo<suit> ei proprium pallium suum. Cum hec ita facta essent, archiepiscopus cepit dicere pape de clericis, quomodo venerunt ad eum et quod obtulerunt sibi magnam pecuniam pro pallio, et adiecit papa:

"Redite in Angliam cum benedictione Dei et Sancti Petri et in ęcclesia tibi commendata eiusdem ordinis in ea ponite, quem papa Gregorius (*Ms.* G) Augustino precepit. Et hoc tibi precipio ex parte Dei et beati Petri et nostra."

Tunc archiepiscopus ita rediit. Cum autem revertisset, statim adiit ecclesiam suam et post adiit regem, et letatus est rex et omnis (*fol. 59ʳ, top marg.*) <de reditu suo> et quod omnia secundum voluntatem regis peregit. Post hec reversus ad sedem suam, et, eiectis clericis, locavit ęcclesiam monachis sicut papa illum <imperavit, secundum> quod beatus Gregorius (*Ms.* G) precepit Augustino facere in primordio ecclesię.

996. . . . Hic consecratus est Wlstanus ad archiepiscopatum Lundonie.

997. . . . Hic Ælfricus perrexit Romam (*fol. 60ᵛ*).

999. . . . Hic iam dictus exercitus venit in Tamisiam et inde per Medeuuæge navigat usque Roveceaster. Ibi obviam habuit exercitum Cantię et commiserunt bellum duriter; Danus tamen optinet campum et, acceptis equis, percurrit totam regionem, devastans et destruens omnia, ita ut fere occidentalis pars Cantię ad nichilum redigeretur. Iterum autem cępit rex consilium, ut prepararetur navale bellum, ut sic per terram et per mare exercitus adversariorum omnino deleretur et abigeretur sed et hoc sicut antea sepius contigit: ad extremum nil aliud operatum est quam cassum laborem pauperis populi et detrimentum pecunię et extollentiam inimicorum.

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1010. . . . Hic applicuit iam nominatus exercitus apud Gipesuuic et recte iter tendit, ubi audierunt esse Ulfcytel cum exercitu suo, et, venientibus illis, fugerunt Orientales Angli, sola Grantebrigge stante contra illos. Ibi occisi sunt fere nobiliores Orientalium Anglorum et multitudo aliorum, et Dani acceperunt victoriam et possederunt Orientalem Angliam tribus mensibus.

1011. . . . Hic mandavit rex et optimates exercitui Danorum, ut darent et acciperent pacem quod darent eis vice, censum, ut desinerent depredari. Iam devastati sunt Orientales <Anglos> (*fol. 63*ʳ) et Orientales Saxones, Mediterraneos Saxones, provinciam de Oxanaforda et provinciam Grantebriggensem et Hereforda, Buccingaham, Bædaforda, et dimidiam provinciam Huntodensem et australem partem ultra Tamisiam, totam Cantiam et Hastingas, Suthregiam et Australes Saxones et Barrucscire et Hamtunscire et dimidiam Wiltunscire.

Hoc anno inter Nativitatem Sancte Marie et Sanctum Michaelem iam sepe dictus exercitus circumdedit civitatem Cantuareberi et per traditionem cuiusdem nomine Almari, quem paulo ante Ælfegus archiepiscopus eripuit a morte, intraverunt civitatem et acceperunt archiepiscopum Ælfegum et prepositum regis nomine Æluuordum et Lifwinum abbatem et Goduuinum episcopum et Ælmarum abbatem dimiserunt. Et totum clerum archiepiscopi cum innumerabili populo captivum duxerunt et, cum iam totam civitatem perquississent, reversi sunt ad naves suas, ducentes secum archiepiscopum captivum.

(Planctus de Fato Ælfegi)

Et tunc fuit preda paganorum, qui paulo ante fuit caput totius Brytannię et Christianitatis; potuit tunc maxima miseria videri, ubi pridie habebatur maximum gaudium et unde nobis pullulavit fides vera.

Tenuerunt autem archiepiscopum, donec post multas tribulationes occiderunt eum.

1012. . . . Hic congregati sunt omnes principes totius Anglię apud Lundoniam, ut persolveretur pecunia, quę promissa est exercitui in Pasca, scilicet VIII milia librarum. Sabbato igitur primo post Pasca turbatus est exercitus nimis contra archiepiscopum Alfegum, eo quod defendisset omnibus amicis suis et hominibus suis ex parte Dei et sua, ne aliqua pecunia daretur pro eo. Fuerunt etiam eodem die nimis vinolenti. Nam de ultra maris partibus advecta est navis onusta vino; quo inebriati duxerunt archiepiscopum (*fol. 63*ᵛ) in concilium suum et cum lapidibus et ossibus animalium occiderunt eum. Cum autem prope mortuus esset, unus eorum, accepto securi, inpegit capiti eius, et sic sanctus tradidit animam Deo. In crastino autem episcopi Ælfunus et Eadnoðus, cives quoque Lundonienses, accepto eius corpore, cum magna reverentia deportatum Lundonie tumulo tradiderunt in Ecclesia beati Pauli apostoli. Exercitus autem Danorum, recepta pecunia, que, sicut superius dictum est, illi a rege promissa est, recesserunt ab Anglia, exceptis quadraginta quinque navibus, quę remanserunt cum rege.

1013. . . . Secundo anno passionis Sancti Alphegi rex dedit archiepiscopatum Livingo episcopo. Eodem anno ante Augustus-mensem venit Suanus cum navigio ad Sanduuic et cito inde pergit et vehit ad os Humbrę fluminis et populus aquilionarium Anglorum inclinavit sibi et dedit se illi et omnis provincia dedit obsides. Et post perrexit ad australes partes cum magno exercitu; filio autem suo Cnut commendavit naves suas et obsides, quos accepit. Postquam autem transierunt stratam, que nominatur Uueclinca-streta, fecerunt omnia vastare, igne consumere, gladio necare; transieruntque usque Oxanaforda et sic ad Wentoniam et utraque civitas dedit obsides et sic reversus est Lundoniam. Plurimi enim de exercitu illius demersi (*Ms.* dim-) sunt in Tamisia, quia non curabant quęrere pontem. Civitas itaque viriliter obstitit et plura prelia contra eos gessit, quia rex Æðelredus et Ðurcyllus comes intus erant. Quando rex (*viz.* Suanus) vidit se nichil posse contra civitatem, rediit (*fol. 64*ʳ) Walingaford et sic Bathan et ibi mansit cum exercitu suo. Tunc venit ibi ad eum (*viz.* Suanum) Adelmarus dux cum primis Occidentalium (*corr. from* Orientalium) Saxonum et dederunt manus et obsides Quid(?) multa(?). Suscipitur a tota Anglia in regem. Cives etiam Lundonienses obsides dant. Rex itaque Æðelredus misit reginam Ymmam ad fratrem suam Ricardum trans mare et Ælsigum abbatem de Burh cum ea, episcopum etiam Alphunum cum filiis suis Eadwardo et Ælfredo cum matre illorum. Ipse etiam rex subsequitur et mansit cum Ricardo usque ad obitum Suani.

1014. . . . Hic obiit Suanus rex. Principes autem regis et qui cum eo venerant in Angliam elegerunt Cnut in regem, set principes Anglorum et omnes Angli miserunt post Æðelredum regem, mandantes ei ut, si iustius eos vellet tractare solito, nullum tantum amarent quantum illum. Rex itaque, audito hoc, mittit Eaduuardum filium suum in Anglia cum nuntiis, remandans omni populo Anglorum, quia, si eum vellent recipere, eos se iuste recturos, et quicquid iuste in eo reprehendi posset se emendaturum vel quicquid contra eum actum esset se dimissurum, quicquid autem dehinc equę consuluerint se facturum. Receperunt itaque Angli verba Eaduuardi et reversus est rex Æðedredus in Angliam in Quadragesimo et susceptus est cum magno gaudio. Et firmatum est pactum inter regem et populum suum et firma amicitia. Iureiurando etiam statutum est, ut numquam amplius esset rex Danus in Anglia. Tunc Cnut cum his, qui secum erant, venit navigans Sanduuic, ducens secum obsides, quos pater acceperat ab Anglis; cumque applicuisset in portu Sanduuic, fecit abscidi manus omnium obsidum et nares incidi.

Hoc eodem anno facti sunt fluctus maris in Vigilia Sancti Michaelis tam magni, ut plures villę per Angliam iisdem fluctibus delerentur (*Ms. corr. from* deleret) et innumerabilis multitudo hominum absorberetur.

1015. . . . (*fol. 64*ᵛ) . . . Hoc anno factum est magnum placitum super Oxanaforda, et Eadricus dux tradidit duos nobiles viros, Sigferth et Marcere, nimis indecenter. Nam fecit eos vocari (*Ms.* -e) in camera sua et ibi fecit eos occidi: isti ipsi principabantur VII Civitatibus. His itaque peractis, rex accepit mulierem, quę fuit coniunx Siferthi, et posuit eam in Mealdelmesbyri; post parvum temporis venit Eadmundus filius regis et accepit predictam relictam in coniugem contra voluntatem regis. Post hęc perrexit accipere omnia, quę erant Siferdi et Marcheri in terris et in aliis possessionibus, et populus predictę possessionis dederunt se illi. Eodem tempore Cnut venit iterum Sanduuic et, statim navigans inde circa Cantiam, applicuit in portu, quod nominatur Framuðe, et cepit vastare et predare Dorsætan et Sumersætan et Wiltunscire. Rex autem Ædelredus iacuit infirmus apud Cosham; Eadricus itaque dux, fraudulenter congregato exercitu, cogitavit tradere Eadmundum set non potuit. Accepit tamen XL naves de navigio regis et contulit se ad Cnut.

1016. . . . (*fol. 65*ʳ) . . . Hic venit Cnut et Eadricus dux cum CLX navibus in Merciam et perrexerunt usque Crecalade et post redierunt cum toto navigio Lundoniam, ubi audierunt regem esse et filium eius Eadmundum. Set rex Æðelredus, antequam venissent Lundoniam, iam obierat in festo Sancti Georgii, et elevatus est ibi statim post obitum regis Eadmundus in regem et strenue regnum suum defendebat suo tempore. Tunc venit navigium Cnut Lundoniam et in australi parte foderunt magnum fossatum et traxerunt naves illorum ex occidentali parte pontis et iterum foderunt (*gloss.* fecerunt) alium (*gloss.* alibi?) fossatum contra civitatem, ne ii, qui erant in civitate, possent exire, et sepe insurrexerunt contra civitatem, set cives fortiter restiterunt. Cum autem exercitus videret se nil posse contra civitatem, recesserunt inde et pervenientes ad flumen, quod vocatur Areuua, exierunt et intrantes Merciam cepere secundum morem vastare, depredare, omnia igne consumere. Tunc rex congregavit exercitum quarta vice et pergit in Cantiam et exercitus Danorum cum equis fugerunt ante regem in Sceapege; exercitus autem regis Eadmundi occiderunt quos consequi poterant. Set cum pervenisset rex ad Ægelesford, dux Eadricus per dolum fecit exercitum Anglorum redire. Non fuit peius consilium factum in Anglia de tali re. Iterum Dani reversi sunt in Merciam, itaque cum rex Eadmundus hoc audisset, quinto convocavit totam Angliam et perrexit post exercitum Danorum et consecutus est eum apud Assandune et ibi viriliter commiserunt. Set Edricus suo more incepit fugam et fecit dolo exercitum Anglorum fugere et sic decepit naturalem dominum suum et totam Angliam. Cnut autem per traditionem Edrici potitus est victoria. Post istud bellum Cnut vadit Glouuecistre, ubi audivit regem esse. Tunc Edricus et principes Angliȩ fecerunt pacem inter reges et dederunt obsides inter se et colloquium habuerunt apud Olanige ibique firmaverunt amicitiam inter sese, pactum quoque statuerunt cum iureiurando et constituerunt censum exercituum et discesserunt ab invicem cum pace. Et rex Eadmundus habuit partem australem, quȩ nominatur Westsexan, et Cnut accepit Merciam. In festivitate autem Sancti Andreȩ apostoli rex Eadmundus defunctus est et sepultus est in Glastoniensi ecclesia cum avo suo Edgaro. Et Cnut postea regnavit super Angliam totam.

1017. . . . (*fol. 65*^{v}) . . . Hic Cnut suscepit totius Angliȩ gubernacula et divisit illud in quattuor: sibi ipsi retinuit Westseaxe et Thurcyllo Eastengla, Eadrico Merciam, et Hyrco Nordhumbram. Hoc eodem anno Cnut rex misit post Ymmam, quȩ fuit regina Æðelredi regis, ut acciperet eam in reginam. Et Eadricus dux iustissime occisus est.

1018. . . . Hic pecunia persoluta est Danis, hoc est LXXII milia librarum, sine illa quam cives Lundonienses persolverunt, hoc est XI milia librarum. Et facta est pax inter Danos et Anglos.

1019. . . . Hic Cnut rex ivit Denmarca et fuit ibi per totam hiemem.

1020. . . . Hic revertitur Cnut de Danmarcan et hoc anno perrexit ad Assandune et fecit ibi edificare ȩcclesiam de lapidibus et cemento pro animabus omnium ibi occisorum. Tunc(?) Ælstanus Lyvingus archiepiscopus <obiit> et Egelnodus, qui fuit decanus et monachus Ecclesiȩ Christi, electus est eodem anno et consecratus a Wlstano archiepiscopo Eboracensi.

1021. . . . Hic rex Cnut expulit Thurcillum comitem.

1022. . . . Hic Ægelnoðus perrexit Romam pro pallio et honorifice susceptus est a papa Bendicto. Et ipse papa propria manu sua imposuit illi pallium et fecit eum cum eodem pallio ibi missam celebrare et postea cum eo cibum sumere et sic cum benedictione sua fecit eum redire ad propriam sedem. Et Liofuuinus abbas Eligensis cenobii purgavit se de his, de quibus fuit calumniatus, ante apostolicum, teste archiepiscopo Ægelnodo.

1023. . . . Hic obiit Wlstanus archiepiscopus Eborace, et Ælfricus suscepit post eum archiepiscopatum (*Ms. repeats* suscepit) et Ægelnoðus archiepiscopus consecravit eum in Cantuareberi. Et eodem anno Ægelnoðus archiepiscopus deportavit corpus sancti Ælfegi archiepiscopi ad propriam sedem de Lundonia. Et hic obiit Ricardus Secundus et Ricardus filius eius regnavit prope uno anno. Post eum regnavit Rodbertus frater eius et regnavit VIII annis (*fol. 66*^{r}).

1025. . . . Hic : : : fluvium, quod dicitur Sanctum(?) : : : et : : : exercitus : : : et potiebantur victoria : : : ita : : :

1028. . . . Hic Cnut ivit Noruuega de Anglia cum L navibus de nobilibus Anglie et expulit Olavum regem de terra illa et possedit eam.

1029. . . . Hic reversus est Cnut ad Angliam. Cum autem pervenisset in Angliam : : :

1031. . . . Hic Cnut rex perrexit Romam et, postquam reversus est, intravit

Scotiam, et rex Scotię Melcolm subdidit se ei et II alii reges. Et Rodbertus comes mortuus est in peregrinatione et Willelmus filius eius, licet puerulus, successit ei; postea factus est rex in Anglia.

1032. . . . Hic apparuit ignis, qualis nunquam antea ab aliquo visus est in Anglia, et in multis locis nocuit. Ælsinus etiam episcopus Uuentoniensis obiit et Æluuinus capellanus regis suscepit episcopatum.

1033. . . . Merehuuit episcopus Suellensis <obiit> et corpus eius sepultum est.

1036. . . . Hic obiit Cnut rex apud Sceftesberi et sepultus est Wentonia in Veteri Monasterio et regnavit fere XX annis; et Leofricus comes et tota nobilitas a parte aquilone (*Ms.* -nis) fluminis Tamisię elegerunt Haroldum et Hardecnut fratrem eius ad gubernandam Angliam. Set dux Goduuinus et omnes optimates in Westsexan contradixerunt set non pręvalerunt (*fol. 66*ᵛ).

1037 (*Ms.* 1036) . . . Hic expulsa est Ælgiva Ymma, quę fuit mater Eaduuardi regis et Hardecnutis. At ipsa requisivit Balduuinum comitem Flandrensem et ipse dedit ei locum in Brigge et, quamdiu ibi fuit, honorifice eam tractavit.

1038 (*Ms.* 1037) . . . Hic obiit Egelnoð archiepiscopus in Kalendas Novembris et post pauca Ægelricus episcopus Australium Saxonum et Brihtegh Wigorniensis et Ælfricus episcopus Orientalium Saxonum. Et Edsinus capellanus regis suscepit archiepiscopatum Cantie et Grimcytel ad Australes Saxones et Livingus Wigornensem (*Ms.* -nansem) ecclesiam et Claudi(ensem?).

1039. . . . Hic obiit Haroldus rex et sepultus est apud Westmynster. Et hoc eodem anno venit Hardecnut ad Sanduuic et statim receptus est ab Anglis et Danis, quamquam conciliarii eius postea hoc illis duriter reddiderunt, quando dederunt consilium, ut deberent persolvi LXII naves et pro (*Ms.* apro?) unaquaque hamelo (*Ms.* hamolo) deberent persolvi VIII marc<as>.

1040. . . . Hic persoluta est pecunia, hoc est XXI milia librarum et XCIX librarum, et postea persolutę sunt XXXII naves et XI milia librarum et XLVIII librarum. Et hoc anno Eaduuardus, filius Æðelredi regis, venit in Angliam; ipse fuit frater Hardecnut et <ambo fuerunt> filii Ymme reginę, sororis Ricardi Iunioris et filiæ Ricardi Senioris.

1041. . . . Hic obiit Hardecnut apud Lamhida et regnavit duobus annis, exceptis X diebus, et sepultus est Wentonia in Veteri Monasterio, pro cuius anima mater sua dedit caput Sancti Valentini martyris eidem ęcclesię. Et antequam sepultus esset, omnis populus Anglorum elegit Eaduuardum in regem aput Lundoniam. Et annus ille nimis fuit molestus in multis rebus.

1042. . . . (*fol. 67*ʳ) . . . Hic consecratur Eaduuardus in regem apud Wentoniam in die sancto Pascę, quod fuit III Nonas Aprilis. Edsinus archiepiscopus Cantię sacravit eum et ante consecrationem docuit eum coram omni populo ea, quę sibi facienda erant ad honorem suum et ad utilitatem sibi subiecti populi. Stigandus etiam, capellanus regis, ordinatur ad episcopatum Orientalium Saxonum. Hoc eodem anno Ædwardus rex abstulit matri suę omnia, quę habuit in terris et auro et argento, quia nimis tenaciter ea contra illum tenuit.

1043. . . . Hic Edsinus archiepiscopus propter infirmitatem suam, dimisso archiepiscopatu, in suo loco sacravit Siwordum abbatem Abbodonensem per licentiam regis et consilium eius et per consilium ducis Godwini. His exceptis, pauci sciverunt, antequam factum est, quia archiepiscopus timuit, ne, si plures scissent antequam factum esset, aliquis, quem non tantum amaret, a rege aut pretio aut servitio illud quereret. Hoc etiam anno fames valida facta est per Angliam.

1044. . . . Hic rex Eadwardus accepit filiam ducis Godwini in coniugem. Et hoc anno Brihtwoldus episcopus Sciraburnensis obiit et Heremannus capellanus regis suscipit post eum episcopatum. Et Wlfricus consecratur ad Abbatiam Sancti Augustini secundo die Nativitatis Christi licentia regis et consensu (*Ms.* -o?) Ælstani abbatis propter infirmitatem suam.

1045. . . . Hic obiit Livingus episcopus Exoniensis et Leofricus capellanus regis suscepit episcopatum post eum. Et Alstanus abbas Sancti Augustini defungitur.

1046. . . . Hic obiit Grimcytel episcopus Australium Saxonum et Heca capellanus regis successit ei. Et Ælwinus Wentoniensis episcopus obiit et Stigandus episcopus (*fol.* 67^v) Orientalium Saxonum suscepit etiam hanc sedem. Et eodem anno Swanus, filius Godwini ducis, exivit de Anglia et ivit in terram Baldwini et hiemavit ibi; redeunte autem estate, exivit inde et iterum venit in Angliam.

1047. . . . Hic obiit Siuuordus, quem superius (*1043 supra*) diximus, Edsinum archiepiscopum posuisse pro se propter infirmitatem suam; Edsinus autem reaccepit archiepiscopatum illum post mortem eius. Isto etiam anno venerunt in Angliam cum XXV navibus duo Dani, nomine Lothen et Yrling, et vastaverunt omnia ubicumque venerunt et, accipientes quecumque potuerunt in auro et argento, redierunt ad sua.

1048. . . . Hoc anno factum <est> magnum concilium apud Sanctum Remigium, in quo fuit papa Leo et multę et magnę personę ecclesiastici ordinis et secularis. Eduuardus autem rex misit Dudoc episcopum et Wlvricum abbatem Sancti Augustini et Æluuinum abbatem illuc ad hoc, ut deberent audire quid ibi tractaretur de Christiana fide et sibi renuntiare.

Post hoc rex perget Sanduuic cum magno navigio; Swanus autem, filius Godwini, venit cum VII navibus ad Bosenham et quesivit pacem regis. Et promissa est sibi pax cum omnibus, quę sua fuerunt antea in Anglia. Sed Haroldus frater eiusdem Swani et Beorn (*fol.* 68^r) comes obstituerunt et tantum egerunt, ut, si post triduum inveniretur in Anglia, deberet poni in custodia. Perrexit igitur ad Pevenesea, ut loqueretur (*Ms.* cum *erased*) patri (*Ms.* -i *over* -e) suo et eidem Beorn comiti, qui fuit ibi cum patre (*expuncted and glossed* Godwino) suo. Cum autem venisset illuc et locutus fuisset que voluit, rogavit Beorn, ut veniret secum Sanduuic, ubi tunc rex erat, ut si forte rex conciliaretur aliquo modo sibi. Concedit ille et simul pergunt. Cum autem graderentur simul, dicit Suanus Beorn, "Veni mecum ad navem meam, quia homines mei volunt recedere a me." Contradicit ille aliquantulum; iverunt tamen ad navem. Invitat Suanus, ut Beorn intraret navem. Non vult. Apprehenditur ab hominibus navis et proicitur intus. Trahentes sursum igitur velum suum cucurrerunt ad portum, qui nominatur Axemuðe, et occiderunt ibi comitem Beorn et sepelierunt eum ibi in quadam ecclesiola. Cum vero hoc esset auditum, amici eius et homines illius venerunt et, accipientes corpus eius inde, portaveruntque illud Uuentoniam et sepelierunt eum iuxta Cnut avunculum suum. Et Eadnodus episcopus defungitur, qui fuit episcopus aqui<lo>narium Saxonum, et Ullf ordinatur in loco eius.

1049. . . . Hoc anno factum est magnum concilium Romę, et rex Eduuardus misit illuc Heremannum episcopum et Ealdredum episcopum, et devenerunt illuc Sancto Sabbato. Iterum idem papa habuit concilium apul Vercelleus, ad quod missus est Ulf episcopus, sed fere perdidit ibi baculum suum, quia nescivit ministerium suum. Et Eadsinus archiepiscopus obiit IIII Kalendas Novembris.

1050. . . . (*fol.* 68^v) . . . Hic (*Ms.* Hec *with* i *suprascript*) Eaduuardus rex dedit Rodberto, qui fuit abbas Gemeticæ, archiepiscopatum Cantuarię; qui post paucos dies perrexit Romam pro pallio. Episcopatus etiam Lundonię dedit rex Sperhafoco abbati Abbedonensi et abbatiam eandem dedit Rodulfo, propinquo suo. Reversus est itaque Rodbertus archiepiscopus in Vigilia Sancti Petri et in crastino inthronizatur <in> cathedra archipresulatus sui. Tunc supradictus Sperhafocus venit ad archiepiscopatum cum litteris regis, ut benediceretur ad episcopatum Lundonie. Cui archiepiscopus constanter respondit, dicens, "Apostolicus mihi interdixit ne te consecrare, nec faciam."

Hoc eodem anno Eustatius comes Boloniensis venit ad regem cumque ea, que voluit, peregisset, reversus est. Cum autem homines perrex(issent?) et venissent

Dofras, ut prepararent hospitium, quidam ex hominibus illius per superbiam voluit vi accipere hospitium et vulneravit dominum domus; a quo autem idem repercussus mortuus est. Nuntiatum est hoc Eustatio, qui nimis iratus preparavit se armis suis et socios idem facere iubet et, veniens Doferis, occidit eundem, qui hominem suum occiderat, et XX alios cum eo. Et facta est magna seditio: occisi sunt etiam de hominibus Eustatii XIX homines et vulnerati multi sunt; sed et ipse comes vix cum paucis evasit. Et veniens (*Ms. over* vadens *expuncted*) ad regem rem gestam rettulit aliter multo quam acta sit. Iratus est ergo rex valde et precepit Goduuino comiti Cantię, ut congregaret exercitum et intraret Cantiam omnia devastando et maxime Dofris (*at foot of page*: et maxime Dofras; *in left margin*: ut devastaret Dofras). Sed Goduuinus, nolens destruere comitatum suum, dissimulavit ire illuc. Tunc (*expuncted; in marg.*) Unde iratus rex precepit convocari omnes optimates eius apud civitatem Claudiam (*fol.* 69^{r}); Goduuinus autem et duo filii eius, Haroldus et Suanus, convenerunt apud Beverstane, ut venirent ad regem. Tunc quidam autem de Normannis, qui cum rege erant, venerunt ad regem et accusaverunt eosdem comites apud eum, ita ut rex interdiceret eis presentiam suam. Tunc principes Anglię et cęteri, qui circa regem erant, rogaverunt regem pro eis. Rex autem precibus eorum victus (*Ms.* p.e.v. *over* annuens *expuncted*) reddidit illis amicitiam, set paulo post iterum (autem *expuncted*) rex (precepit *expuncted*) congregavit (*Ms. corr. from* congregare) omnes principes regni sui apud Lundoniam, precepit congregare exercitum de tota Anglia; fecit etiam Suanum filium Goduuini expelli de patria, et Goduuino autem et Haroldo precepit, ut cum solis XII hominibus venire deberent ad curiam suam (regis *expuncted*), qui libenter id annuentes, set eo tamen tenore, ut (cum pace *expuncted*), si se non possent se defendere, (et *erased*) cum pace possent redire. Et ut certi de hoc esse possent, dari sibi obsides rogaverunt. Set nichil horum voluit rex facere; immo iubet eos infra quinque dies egredi de Anglia. (Discessit *cancelled*). His itaque ita actis, de Anglia Goduuinus discedit et pergit (*Ms. corr. from* perregit) ad Balduuinum comitem Flandrię, Haroldus (autem *expuncted*) in Hiberniam. Quam ob causam iratus rex (autem *expuncted*) dimisit reginam suam, quę fuit filia eiusdem Goduuini, et abstulit sibi omnia, que habuit in terris et in auro et argento, et commendavit eam in monasterio feminarum apud Wereuu<e>lles.

Hoc eodem tempore abstulit etiam rex sepe dicto Sperhafoco episcopatum Lundonię et dedit illum (*Ms.* -d) cuidam capellano suo, nomine Willelmo, qui consecratus est a Rodberto archiepiscopo.

1051. . . . Hic obiit Ymma regina, mater regis Eaduuardi. Et Goduuinus exiens de Flandria venit in Angliam (*fol.* 69^{v}) in loco, qui ab Anglis dicitur Næss, ex australi parte Rumenea et inde navigans venit in Insulam Vectam ibique, acceptis navibus et obsidibus, revertitur iterum in oriente. Venit etiam Haroldus de Hibernia cum IX navibus et applicuit in loco, qui dicitur Portlocan, et occidit ibi homines multos et accepit oves et boves et quicquid secum portare potuit et secutus est patrem suum. Cum autem pervenisset ad eum, navigaverunt usque Rumenea, sic ad Hytham et ad Folcesstanum, Dofris (-as *suprascript*) et Sanduuic, et in cunctis his locis semper acceperunt eum : : : meliores naves quas invenerunt et obsides, et cum omnibus navigantes venerunt Lundoniam. Cum autem venissent Lundoniam, invenerunt ibi regem et comites cum L navibus. Goduuinus itaque et Haroldus, missis legatis ad regem, poscebant sibi reddi sua iniuste ablata. Rex autem aliquandiu contradixit, sed Stigandus capellanus et consiliator regis cum multis aliis nobilibus terrę Anglie effecerunt apud regem, ut utroque darentur obsides et redderent illis sua et sic firmaretur amicitia. Cum enim Rodbertus archiepiscopus hoc sic factum accepisset, ascenso equo et paucis sumptis sociis, recto itinere tendit ad mare et, naviculo invento, transivit et amisit pallium suum. Tunc rex fecit convocari cunctos nobiles

Angl<ie> ad se apud Lundoniam. Goduuinus purgavit se et omnes suos de omnibus, que imponebantur eis. Et Rodbertus archiepiscopus addictus est exul ab Anglia et omnes alii, qui composuerunt discidium inter regem et<eos>. Rex autem dedit Stigando capellano suo archiepiscopatum Cantie.

1053. . . . Hic defungitur Goduuinus dux, et Haroldus suscepit comitatum eius, et Ælgarum suscepit comitatum Haroldi.

1054. . . . Hic obiit Leo papa et Victor post eum suscepit apostolatum.

1055. . . . Hic obiit comes Siwardus, et rex dedit Tosti comitatum eius. Et Algarus comes exul factus (*Ms. corr. from* facatus) est, propterea quod debuit esse delator patrię. Quod ipse ex parte cognovit ita esse, licet verbum illud (*Ms. bis*) improvise exprimeret.

1057. . . . Hic obiit Victor papa et Stephanus abbas de Monte Cassino eligitur ad papatum.

1058. . . .

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

The Index of Proper Names aims at completeness; references are to the annal or annals in which the names occur. The indexing and interpretation of geographical, ethnic, and church names, and of derived adjectives offer little formal difficulty. Where possible, all such names are identified and approximately located; English and Scottish place-names are followed by their county or shire (abbreviated according to Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1940), except in the case of towns which have given their names to a county; here such identification would be superfluous. Place-names are entered under what seems to be the nominative form, though, since the author or scribe often varies and even shifts back and forth between English and Latin, or rather Latinizations of the English names, consistency is scarcely possible.

With personal names, specifically Old-English names, the difficulty of attaining consistency or convenience of reference to other works increases; for the scribe frequently spells the same name, even the name of the same person within one annal, in more than one way. As a main entry I have tried to give the commonest form with a cross-reference, general (e.g., Adel- see Æðel-) or particular (e.g., Alfegus, see Alphegus), where this may be helpful. A second problem arises in connection with a consistent interpretation or glossing of these names, complicated by the fact that most OE personal names gradually passed out of use after the Norman Conquest and thus, except for such familiar survivors as Alfred, Edgar, Edward, and the like, have no fixed modern form. Here I have taken what may be viewed as a course of despair: the names of all personages treated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are glossed according to the main entry in that work and are preceeded by an asterisk (the few in the first Supplement by *S), thus facilitating consultation of that great work. As for the others, I have tried to gloss them by "the simplest or the best known of their genuine Old English variants" (F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford, 1943, p. vi) and, when these names actually occur in Stenton's index, have adopted his entry-form outright. Somewhat the same procedure has been followed with the Scandinavian names; here I have parenthetically added, where possible, the Scandinavian (ON) form of the name to facilitate identification of the person in Scandinavian sources. I have also followed Professor Stenton in various matters of conventional abbreviation. "Pr." refers to the prefatory matter on pp. 243-44.

GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNIC, AND CHURCH NAMES

A

(Æ is alphabetized between Ad and Af)

Abbatia Sancti Augustini, Benedictine abbey of St. Augustine's, so-called despite dedication to St. Peter and St. Paul, Canterbury(K). 1044, 1045, 1048. Cp. Ecclesia Sancte Augustini.

Abbedonensis, Abbod-, of Abingdon(Berks) on the Thames. 1043, 1050.

Acemannesburh, Bath(So). 972. Cp. Badanciester, Baðan.

1. Aclea, perh. Oakley Farm(Do) nr Woodyates. 782, 789.

2. Aclea, unidentified site S. of the Thames; almost certainly not Ockley(Sr). 851.

Ægelesford, Aylesford(K) on the Medway. 1016. Cp. Agelesdreap.

Ælfetee, Elvet Hall now a ward of Durham city. 762.

Ællandun, Ellendun now represented by Wroughton(W). 823.

Æscesdun, the line of the Berks. downs. 871.

Æthlinganig, Isle of Athelney(So) at the confluence of the Tone and Parret. 878.

Affrica Borealis, North Africa. Pr.

Agelesdreap, poss. identical with Ægelesford. 455.

Alba, Alba Longa, mother-city of Rome. Pr.

Aler, Aller(So.). 878.

Ambresburh, Amesbury(W) on the Avon. 995.

Andeferan, Andover(Ha) on the Anton. 994.

Andred, the Sussex Weald. 892. Cp. Andredes Civitas.

Andredes (miswritten Andrecles) Civitas, Roman fort of Anderida adjacent to Pevensey(Sx). 490.

Angli, the English in general and as adj. English. Pr., 448, 473, 552, 596, 597, 605, 614, 640, 681, 692, 787, 874, 885, 958, 979, 995, 1002, 1003, 1013, 1014, 1016, 1018, 1039, 1042, 1051. Cp. Orientales Angli.

Anglia, England. 597, 785, 836, 851, 870, 876, 886, 955, 975, 978, 979, 994, 995, 1002, 1005, 1006, 1008, 1009, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1016, 1017, 1028, 1029, 1031, 1032, 1036, 1040, 1043, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1050, 1051.

Anglice, adv., in English. 1009.

Anglosaxones, see Occidentales Anglosaxones.

Antiochia, Antioch, mod. Antakujah(Syria). 35.

Apulder, Appledore(K) on the Royal Military Canal. 892.

Aquilonares Angli, northern English of Northumbria and the Danelaw who submitted to Sweyn. 1013.

Aquilonares Saxones, people of the northern West-Saxon diocese of Dorchester(O). 1048.

Aquilonii Humbri, Northumbrians. 705. Cp. Nordanhumbreni, -humbri.

Areuua, perh. the Orwell(Sf). 1016.

Armenia, formally Armenia but here for Armorica (Brittany, France). Pr.

Armorici, the Armoricans, Bretons. Pr. Cp. Brittanes.

Assandun, Ashingdon(Ess) nr the Crouch. 1016, 1020.

Australes Humbri, the Southumbrians, i.e., Mercians. 697, 702.

Australes Picti, the southern Picts. 565. Cp. Picti.

Australes Saxones, the Saxons of Sussex. 827, 836, 856, 1011, 1038, 1046. Cp. Australes Saxoni, Suðsexa.

Australes Saxoni, Saxons of Sussex. 823. Cp. Australes Saxones, Suðsexa.

Axemuðe, Axmouth(D) on a now silted up estuary of the Axe. 1048.

B

Baccancelde, Bapchild(K). 694.

Badanciester, Bath(So). 577. Cp. Acemannesburh, Baðan.
Bædaforda (provincia), Bedfordshire. 1011.
Barruc-, see Bearruc-.
Basingas, Basing(Ha) on the Loddon. 871.
Baðan (Bathan), Bath(So). 972, 1013. Cp. Acemannesburh, Badanciester.
B(e)arrucscir, Berkshire. 861, 1011.
Bebbanburh, Bamborough(Nb). 547, 993.
Beverstan, Beverstone(Gl). 1050.
Bolonia, Boulogne-sur-Mer(dép. Pas-de-Calais), France. 892.
Boloniensis, of Boulogne (Fr. boulognois). 1050.
Bosenham, Bosham(Sx). 1048.
Brigge, Bruges(Flem. Brugge, West Flanders). 1037.
Britanni, the Britons, Welsh. 527.
Britones, the Britons, Welsh. Pr., 167, 343, 433, 455, 456, 465, 473, 477, 495, 508, 513, 519, 552, 577, 605.
Brittanes, Brytones, the Bretons of Brittany(France). 890.
Brit(t)an(n)ia, Great Britain. Pr., 60 B.C., 47, 188, 343, 381, 409, 418, 443, 448, 477, 495, 501, 513, 565, 597, 601, 668, 685, 694, 789, 827, 958, 1011.
Brittones, see Britones.
Brunanburh, Bruna's stronghold, unidentified site in the N.W. of England. 938.
Brytones, see Britones, Brittanes.
Bryttania, see Brittannia.
Burgundia, Burgundy, France. 633.
Buccingaham (provincia), Buckinghamshire. 1011.
Burh, Burgh or Burgus Sancti Petri, monastery of Peterborough(Nth) earlier Medeshamstede. 1013.

C

Calne, Calne(W). 978.
Cantia, Kent. 456, 565, 568, 616, 633, 673, 676, 685, 687, 692, 694, 725, 742, 760, 762, 774, 784, 794, 805, 823, 830, 836, 856, 870, 890, 892, 925, 961, 989, 995, 999, 1006, 1009, 1011, 1015, 1016, 1038, 1042, 1050, 1051. In 1042 and 1051 Cantia refers specifically to Canterbury as the archiepiscopal see. Cp. Cent.
Cantuareburh, Canterbury(K) on the Stour. 1009, 1011, 1023. Cp. Cantuaria, Dorobernia, Dorobernensis.
Cantuaria, Canterbury(K) on the Stour. 616, 627, 655, 668, 870, 995, 1050. Cp. Cantuareburh, Dorobernia, Dorobernensis.
Cantuariensis, of Canterbury(K). 742.
Cantuarii, people of Kent, Kentishmen. 552, 694, 796, 827. Cp. Oescingas.
Cari, Chézy-sur-Marne(dép. Seine-et-Marne), France. 887.
Carrum, Carhampton(So). 840.
Cealchyðe, Chelsea(Mx) on the Thames. 785.
Cent, Kent. 686, 687. Cp. Cantia.
Cerdicesleah, unidentified site, perh. in Wilts. 527.
Cerdingesford, see Certicesford.
Certesig, Chertsey(Sr) on the Thames. 964.
Certicesford, Charford(Ha) on the Avon. 506, 519.
Christi Ecclesia, see Ecclesia Christi.
Christianitas, Christendom. 1011.
Cingestun, Kingston-upon-Thames(Sr). 980.
Cirencister, Cirencester(Gl) on the Churn. 577.
Civitas Claudia, "the Claudian City," Gloucester. 1050. Cp. Claudiensis, Glaucister.
Civitas Hrophis, Rochester(K) on the Medway. 604. Cp. Hroveceaster.
Claudiensis?, Claudian, of Gloucester. 1038.

Clovesho, OE Clofeshoh unidentified site, perh. Cliffe-at-Hoo(K). 742.
Coludesburh, Coldingham(Berwicksh.). 679.
Corf, see Porta Corf.
Cornwala, Cornwall. 891. Cp. Wala Occidentalis, Westwala.
Cosham, Cosham(Ha). 1015.
Crecalad, Cricklade(W) on the Churn. 1016.
Creccanford, prob. Crayford(K) on the Cray. 456.
Cumbra, Cumberland, prob. with the addition of Strathclyde. 945, 1000.
Cundot(us), Condé-sur-l'Escaut, Flanders (dép. Nord), France. 883, 887.
Curia Wihtgari, Wihtgar's court or manor, glossing Wihtgaresburh. 544.
Cynete, East Kennet(W) on the Kennet. 1006.

D

Dani, Danes, a name often applied loosely to any and all Scandinavians; cp. ON dönsk tunga for Scandinavian speech in general. 787, 834, 835, 840, 845, 851, 868, 870, 871, 874, 876, 890, 991, 993, 1000, 1002, 1005, 1006, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1016, 1018, 1039, 1047. In 787 the reference is specifically to Norwegians from the district around Hardanger fjord (ON Hörðaland, OE Hæreðaland of certain other texts of the Annals).
Danmarcan, Denmark. 1020. Cp. Denmarca.
Danus, Danish. 999(the Danish army), 1014.
Denmarca, Denmark. 1005, 1019. Cp. Danmarcan.
Deorham, Dyrham(Gl). 577.
Dof(e)ris, Dofras, Dover(K) on the Dour. 694, 1050, 1051.
Domuce (earlier Domnoc), Dunwich(Sf). 633, 653, 797.
Dor, Dore(Db). 827.
Dorcaceaster, Dorchester(O). 635.
Dorobernensis, of Canterbury(K). 667, 796, 803, 851, 888.
Dorobernia, Canterbury(K) on the Stour. 694, 995. Cp. Cantuareburh, Cantuaria.
Dorseton, Dorsætan, people of Dorset, Dorset. 845, 1015.

E

Eastengla, East Anglia. 1017. Cp. Orientalis Anglia.
Eboraca, Eboracum, York on the Ouse. 188, 644, 685, 777, 795, 796, 867, 923, 992, 1023.
Eboracensis, of York. 956, 1020.
Ecclesia beati Pauli, St. Paul's Cathedral, London. 1012.
Ecclesia Christi, also Christi Ecclesia, suburban monastery of Christ Church cathedral, Canterbury(K). 694, 742, 870, 995, 1020.
Ecclesia (Sancti) Salvatoris, Church of the (Holy) Saviour, ancient church within Canterbury(K) dedicated by Augustine. 694.
Ecclesia Sancti Augustini. Cp. Abbatia Sancti Augustini.
Ecclesia Sancte Marie, known as S. Maria in Saxia, later S. Spirito in Sassia or Borgo S. Spirito, Scola Anglorum(q.v.), Rome. 874.
1. Ecclesia Sancti Petri, St Peter's church, Winchester(Ma). 641, 648, 995 (altare beati Petri).
2. Ecclesia Sancti Petri, St Peter's, Rome. 688.
Edwinesclif, unidentified site, perh. in the Eildon Hills(Roxburghsh.). 761.
Egiptus, Egypt. 3, 47.
Eli, Isle of Ely(Ca). 673.
Eligensis, of Ely(Ca). 1022.
Ephesus, Ephesus nr. mod. Ayasuluk (prov. Izmir), Turkey. 98.
(et) Hou, see Hou.
Eðandun, Edington(W). 878.

Eubonia, Isle of Man in the Irish Sea. Pr. Cp. Manau.
Exanmuth, the Exe estuary; this site is referred to as a civitas (Exmouth, D) a few words later. 1001.
Exonia, Exeter(D) on the Exe. 876, 1003.
Exoniensis, of Exeter. 1045.

F

Flandrensis, of Flanders. 1037.
Flandria, Flanders comprising the Belg. prov. of West Flanders centering on Bruges(Brigge, above) and East Flanders centering on Ghent(Gent, below), also part of the Du prov. Zeeland and a considerable portion of NE France (dép. Nord). 1050, 1051.
Folcanstan, Folcesstan, Folkestone(K). 694, 1051.
Framuðe, prob. Poole Harbour at the mouth of the Frome(Do). 1015.
Franci, the Franks, Frankish subjects of Carloman. 885.
Francia, land of the Franks, later France. 856, 882.
Francigena, one of Frankish birth. 650, 890, 1003.
Fuleham, Fulham(Mx). 880.

G

Gafolfordan, Galford(D) on the Lew. 823.
Galli, people of Gaul, Gauls. Pr.
Gallia, -iae, land(s) of the Gauls. 381, 418, 693, 836.
Gemetica, Jumièges(dép. Seine-Inférieure), France. 1050.
Gent, Ghent at the confluence of the Schelde and Lys(Ley), cap. of prov. of East Flanders, Belgium. 880.
Germania, region answering to the Low Countries and western Germany. 443.
Gipesuuic, Ipswich(Sf) on the Orwell. 1010.
Glastin(gaburh?), Glastonbury(So) on the Brue. 943.
Glastoniensis, of Glastonbury(So). 1016.
Glaucister, Glouuecister, Gloucester on the Severn. 577, 1016. Cp. Civitas Claudia.
Gothi, Goths, specifically Visigoths. 409.
Grantebrigg, Cambridge on the Cam. 1010.
Grantebriggensis (provincia), Cambridgeshire. 1011.
Gueiht, see Inis Gueiht.

H

Hædfeld, (Bishops) Hatfield(Herts) on the Lea. 680.
Hagustaldensis, of Hexham(Nb). 685, 806.
Hagustaldesea, Hexham(Nb) on the Tyne. 681.
Hamtunscir, Hampshire, people of Hampshire. 861, 1006, 1011.
Hastingas, people of the Hastings district, district of the Hastings people(Sx). 1011.
Hengestesdun, Hingston Down(Co). 835.
Heortforda, Hertford on the Lea. 673; in 1004 an error for Theotford, q.v.
Hereforda (provincia), Hertfordshire. 1011.
Hibernia, Ybernia, Ireland. Pr., 891, 1050, 1051.
Hispania, the Iberian peninsula. 40.
Hludensis, of Louth(Li) on the Lud. 790.
Hou, prob. Hoo(K), locality on the Isle of Thanet. 694.
Hrenus, the Rhine. 887.
Hreopandun, Repton(Db). 755.
Hripe, Ripon(YWR) on the Ure. 709.
Hrofensis, -phensis, of Rochester(K). 655, 693, 694, 727, 731, 740, 802, 986. Cp. Hroveceaster, also pers. n. Hroph.

(H)roveceaster, -ciester, Rochester(K) on the Medway. 633, 644, 999. Cp. Civitas Hrophis.

Humbra, Humber estuary(os Humbre), dividing Lincs. and Yorks. 827, 993, 1013.

Humbri, see Aquilonii H., Australes H.

Huntodensis (provincia), Huntingdonshire. 1011.

Huuitern, Whithorn (Wigtonsh., Galloway). 565, 762, 777, 791.

Hypwinesflieot for Ypwines-, Ebbsfleet(K) on Pegwell Bay. 448.

Hytha, Hythe(K). 1051.

I, J

Ierselum, Jerusalem, Palestine. 72.

Ierosolima (f.sg., n.pl.), Jerusalem, Palestine. 112, 448.

Ierusalem, Jerusalem, Palestine. 71.

(Insula) Ii, island of Iona, Inner Hebrides (Argyllsh.). 565.

Iiensis, of Iona(Ii). 716.

Ikanhou, OE Icanhoh unidentified site of St. Botulf's monastery, presumably at or nr Boston(Li). 654.

India, India with particular reference to the supposed scene of the missionary activities of the apostles St Bartholomew and St Thomas (shrine at Mylapur, Madras). 883.

Inis Gueiht, Isle of Wight (Welsh Ynys Wyth). Pr. Cp. Vecta Insula.

Insula Vecta, see Vecta Insula.

Ionan, the Yonne(dép. Yonne), France. 887.

Italia, Italy. Pr.

Iudaïcum Regnum, kingdom of Judaea. 12.

Iudea, Judaea, Palestine. 26, 40, 58.

Iudei, the Jews. 52, 62.

L

Lamhida, Lambeth(Sr) on the Thames. 1041.

Legaceaster, -cister, Chester on the Dee. 605, 972.

Licifeldensis, of Lichfield(St). 731.

Limine, the Lympne, old name of the now silted up east branch of the Stour(K, Sx). 892.

Limming, Lyminge(K). 694.

Lindisfaranee, monastery of Lindisfarne, Holy Island(Nb). 780.

Longabardi, the Lombards of northern Italy. 887.

Lundonia, London. 456, 604, 886, 910, 959, 992, 994, 996, 1009, 1012, 1013, 1016, 1023, 1041, 1050, 1051.

Lundoniensis, of London. 616, 731, 1012, 1013, 1018.

M

Macherunta (castrum), mountain fastness of Machaerus in Peraea between Palestine and Arabia, where St John the Baptist was executed by order of Herod Antipas. 30.

Mældun, Maldon(Ess) on the Blackwater(Pant). 991.

Manau, Isle of Man in the Irish Sea(Welsh Manaw). Pr. Cp. Eubonia.

Mealdelmesburh, Malmesbury(W) on the Avon. 1015.

Medeuuæge, the Medway(K, Sx). 999.

Mediterranei Saxones, Middle Saxons, Saxons of Middlesex. 1011.

Medium Regnum, Rodolph's "Middle Kingdom" of Jurane Burgundy (regnum Iurense). 887.

Mercia, Mercia. 794, 796, 1007, 1016, 1017.

Merci(i), Mercians. 656, 676, 704, 742, 755, 774, 796, 822, 823, 825, 827, 828, 851, 868, 870. Cp. Australes Humbri.
Meredun, perh. Merton(Sr). 755.
Merendun (for -tun), unidentified site. 871.
Mese, the Meuse(Maas). 882.
Mideltun, Milton Royal(K) on the Swale. 892, 964.
Mons Cassinus, monastery of Montecassino founded by St Benedict in 529, nr. Cassino (formerly S. Germano, prov. Campania), Italy. 1057.

N

Næss, Dunge Ness, headland on the S coast of Kent. 1051.
Nazaleod (for Nata-), prob. district(terra) centering on Scures(Ha). 508.
Nordanhumbri, the Northumbrians. 547, 559, 625, 738, 757, 827, 892. Cp. Aquilonii Humbri, Nord(an)humbreni.
Nord(an)humbreni, the Northumbrians. 952, 954. Cp. Aquilonii Humbri, Nordanhumbri.
Nordhumbra, Northumbria. 759, 765, 793, 794, 795, 924, 944, 948, 949, 1017.
Normanni, the Normans of Normandy, France. 1050.
Normania, Normandy, France. 876, 928.
Norðwic, Norwich(Nf) on the Wensum. 1004.
Noruuege, Norway. 1028.
Novum Monasterium, the New Minster(monastery) later known as Hyde Abbey, Winchester(Ha). 903, 964, 988. Cp. Vetus Monasterium.

O

Occidens Silva, "West Wood" prob. referring to the belt of forested land between southern Hants and the Selwood Forest(So). 709.
Occidentales Anglosaxones, West-Saxons. 676.
Occidentales Saxones, West-Saxons. 670, 726, 800, 801, 823, 827, 836, 856, 866, 868, 871, 876, 885, 1013, 1038. Cp. Occidentales Anglosaxones, Occidui Saxones, Westsaxones.
Occidentales Uualones, the "West Welsh" or Cornish. 835. Cp. Waloni, Westwala.
Occidui Saxones, West-Saxons. 513, 534. Cp. Occidentales Anglosaxones, Occident. Saxones, Westsaxones.
Oescingas, descendants of the followers of Oesc (see Æsc) s. of Hengest, old designation of the people of Kent. 552. Cp. Cantuarii.
Olanig, Alney island(Gl) in the Severn. 1016.
Orc, Orkney Islands, insular co. of Scotland. Pr. Cp. Orcades.
Orcades insulae, Orkney Islands, insular co. of Scotland. 47. Cp. Orc.
Orientale Regnum, the East Mark (of Bavaria) (OE East Rice) of Ernulfus centering on Würzburg (Würtemberg, Germany). 892. Cp. Regnum ultra Hrenum.
Orientales Angli, East-Angles, people of East Anglia. 633, 676, 1004, 1010, 1011.
Orientales Saxones, East-Saxons, people of Essex. 676(gloss), 797, 823, 827, 856, 870, 1004, 1038, 1042, 1046. In the second instance in 823 and in 827, 1042 Saxones appears to be an error for Angli. Cp. Orientales Saxonici.
Orientales Saxonici, East-Saxons, people of Essex. 604. Cp. Orientales Saxones.
Orientalis Anglia, East Anglia. 1010. Cp. Eastengla.
Otteford, Otford(K) on the Darent. 774.
Oxanaford (provincia), Oxford on the Thames, Oxfordshire. 910, 1009, 1011, 1013, 1015.

P

Pavia, Pavia(prov. Pavia), Italy. 888.

Pedredan, the Parret(Do, So). 845.
Pevenesea, Pevensey(Sx). 1048. Cp. Andredes (civitas).
Picti, the Picts. Pr., 443, 681. Cp. Australes Picti.
Pincanhealh, perh. Finchale(Du) on the Wear. 788.
Porta Corf, Corfe Castle(Do); the name Porta Corf (OE Corfes geat) is preserved in Corfe Gate, Coryates, many miles away. 979.
Portesmuthe, Portsmouth(Ha). 501. Cp. pers. name Port.
Portlocan, Porlock(So). 1051.

R

Raculf(a), Reculver(K). 669, 692, 694.
Readingas, -es, Reading(Berks) at the confluence of the Thames and Kennet. 871, 1006.
Regnum Longabardum, Lombard kingdom of northern Italy contested by Beringarius and Wido. 887.
Regnum Occidentale, Odo's West-Frankish kingdom of Neustria, West Francia. 887.
Regnum Ricardi, Norman duchy of Richard II. 1000.
Regnum ultra Hrenum, Ernulf's East-Frankish kingdom. 887. Cp. Orientale Regnum.
Remigius, see Sanctus Remigius, below.
Roma, Rome, Italy. 40, 44, 47, 51, 52, 58, 160, 409, 443, 565, 667, 688, 721, 737, 780, 797, 800, 814, 856, 874, 883, 888, 927, 989, 995, 997, 1022, 1031, 1049, 1050.
Romani, the Romans. Pr., 60 B.C., 40, 409, 418, 692, 797.
Romanum Imperium, Roman Empire. 46.
Romanus, Roman. 667, 736, 995.
Roveceaster, see Hroveceaster.
Rumenea, Romney(K) N of Næss. 1051.

S

Sanctum (fluvium), the Helgaå, dividing the provinces Blekinge and Skåne, Sweden; OE Ea séo Hálge. 1025.
Sanctus Remigius, abbey of St-Remy, Reims (dép. Marne), France. 1048.
Sanduuic, Sandwich(K) on the Stour. 851, 1006, 1009, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1039, 1048, 1051.
Saxi, Saxons, here the English in general. 605.
Saxones, see Aquilonares S., Australes S., Mediterranei S., Occidentales S., Occidui S., Orientales S., Westsaxones.
Saxoni, Germanic settlers in Britain, the Anglo-Saxons. Pr. Cp. Australes S., Orientales S.
Scandlaudan, Saint-Lô on the Vire (dép. Manche), Normandy, France. 890.
Sceape(a)g, -ig, Isle of Sheppey(K). 694, 856, 1016.
Sceftesburh, Shaftesbury(Do). 1036. Cp. Sceftonia.
Sceftonia, Shaftsbury(Do). 980. Cp. Sceftesburh.
Scir(a)burnensis, of Sherborne(Do). 867, 1044.
Scireburna(n), Sherborne(Do). 861, 910.
Scithi, Scythians. Pr.
Scithia, Scythia, a vague and through the ages fluctuating term, here perh. felt as covering the Rumanian Dobruja. Pr.
Scola Anglorum, the so-called "English School" in Rome. 874, 885. Cp. Ecclesia Sancte Marie, and W. J. Moore, The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum, Fribourg, Switzerland, 1937.
Scotia, Ireland. 565; Scotland. 924, 934, 1031.

Scotti, (1) the Irish. Pr. (1st inst.), 430, 443; (2) Irish settlers in North Britain, the Scotch. Pr. (2d inst.), 924, 948.

Scropesburh, Shrewsbury(Sa) on the Severn. 1006.

Selesburh, Old Sarum nr Salisbury(W). 552, 1003. Cp. Serberiensis.

VII(i.e., Septem) Civitates, the Seven Boroughs, including Lincoln, Stamford(YER), Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, prob. Torksey(Li), and poss. York. 1015.

Serberiensis, of Old Sarum(W), error for Sciraburnensis, q.v. 1006. Cp. Selesburh.

Sigen, the Seine, France. 890.

Snotingaham, Nottingham on the Trent. 868.

Soccaburh, Sockburn(Du) on the Tees. 780.

Stanes, Staines(Mx) on the Thames. 1009.

Streclæde-Uuali, the Strathclyde Welsh. 924.

Streonshealh, representing a name Strensall, apparently the old native name of Whitby(ON Hvítabý), YNR, and not mod. Strensall nr York. 680.

Sudburh, Sudbury(Sf) on the Stour. 797.

Sudre(g)ia, Sudrei, Suthregia, Surrey. 823, 836, 851, 856, 1011.

Suellensis, of Swell(So?), Ms. error for Uuellensis, of Wells(So). 1033.

Sumersætan, Somerset, people of Somerset. 845, 1015.

Suðmynster, prob. Minister on the Isle of Thanet. 694.

Suðsexa, Sussex. 774. Cp. Australes Saxones.

Suthregia, see Sudre(g)ia.

T

Tamisia, the Thames. 823, 851, 892, 999, 1009, 1011, 1013, 1036.

Tenet, Isle of Thanet(K). 694, 969.

Terra Baldwini, domain of Baldwin V ct of Flanders. 1046.

Theotford miswritten Heortford, Thetford(Li). 1004.

Torani, Gaulish people settled on the Loire nr. Tours, France. Pr.

Tornis, Tours(dép. Indre-et-Loire), France. Pr.

Troianus, of Troy or the Troad, Trojan. Pr.

U, V

Vecta Insula, also Insula Vecta, Isle of Wight(Ha). 530, 534, 661, 686, 1006, 1051. Cp. Inis Gueiht.

Vercelleus, Vercelli (prov. Novara), Italy. 1049.

Vetus Monasterium, the Old Minister (monastery), Winchester(Ha). 964, 1036, 1041. Cp. Novum Monasterium.

Undala, Oundle(Nth) on the Nen. 709.

Upmynster, monastery prob. nr Suðmynster. 694.

Uu-, see under W.

W

Wæcedport, Watchet(So) on the Bristol Channel. 987.

Wala Occidentalis, "West Wales," Cornwall. 815. Cp. Cornwala, Westwala.

Walingaford(a), Wallingford(Berks) on the Thames. 1006, 1013.

Uualones, the Cornish. 835. Cp. Wala Occidentalis.

Waloni, the Cornish?, Welsh?, here distinguished from Britoni. Pr.

Uuar(e)ham, Wareham(Do) on the Frome. 979, 980.

Uuellensis miswritten Suell-, of Wells(So). 1033.

Uueclincastreta, Watling Street, here presumably the stretch between Towchester and St Albans. 1013.

Wentanus, of Winchester(Ha). 731, 909, 951, 975, 984, 994, 1006. Cp. Wentoniensis.

Uuentonia, Winchester (Ha) on the Itchen. 641, 861, 1013, 1036, 1041, 1042, 1048.
Wentoniensis, of Winchester (Ha). 648, 903, 910, 931, 934, 935, 984a, 1032, 1046. Cp. Wentanus.
Wereuuelles, Wherwell (Ha). 1050.
Wessaxones, see Westsaxones.
Westmynster, Benedictine monastery of Westminster on what was once Thorney, island formed by two branches of Tyburn brook, now included in the London borough of Westminster (Mx). 1039.
Westmoringaland, Westmorland. 966.
Westsaxones, Wessaxones, the West-Saxons. 634, 709. Cp. Occidentales Saxones, Occidentales Westsaxones, Occidui Saxones.
Westsexa, Westseaxa, Wessex. 641, 994.
Westseaxe, Wessex. 1017.
Westsexan, Wessex. 559, 1016, 1036.
Westwala, "West Wales," Cornwall. 835. Cp. Cornwala, Wala Occidentalis.
Wigornensis, of Worcester on the Severn. 959, 992, 1038.
Wihtgaresburh, Wihtgar's court or manor, commonly identified with the site of Carisbrooke (IoW). 544. Cp. Curia Wihtgari.
Wiltonia, Wilton on the Wiley. 1003. Cp. Wiltuna.
Wiltoniensis, of Wilton on the Wiley. 995.
Wiltuna, Wilton. 871. Cp. Wiltonia.
Wiltunscir, Wiltshire. 870, 1011, 1015.
Winburnan, Wimborne (Do) on the Allen. 871.
Winburnensis, of Wimborne (Do). 718.
Uuippedesfleot, "Wipped's inlet, creek," unidentified site by which the thegn Wipped lost his life, presumably in Kent. 465.
Wyntoniensis, see Wentoniensis.

Y

Ybernia, see Hibernia.

PERSONAL NAMES

A

(Æ is alphabetized between Ad and Af)

Acca, Acca bp of Hexham (Nb) 709-32. 710, 737.
Adel-, see Æðel-.
1. Adrianus, Hadrian, Roman emperor 117-38. 116.
2. Adrianus, Adrian (Hadrian) I pope 772-95. 785, 794.
Adulf (us), see Æðeluulfus.
Æad-, see Ead-.
Æald-, see Eald-.
Æd-, see Ead-.
Ædel-, see Æðel-.
Ægel-, see Æðel- except Ægelbertus.
Ægelbertus francigena, Agilbert, Frankish bp of Wessex 650-c. 660, later bp of Paris under 1 Lotherus. 650.
*Ælferus dux, Ælfhere ealdorman of Mercia, d.983. 975, 980.
Æld-, se Eald.
*1. Ælfgifa (Ymma), Ælfgifu Emma. See Ymma.
*2. Ælfgiva (sancta), (St) Ælfgifu, fl.956, 1st w. of 2 Eadmundus and m. of k. Eadwinus and Eadgarus. 955.
*1. Ælfred (us), often Alvredus, Ælfred, Alfred the Great, 849-901, k. of Wessex

871-901. 856, 868, 870, 871, 875, 876, 878, 882, 883, 885, 886, 888, 890, 891, 901, 924, 925, 940.
2. Ælfredus, Alfred the Ætheling, s. of 6 Æthelredus and Ymma, d. 1036. 1013.
*1. Ælfricus, Ælfric monk of Abingdon(Berks), abp of Canterbury c.995-1005. 995, 997, 1006.
*2. Ælfricus, Ælfric, called Puttoc ("puttock, kite?"), abp of York 1023-51. 1023.
3. Ælfricus, Ælfric II bp of Elmham(Nf) c.1023-38. 1038.
*Ælfðrida, Ælfthryth, 945?-1000, dau. of Ordgarus dux and w. of Eadgarus, k. of England 957-75. 965.
Ælfunus, see Alphunus.
Ælgarus comes, Ælfgar earl of Mercia. 1053, 1055.
*1. Ælla (Ælle), Ælla or Ælle, 1st k. of Deira 560-88. 559, 588.
*2. Ælla, Ælla k. of Northumbria 862-67. 867.
1. Ælle, see 1 Ælla.
*2. Ælle, Ælla or Ælle, Germ. leader and k. of Sussex 447-514? 477, 490, 827.
Ælmærus, Ælfmær abb. of St Augustine's, Canterbury(K). 1011.
Ælsigus, Ælfsige abb. of Peterborough(Nth). 1013.
Ælsinus, Ælfsige II bp of Winchester(Ha) c.1012-13. 1032.
1. Ælstanus Lyvingus, Ælfstan Living abp of Canterbury(K). 1020.
2. Ælstanus, Ælfstan abb. of St Augustine's, Canterbury(K), d.1044. 1044, 1045.
1. Æluuinus capellanus regis, Ælfwine bp of Winchester(Ha) 1032-47. 1032, 1046.
2. Æluuinus, Ælfwine abb. of St Augustine's, Canterbury(K). 1048.
Æluuordus prepositus regis, Ælfweard, king's reeve. 1011.
*Æsc, Æsc or Oisc, s. of Hengest and k. of Kent 488-512? 456, 464, 473. See Oescus, Oescingas (place-names).
Æðe-, see Æðel-.
*1. Ædelboldus, -baldus, Ethelbald or Æthelbald k. of Mercia 716-57. 716, 742, 755.
2. Adelboldus, miswritten for Adeluoldus, Æthelwald bp of Lichfield(St) 818-30. 828.
*3. Aðelbaldus, Ethelbald or Æthelbald k. of Wessex 856-60. 851, 856, 861.
*1. Æðelberhtus, Ethelbert or Æthelberht I, s. of Eormenric and k. of Kent 552?-616. 552, 565, 568, 604, 616, 694, 827, 995.
2. Æðelbertus, Æthelberht s. of Wihtredus and k. of Kent 748-62. 742, 760.
*3. Æðelbertus, (St) Ethelbert or Æthelberht k. of East Anglia, d. 794. 792.
4. Æðelbertus, Æthelberht bp of Whithorn (Wigtonsh., Galloway) 777-89, bp of Hexham(Nb) 789-97. 777, 779, 791, 795, 797.
*5. Æðelbertus, Ethelbert or Æthelberht, s. of Æthelwulf, br. of 3 Aðelbaldus and k. of Kent 853?-60, k. of Wessex and of Kent 860-66. 856, 861, 866.
Ædelburga, Æthelburg d. of Æthelberht I of Kent and widow of Eadwine k. of Deira. 633.
*Æðeldriða (sancta), (St) Etheldreda or Æthelthryth, later Audrey, 630?-679, dau. of Anna k. of East Anglia. 673, 679.
Æðelfridus, Æthelfrith of Bernicia, k. of Northumbria 593-634. 605.
*Æðelgarus, Ethelgar, Æthelgar or Algar abb. of the New Minster, Winchester(Ha) and abp of Canterbury(K) 988-90. 964, 988.
1. Adelhardus, Æthelhard k. of Wessex 726-40. 726, 740.
*2. Æðelhardus, Ethelhard or Æthelhard abb. of Louth(Li)? and abp. of Canterbury(K) 793-805. 790, 796, 800, 803, 995.
Adelmarus dux, Æthelmær the Great, ealdorman of Devon. 1013.
*Ægelnoðus, Ethelnoth or Æthelnoth s. of Adelmarus and abp of Canterbury(K) 1020-38. 1020, 1022, 1023, 1038.
1. Æðelredus, Æthelred k. of Mercia 675-704. 676, 697, 704.

2. Æðelred(us) Aðelwolding, Æthelred I s. of Moll Æthelwald and k. of Northumbria 774-79 and 790-96. 774, 790, 794.
*3. Æþelredus, Ethelred or Æthelred I s. of Æthelwulf and k. of Wessex 866-71, br of Alfred the Great. 866, 868, 870, 871.
*4. Æðeredus, Ethelred or Æthelred abp of Canterbury(K) 870-89. 870, 888.
5. Æðelredus, miswritten for Ælfredus, Alfred the Great. 876.
*6. Æðelredus, Ethelred or Æthelred II the Unready, s. of Eadgarus and k. of England 968?-1016. 979, 980, 986, 994, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1040.
Ægelricus, Æthelric I bp of Selsey(Sx) 1032-38. 1038.
1. Æthelstanus, Athelstan s. of Æthelwulf and under-k. of Kent 839-c.850. 836, 851.
2. Æthelstanus, Athelstan, English baptismal name of Godrum. 890.
*3. Æðestanus, Athelstan s. of Eadweard I and k. of Mercia 924-40. 925, 927, 934, 938, 940.
Æðelswyð, sist. of Alfred the Great, d. 888. 888.
Aðelwolding, patronymic of 2 Æðelredus. 790.
1. Aðeluuoldus, Æthelwald bp of Lindisfarne(Nb) 721-40. 737.
2. Ædelwold, Moll Æthelwald k. of Northumbria 759-65. 759.
*3. Aðeluuoldus, -woldus (sanctus), (St) Ethelwold or Æthelwold I 908?-984, bp of Winchester(Ha) 963-84. 963, 975, 984, 984a.
*Ægeluuordus dux, Ethelwerd or Æthelweard ealdorman of Wessex beyond Selwood and chronicler, d. 998? 994.
*Æðeluulfus (Adulfus), Ethelwulf, Æthelwulf or Athulf, f. of Alfred the Great and k. of Wessex 839-56 and of Kent 856-58. 823, 836, 840, 851, 856, 885.
Agrippa, Herod Agrippa I c.10B.C.-44 A.D., neph. of 2 Herodes tetrarchus. 40, 45.
Agustinus, see Augustinus.
*Aidanus, (St) Aidan monk of Iona and 1st bp of Lindisfarne(Nb) 635-51. 651.
*S Albanus(sanctus), (St) Alban of Verulamium(St Albans, Herts), protomartyr of Britain, d. 303 (22 June). 286, 793.
*Alcmundus, Alchmund or Ealhmund bp of Hexham(Nb) 767-81. 780.
Alexander, (St) Alexander I pope 107-115? 114.
Alfegus, see Alphegus.
Alfredus, see Ælfredus.
Alfric(us) dux, Ælfric ealdorman of Hants. 922, 1003.
*Alfridus, Aldfrith or Ealdfrith k. of Northumbria 685-705. 705.
Alfunus, Ælfhun bp of Dunwich(Sf) c.791-98. 797.
Alfwoldus, see Aluuoldus.
Algarus, see Ælgarus.
Alhred, Ealhred k. of Northumbria 765-74. 765.
Alhstanus, see Ealhstanus.
Almarus, see Ælmærus.
1. Alphegus, Ælfheah I bp of Winchester(Ha) 934-51. 935, 951.
*2. Alphegus(sanctus), Ælfheah II or Alphege, also called Godwine, bp of Winchester(Ha) 984-1005, abp of Canterbury(K) 1005-12. 984, 984a, 994, 1006, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1023.
Alphunus, Ælfhun bp of London c.1002-c.1014. 1012, 1013.
Alricus, ?Ealric s. of Wihtredus and k. of Kent 760-94 (see Plummer's Bede HE II, 338). 694.
Alvredus, see Ælfredus.
Aluuoldus, Ælfweald I k. of Northumbria 779-88. 778, 780, 789.
Anacletus, (St) Anacletus I (13 July) pope and martyr, d. c.91. 99. See also Cletus.
Andreas (sanctus), St Andrew(3 Nov.). 30, 1016.
*Anelaf, Olaf Godfreyson or Guthfrithson (ON Oláfr Guð[f]röðarson), d. 941, Dan. k. of Dublin and Deira. 938, 942.

*An(e)laf(us) Cuiran, Olaf Sihtricson (ON Oláfr Sigtryggsson kváran), d. 981, Dan. k. of Dublin and York. 944, 949, 952.

Anelavus, see Anelafus.

Anlaf, see Anelafus Cuiran.

Anna, Anna k. of East Anglia 635-54. 640.

Antoninus, Antoninus Pius, Roman emperor 138-61. 137.

Arnulfus dux, Earnwulf (Eanwulf of A-text of the Annals) ealdorman of Somerset. 845.

Asc-, see Æsc-.

Ascanius, Ascanius s. of Aeneas and Creusa. Pr. Cp. Silvius.

Aðe(l)-, see Æðel-.

Augustinus, St Augustine, Roman and protoapostle to the English and abp of Canterbury(K) 597-604. 596, 597, 601, 604, 605, 614, 616, 995. See also Abbatia and Ecclesia Sancti Augustini, under place-names.

B

Bagsecg, Bagsecg (?ON Bakskiki "wool-tuft," personal epithet), Dan. leader in England. 871.

*Baldredus, Baldred k. of Kent 805-23. 823.

Balduuinus comes, Baldwn V ct of Flanders 1036-67. 1037, 1046, 1050. See Terra Baldwini.

*Baldulfus, Bealdwulf, also known as Beaduwulf, bp of Whithorn or Candida Casa (Wigtonsh., Galloway) 791-?803. 791, 795.

Bartholomeus (sanctus), (the shrine of) St Bartholomew(24 Aug.) in India. 883. Cp. 1 Thomas.

Bassus, Bass priest and founder of the monastery at Reculver(K). 669.

*Beda presbyter, Bede or Beda historian and priest of Jarrow(Du) 672-735. 734.

1. Benedictus (abbas, beatus), St Benedict of Norcia(prov. Umbria), Italy c. 480-c.544. 482, 509.

2. Benedictus, Benedict VIII pope 1012-24. 1022.

*Beorn comes, Beorn (ON Björn) br. of Dan k. Swein II Estrithson (ON Sveinn Astríðarson), neph. of 4 Godwine, and earl of the Middle Angles, d. 1049. 1048.

Beornmod, Beornmod bp of Rochester(K) c.803-c.842. 802.

*Beornuulfus, Beornwulf k. of Mercia 823-26. 823.

Beringarius, Berengar I emperor, k. of Italy, marquess of Friuli 888-924. 887.

Bernredus, Beornred k. of Mercia, d. c.757. 755.

Biedda, Bede or Beda s. of Port and br. of Megla. 501.

*Birinus, St Birinus or Berin, Roman Benedictine, apostle of Wessex and bp of Dorchester(O) 634-50. 634, 635, 639, 648.

Bonifatius, Boniface V pope 619-25. 627.

*Botulfus(beatus), St Botolph or Botulf founder of a monastery at unidentified Ikanhou and eponymous of Boston(Li), d. 680? 654.

*Breguuinus, Bregwin or Bregowine, continental Saxon, apb of Canterbury(K 758-65. 759, 762, 995.

Britius (sanctus), St Brictius or Brice (13 Nov.) successor of St Martin and bp of Tours(France) c.443. 1002.

Brihtehg, Beorhtheah bp of Worcester 1033-38. 1038.

*Brihtnoðus, Brihtnoth or Byrhtnoth ealdorman of Essex, d. 991. 991.

*1. Brihtricus, Beorhtric or Brihtric k. of Wessex 786-802. 787, 801, 836.

*2. Brihtricus, Beorhtric br. of Eadricus Streona and ealdorman of Mercia. 1009.

*1. Brihtuualdus, -uuoldus, Brihtwald or Berhtwald, 650?-731, abp of Canterbury(K) 693-731. 692, 693, 694, 727, 731, 995.

*2. Brihtuuoldus, Brihtwold or Berhtweald bp of Sherborne(Do) (better Ramsbury,W) 1005-45. 1006 (erroneously bp of Salisbury,W), 1044.

*Brihtulfus, Beorhtwulf or Bertulf k. of Mercia 839-52. 851.
Brihuualdus, see 1 Brihtuuoldus.
Britto, Britto s. of Ascanius and legendary eponymous of Britain. Pr.
Burh(g)redus, Burhred k. of Mercia 852-74. 868, 874.
Byrnstanus, Beornstan bp of Winchester(Ha) 931-34. 931, 934.

C (K)

Candidan, Condidan, otherwise unknown British k., perh. to be associated with Cirencester. 577.
Carlomanus, Carloman br. of Charlemagne and with him joint-ruler of the Franks 768-71. 767.
1. Karolus, Charlemagne k. of the Franks and emperor 768-814. 814.
2. Carolus, Charles II the Bald, s. of Louis the Pious(Lothewicus), f. of Iotheta, and k. of the West Franks 843-77. 856.
3. Carolus (for Carlomanus), Carloman s. of Louis the German and br. of 4 Carolus, k. of Burgundy and Aquitaine 876-84. 885.
4. Carolus, Charles III the Fat, s. of Louis the German and br. of 3 Carolus(Carloman) and k. of the West Franks 881-888. 887.
Catholicus, Catholic. 716.
*Ce(a)dwala, Cædwalla, i.e., Brit. Cadwallon, 659?-89, br. of Mul and k. of Wessex 685-89. 686, 687, 688.
Ceardic, see Cerdic.
*Ceaulin, Ceawlin s. of Cynric and k. of Wessex 560-93. 559, 568, 577, 827.
Cedwala, see Ceadwala.
Celestinus, Celestine I pope 442-32. 430.
Cen(e)ric, see Cynric.
Cenræd, Cenred k. of Mercia 704-709. 702.
*Centwinus, Centwine k. of Wessex 676-85, 676.
*Cenulfus, Cenwulf or Kenulf, d. 1006, bp of Winchester(Ha) 1005-06. 1006.
*Cenuualchus, Cenwalh or Kenwealh, d. 672, s. of Cynegils and k. of Wessex 643-45, 648-72. 641, 645, 646, 648, 672.
Cenuualh, see Cenuualchus.
Cenuulfus, Cenwulf k. of Mercia 796-821. 796 (miswritten Ceoluulfus), 822.
Ceolburgha, Ceolburg abbess of the nunnery of Berkeley(Gl). 805.
*Ceolnoðus, Ceolnoth abp of Canterbury(K) 833-70. 830, 832, 870, 995.
*1. Ceoluulf, Ceolwulf k. of Northumbria 729-37, later monk of Lindisfarne, d. 764. 737.
2. Ceoluulf, Ceolwulf I k. of Mercia 821-23. 822.
1. Ceoluulfus, Ceolwulf bp of Lindsey(Li) 767-96. 794.
2. Ceoluulfus, 796, miswritten for Cenuulfus, above.
Cerdic, Cerdic or Certic, Germ. leader and k. of Wessex, d. 524. 495, 508, 519, 527, 530, 534.
Ceulin, see Ceaulin.
Cimen, Cymen, s. of 2Ælle. 477.
Cineric, see Cyneric.
Cissa, Cissa s. of 2Ælle and br of Cimen. 477, 490.
Claudius, Claudius Roman emperor 41-54. 45, 47, 52, 56.
Clemens, St Clement I(23 Nov.) (Clemens Romanus) pope c.91-c.99. 72, 99, 101.
Cletus, St Cletus, prob. identical with Anacletus q. v. 68.
*Cnut(rex), Canute or Cnut s. of Swein(ON Knútr Sveinsson hinn ríki, gamli), 994?-1035, k. of Denmark and of England 1016-35. 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1028, 1029, 1031, 1036, 1048.
Coinmagil, Coinmail, mod. W. Cynfael, otherwise unknown Brit. k., perh. to be associated with Gloucester. 577.

Columbanus abbas, Irish-born Columbanus of Luxeuil(d.615), in Ms. wrongly corrected from Irish-born St Columba of Iona(d.597), here meant. 565.
Cuda, Cutha, br. of Ceaulin and West-Saxon leader. 568.
*Cudburgha, (St) Cuthburh or Cuthburga sist. of K.Ine and founder of the nunnery of Wimborne(Do). 718.
*Cuicelm, Cwichelm k. of Wessex, d. 636. 636.
Cuiran, see Anelafus.
*1. Cuthberhtus, St Cuthbert bp of Lindisfarne(Nb) 685-87. 685.
2. Cuthberhtus, Cuthbert abp of Canterbury(K) 740-58. 740, 742, 758, 995.
1. Cuðredus, Cuthred k. of Wessex c.648-c.661. 639.
*2. Cutredus (Cudredus), Cuthred k. of Wessex c.740-754. 740, 754.
3. Cuthredus, Cuthred k. of Kent 796-805. 805.
Cuþuuinus, Cuthwine, Germ. and West-Saxon leader. 577.
Cynebrihtus, Cyneberht bp of Winchester c.783-c.803. 800.
*Cynegils, Cynegils or Kinegils f. of Cenuualchus and k. of Wessex 611-43. 635.
1. Cynehardus, Cyneheard bp of Winchester(Ha) 754-c.770. 754.
2. Cynhardus, Cyneheard, West-Saxon prince and br. of Sigbertus. 755.
*Cynericus (Cyn[e]ric), Cynric s. (or more prob. grands.) of Cerdic and k. of Wessex 534-60. 495, 508, 519, 527, 530, 534, 552.
Cyneuualch, see Cenuualchus.
Cyneuuardus, Cyneweard abb. of Milton Royal(K) and bp of Wells(So) c.973-75. 964.
1. Cynewulfus, Cynewulf bp of Lindisfarne 740-80. 782.
2. Cynewulf k. of Wessex 757-86. 755.
Cynricus, see Cynericus.

D

Dagobertus, Dagobert III k. of Neustria 711-16. 715.
*Daniel, Daniel bp of Winchester 705-45. 709, 721, 731.
Denulfus, Denwulf bp of Winchester(Ha) 879-909. 909.
*Deusdedit, Deusdedit 1st English abp of Canterbury(K) 654?-63?. 653, 655, 664, 995.
Dioclitianus, Diocletian, Roman emperor 284-305. 167.
Dionisius (Sanctus), Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. 96.
Domicianus, Domitian, Roman emperor 81-96. 83.
Dubslana, Ir. Dub-slaine ("the black one of the R. Slaney," Anglicized Delaney), Irish pilgrim. 891.
Dudoc, Duduc bp of Wells(So) 1033-60. 1048.
Dunn, Dunn bp of Rochester(K) 741-47. 740.
*Dunstanus (beatus, sanctus), St Dunstan 924-88, bp of Worcester and London, confessor and abp of Canterbury(K) 957-88. 925, 943, 955, 959, 961, 978, 980, 988.

E

*1. Eadbald(us), Eadbald s. of 1 Æthelberhtus and k. of Kent 616-40. 616, 640.
2. Eadbaldus, Eadbald bp of London c.793-c.798. 794.
1. Eadberhtus, Eadberht k. of Kent 725-48. 725.
*2. Eadberhtus Eating, Eadbert or Eadberht s. of Eata and k. of Northumbria 738-58. 738, 757, 768.
3. Eadberhtus Prean, Eadberht or Eadbryht Præn k. of Kent 796-98. 794, 796.
Eadbold, see 1 Eadbaldus.
*Eadgarus, Edgar 944-975, k. of Mercia and Northumbria 957-59 and k. of Wessex 957-75. 958, 959, 964, 965, 969, 972, 975, 1016.
*1. Eadmundus(sanctus), (St) Edmund 841-70, k. of East Anglia 854-70. 870.
*2. Eadmundus, Edmund I the Elder 922?-46, s. of 1 Eaduuardus and k. of Wessex

940-46. 938, 940, 943, 944, 945, 948, 955.

*3. Eadmundus, Edmund Ironside 981?-1016, s. of 6 Æthelredus and k. of Wessex 1016. 1015, 1016.

1. Eadnoðus, Eadnoth I bp of Dorchester(O) 1006-16. 1012.

2. Eadnodus, Eadnoth II bp of Dorchester(O) 1034-49. 1048.

*Eadredus, Eadred br. of 2. Eadmundus and k. of Wessex 946-55. 948, 954, 955.

*Eadricus dux, Edric or Eadric Streona, d. 1017, br. of 2 Brihtricus and ealdorman of Mercia. 1007, 1009, 1015, 1016, 1017.

*Eadsinus, Eadsige or Eadsine abp of Canterbury(K) 1038-50. 1038, 1042, 1043, 1047, 1049.

*1. Eaduuardus (filius Alfredi), Edward I the Elder, s. of Alfred the Great and k. of Wessex 901-24. 901, 910, 924, 925.

*2. Eaduuardus (sanctus), Edward II the martyr 963?-78, s. of Eadgarus and k. of Wessex 975-78. 975, 979, 980.

*3. Eaduuardus Confessor, Edward III the Confessor, s. of 6 Æthelredus and Ymma and k. of England 1042-66. 1013, 1014, 1037, 1040, 1042, 1044, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051.

Eduui(us), Edwy or Eadwig s. of 2 Eadmundus and k. of Wessex 955-59. 955, 958.

*E(a)duuinus, Edwin 585?-633, s. of 1 Ælla and k. of Northumbria 616-33. 601, 627, 633, 827.

Eadulfus, Ea(l)dwulf bp of Worcester 992-1002 and in plurality abp of York 995-1002. 922, 1002.

Eagc-, see Egc-.

*Aldelmus, Aldhelm or Ealdhelm of Malmesbury(W) 640?-709, bp of Sherborne(Do) 705-09. 709.

*Ealdredus, Aldred or Ealdred bp of Worcester 1044-62, abp of York 1061-69. 1049.

Ælduuinus, Ealdwine bp of Lichfield(St) 721-37. 731.

Aldulfus, Ealdwulf bp of Rochester(K) 727-39. 727, 731.

Ealhmundus, Ealhmund k. of Kent c. 784. 784, 801.

Ealhstanus, Ealhstan bp of Sherborne(Do) 824-67. 823, 845, 867.

*Eanbaldus, -boldus, Eanbald I abp of York 780-96. 779, 780, 791, 795, 796, 797.

Eanbertus, Eanberht bp of Hexham(Nb) 800-13. 806.

*Eanflæd, Eanflæd bn 626, dau. of Eaduuinus k. of Northumbria. 627.

*Eardulfus, Eardwulf or Eardulf k. of Northumbria 796-806, d. 810. 795, 806.

Eating, 'son of Eata,' patronymic of 2 Eadberhtus.

Ecg-, see Egc-.

Ed-, see Ead-.

Edwi, see Eduui(us).

1. Egberhtus, Egbert I s. of Erconberhtus and k. of Kent 664-73. 667, 669, 673.

2. Egcberhtus (sanctus), (St) Egbert or Ecgberht 639-729, monk of Iona, Inner Hebrides. 716, 729.

*3. Egcbertus, Egbert or Ecgberht br. of 2 Eadberhtus and abp of York 732-66. 738.

*4. Egcberhtus, Egbert or Ecgberht k. of Wessex 802-39. 801, 815, 823, 827, 834, 835, 836.

Egbrihtus, see 4 Egcberhtus.

1. Egcfridus, Ecgfrith k. of Northumbria 670-85. 673, 677, 697.

2. Egcfridus, -fredus, Egfrith k. of Mercia 796. 785, 794.

Egel-, see names in Ægel- under Æðel-.

Eleutherius, St Eleutherius pope c.174-c.189. 167.

Eaneas, Aeneas, Trojan hero. Pr.

Eoppa, Eoppa priest and evangelist of the IoW. 661.

Eormenricus, Ermenric k. of Kent c.540-60. 552.

Ercengota (sancta), Ercengota dau. of Erconberhtus and nun at Faremoutiers-en-Brie(dép. Seine-et-Marne), France. 640.

Erconberhtus, Ercenberht s. of 1 Eadbaldus, f. of Ercengota and 1 Egberhtus, and k. of Kent 640-64. 640.

Ernulfus, Arnulf duke of Carinthia and k. of the Orientale Regnum or East Mark (of Bavaria) c.850-99. 887.

Eustatius comes, Eustace II ct of Boulogne (dép. Pas-de-Calais, France) 1049-93? 1050.

Evaristus, St Evaristus (26 Oct.) pope c.99-c.107. 104.

F

Farinmagil, Farinmail, mod. W. Ffyrnfael, otherwise unknown Brit. k., perh. to be associated with Bath(So). 557.

Felicianus(sanctus), St Felician (with St Primus, 9 June). 995.

*Felix, St Felix, Burgundian bp of Dunwich(Sf) c.631-47? 633.

*Feologildus, Feologeld abp of Canterbury(K) 832. 829, 995.

Festus, Festus procurator of Judaea 52-60. 56.

For-, see Ford-.

Fordherus, Forthhere bp of Sherborne(Do) 709-?737. 709, 737.

Freana dux, Fræna, English leader. 993.

Frena, Fræna (perh. ON epithet fráni "flashing-eyed"), Dan. jarl. 871.

Friðegist dux, Frithugist, English leader. 993.

Fridegith (regina), Frithugyth w. of 1 Adelhardus. 737.

Fridestanus, Frithustan bp of Winchester(Ha) 909-31. 910, 931.

Friðeuuald, Frithuweald bp of Whithorn(Wigtonsh., Galloway) 735-63. 762.

G

Gaius(Cesar), Gaius Caesar Caligula, Roman emperor 37-41. 39, 44, 45.

Gaius Iulius, Julius Caesar, 102?B.C.-44 B.C. Pr., 409.

Georgius(sanctus), St George(23 April). 1016.

*Germanus(sanctus), St Germanus or Germain c.380-448, bp of Auxerre (France) and missionary to Britain. 343.

Gifmundus, Giefmund bp of Rochester(K) c.678-93. 693.

Godrum Æðelstan, Guthrum (ON Guð[þ]ormr), Dan. leader and k. of East Anglia, d. 890. 878, 890.

Godonus, Goduini(Godwine) of Bede, abp of Lyons and metropolitan of the Gauls, the plur. of the regional name echoing the old tripartite division of Gallia. 693.

1. Godwinus, Godwine, by-name of 2 Alphegus.

2. Godwinus, Godwine, English leader. 993.

3. Goduuinus, Godwine I bp of Rochester(K) 995-?. 1011.

*4. Goduuinus dux, Godwin or Godwine earl of Wessex ?1020-53. 1009, 1036, 1043, 1044, 1046, 1048, 1050, 1051, 1053.

Gratianus, Flavius Gratianus Augustus half-br. of Valentinian II and emperor of the West 379-81. 343, 381.

Gregorius (beatus, sanctus), St Gregory the Great pope 590-604. 482, 565, 596, 601, 605, 785, 951, 995.

*Grimbaldus sacerdos(sanctus), Grimbald 820?-903, monk of St.-Bertin at St.-Omer (dép. Nord, Flanders, France), later helper of Alfred the Great, 893-901. 903.

Grimcytel, Grimcytel(ON Grímketill, -kell) bp of Selsey(Sx) 1039-47. 1038, 1046.

Gunner, Gunner(ON Gunnarr), f. of Thored, English naval commander. 966.

*Guorteguirnus, Vortigern fl. 450, Brit. k. of Kent and SE Britain. 448.

Guthfridus, Guthfrith(ON Guð[f]röðr), f. of Regnoldus, Dan. viking leader. 927.

*Guthlac(us) (sanctus), St Guthlac of Crowland(Li) 673?-714. 714.

H

Hædde, see Hedda.
Hæsten, Hæsten(ON Hásteinn?), Dan. leader. 892.
Halden, Halvdan(ON Hálfdanr), Dan. leader. 871.
*Hardecnut, Hardecanute or Harthacnut (ON Hörða-Knútr) 1019?-1042, s. of Cnut and Ælfgifa-Ymma, k. of Denmark, k. of Wessex 1036-37, k. of England 1040-42. 1036, 1037, 1039, 1040, 1041.
1. Haroldus, Harold (ON Haraldr), Dan. leader. 871.
2. Haroldus, Harold Fairhair (ON Haraldr hárfagri) k. of Norway 850-933 and f. of Yric. 952.
*3. Haroldus, Harold I Harefoot (ON Haraldr hérafótr, "hare's foot, trefoil"?), d. 1040, s. of Cnut and k. of England 1036-40. 1036, 1039.
*4. Haroldus, Harold II 1022?-1066, s. of 44 Goduuinus and br. of Swanus, earl of Wessex and k. of England Jan.-Oct. 1066. 1048, 1050, 1051, 1053.
Heagmundus, Heahmund bp of Sherborne(Do) 868-71. 871.
Heca, Heca bp of Selsey(Sx) 1047-57. 1046.
*Hedda, Heddi or Hæddi bp of Winchester(Ha) 676-705. 676, 703.
Heginus, St Hyginus pope c.138-c.142. 145.
*Hengest, Hengist or Hengest d.488, Jutish leader and with his br. Horsa joint-founder of the English kingdom of Kent. 448, 455, 456, 465, 473.
Hereferdus, Herefrith bp of Winchester(Ha)?-833. 834.
Heremannus, Herman bp of Sherborne(Do) 1058-78. 1044, 1049.
Hermis, Hermas fl. 1st or 2d cent., perh. br. of Pope Pius I(140-45) and author of Pastor or Liber Pastoris. 164.
1. Herodes, Herod the Great, k. of Judaea 37 B.C.-4 B.C. 3, 448.
2. Herodes tetrarcha, Herod Antipas s. of Herod the Great and tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea 4 B.C.-39 A.D. 40.
3. Herod Agrippa I, see Agrippa.
Herodias, Herodias sist. of Herod Agrippa I and mistress of 2 Herodes. 40.
Higbald, Hygebeald bp of Lindisfarne(Nb) 781-802. 780.
*Higbertus, Higbert or Hygebeorht bp of Lichfield(St) and abp of Mercia 779-87? 785.
*Hilda, St Hilda or Hild abbess of Whitby(OE Streonshealh), YNR 614-680. 680.
1. Honorius, Honorius I pope 625-38. 627(1st inst.)
*2. Honorius, (St) Honorius, last Roman abp of Canterbury(K) 627-53. 627(2nd inst.), 633, 653, 995.
*Horsa, Horsa br. of Hengest, d. 455. 448, 455.
Hroph, fictitious eponymous of Hrovesceaster. 604.
Hugo prepositus, Hugh, Frankish reeve of Exeter(D). 1003.
Hunfredus, Hunfrith bp of Winchester(Ha) 744-c.752. 754.
Hyrcus, Eric (ON Eiríkr Hákonarson) earl of Northumbria. 1017. Cp. Yric.

I

1. Iacobus, James s. of Zebedee and elder br. of St John the Evangelist. 45.
2. Iacobus(sanctus), St James br. of Our Lord. 62.
*Ianbertus, Jænbert or Janbriht abp of Canterbury(K) 766-79? 677(?), 762, 763, 785, 790, 995.
*Ida, Ida, 1st k. of Bernicia 547-59. 547, 559.
Ignatius(sanctus), St Ignatius bp of Antioch(Syria) c.50, d. 117. 100, 110.
*Ina, Ine or Ini k. of Wessex 688-726. 688, 694, 726.
Ingild, Ingield br. of Cuthburhga and of Ina, d. 718. 718.
Inguualdus, Ingweald bp of London c.710-45. 731.

Inguare(ON Yngvarr) perh. for Iguare(ON Ifarr), Ivar(ON Ivarr beinlausi) prob. s. of Ragnar loðbrók, Dan. leader in East Anglia. 870.

1. Iohannes(Baptista), St John the Baptist. 30, 448.

2. Iohannes(Evangelista), St John the Evangelist br. of 1 Iacobus. 45, 84, 98, 100.

3. Iohannes, St John, called of Beverly(YER), abp of York 705-18, d. 721. 721.

Iotheta, Judith dau. of 2 Carolus and w. of Æðeluulfus. 856, 885.

Ithamarus, Ithamar bp of Rochester(K) 644-c.660. 665.

Iudocus(sanctus), St Joce(Fr. Josse), Breton saint(13 Dec.). 903.

*Iustus, St Justus bp of Rochester(K) 604-24, abp of Canterbury(K) 624-27. 604, 625, 627, 995.

K see C

L

*Laurentius, St Lawrence or Laurentius abp of Canterbury(K) 604-19. 614, 616, 619, 995.

1. Leo, St Leo III pope 795-816. 796, 797, 815, 816.

2. Leo, St Leo IV pope 847-55. 856.

3. Leo, St Leo IX (Brunno of Egisheim, Upper Alsace) pope 1049-54. 1048, 1054.

*1. Leofricus comes, Leofric earl of Mercia c.1028-57. 1036.

*2. Leofricus, Leofric bp of Exeter(D) 1044?-72. 1045.

Lifwinus abbas, Leofwine but apparently miswritten for Leofrun of C-, D-text, abbess of St Mildred's Minster, Isle of Thanet(K). 1011.

Linus, St Linus pope c.64 or 67- c.76 or 79. 68, 72.

Liofuuinus abbas, Leofwine abb. of Ely(Ca). 1022.

*1. Livingus Ælstanus, Living or Lyfing, by-name of 1 Ælstanus, abp of Canterbury(K) 1013-20. 1013, 1020.

*2. Livingus, Lyfing bp of Crediton(D) 1027 ff., bp of Worcester 1038-40, and in plurality bp of Exeter(D) 1040-46. 1038, 1045.

Lothen, Lothen(ON Loðinn Erlingsson), Norweg. viking prob. s. of Yrling. 1047.

1. Lotherus, Lothar(OHG Hlotheri), Frankish bp of Winchester 670-76 and neph. of Ægelbertus francigena. 670.

2. Lotherus, OE Hlothhere(adapted from Frank. Hlotheri) s. of Eorcenberht and k. of Kent 673-85. 685.

Loth(e)wicus, Louis I the Pious f. of 2 Carolus and Iotheta, emperor of the Franks 816-840. 840, 885.

Lucas, St Luke the Evangelist. 53.

*Lucius, Lucius, legendary 1st Christian k. of Britain. 167.

Ludica, Ludeca k. of Mercia 825-27. 825.

Lyvingus, see 1 Livingus.

M

Maccbethu, Macbeth (Ir. Mac Beathad "son of life"), Irish pilgrim. 891.

Mælinmun (Ir. Maol Ionmhain "beloved priest"), Irish pilgrim. 891.

Marcere, see Marcherus.

Marcherus, Marcere, Morcar (ON Möru-Kári Arngrímsson), br. of Siferthus and with him joint-ruler of the Seven Boroughs (Septem Civitates). 1015.

Marcus evangelista, St Mark the Evangelist. 47, 63, 99.

Maria(sancta), St Mary the Virgin. 995, 1011. See Ecclesia Sancte Marie.

Marinus, Marinus I, also known as Martin II, pope 882-84. 883, 885.

Martianus, Marcian emperor of the East 450-57. 448.

Martinus (beatus), St Martin of Tours(France) c.316-c.397. 444.

Matheus, St Matthew the Evangelist. 38, 40.

Mauricius, Mauritius or Maurice emperor of the East 578-602. 583.

Maximus, Magnus Maximus, ursurping ruler of Britain. 381.
Megla, Mægla s. of Port and br. of Biedda. 501.
*Melcolm (Ir. Maol Colaim "the shorn one, devotee of Columba"), Malcolm II Mackenneth k. of Scots 1005-34. 1031.
*Mellitus, St Mellitus 1st bp of London 604-19, abp of Canterbury(K) 619-24. 604, 616, 624, 995.
Merehuuit, Merehwit, more commonly known as Beorhtwig, bp of Wells(So) 1027-33. 1033.
Michael(sanctus), St Michael the Archangel(29 Sept.). 1011, 1014.
Mildredus, Mildred bp of Worcester c.743-75. 772.
Moll, Æthelwold Moll k. of Northumbria 759-65. 759, 761, 774.
Mul, Mul br. of Caedwala and in 694 wrongly br. of Ina. 686, 687, 694.

N

Nazaleod, Nataleod, Brit. k. 508.
Nero, Nero Claudius Germanicus, Roman emperor 54-68. 46, 49, 56, 58, 70.
Nerva, M. Cocceius Nerva, Roman emperor 96-98. 100.
Nicolaus(sanctus), St Nicholas(6 Dec.) bp of Myra(Lycia, Asia Minor). 343.
*Niellus, Niall Glundubh or Blackknee, s. of Aedh Finnliath and Irish high-king 870?-919. 921.
*Ninan, St Ninian or Ninias apostle and bp of the southern Picts in North Britain, d. c.432. 565.
*Nothelmus, Nothelm abp of Canterbury(K) 735-39. 736, 995.

O

Octavianus, Caius Iulius Octavianus, 1st Roman emperor B.C.28-A.D. 14. 1, 15.
*Oda. Odo or Oda bp of Ramsbury(W) and abp of Canterbury(K) 942-49. 961.
Odo, Odo or Eudes ct of Paris, marquess of Neustria, k. of France 888-898. 887.
Oescus, Æsc or Oisc, surname of Oeric s. of Hengest and k. of Kent 488-512. 552. Cp. Æsc and Oescingas under place-names.
*Offa, Offa k. of Mercia 757-96. 775, 785, 787, 794, 796, 836.
Olavus, (St) Olaf Haroldson(ON Oláfr Haraldsson) martyr and k. of Norway 1015-30. 1028.
Ordgarus dux, Ordgar ealdorman of Devon. 965.
Orðberhtus, Ordberht abb. of Chertsey(Sr). 964.
*Osberhtus, Osberht or Osbrith under-k. of Northumbria 849?-66?, d. 867. 867.
Osbernus, Osbern(ON Asbjörn), Dan. jarl. 871.
*Osred, Osred I s. of Aldfrith 697?-716 and k. of Northumbria 705-16. 705.
*Osred(us), Osred II k. of Northumbria 788-90, d. 792. 789, 790.
*1. Osricus, Osric k. of Northumbria 718-29. 729.
2. Osricus, Osric ealdorman of Dorset. 845.
*Ostrida, Ostrith or Osthryth, d. 697, w. of Æthelred k. of Mercia. 697.
*Osulfus, Oswulf s. of 2 Eadberhtus and k. of Northumbria 757-58 or 758-59. 757.
*1. Osuuald(us), St Oswald 605?-642, k. of Northumbria 634?-42. 633, 635, 641, 827.
2. Osuualdus regulus, Oswald, West-Saxon aetheling. 730, 731.
Osuuine, Oswine, Northumbrian aetheling. 761.
*Osuuiu(s), Oswy or Oswiu 612?-70. k. of Northumbria 643-71. 654. 667, 670, 827.
*Osuuoldus, Oswald bp of Worcester and abp of York 927-92. 992.

P

*Palladius, St Palladius fl.431?, archdeacon and missionary to the Irish. 430.
Pascalis, Paschal I, pope 817-24. 817.

*Paulinus, Paulinus, Roman abp of York 625-33, bp of Rochester(K) 633-44. 601, 625, 627, 633, 644, 995.

Paulus, St Paul the Apostle(29 June). 34, 51, 58, 69.

*Peada, Peada s. of Penda and under-k. of the Middle Angles 653-55 and k. of the South Mercians 655-56. 656.

Pehtuuinus, see Pihtwinus.

*Pelagianus, of the (Irish?) heresiarch Pelagius, fl. 410? 381.

*Penda, 577?-655, k. of Mercia 626-55. 645, 654, 656.

Petrus, St Peter the Apostle(29 June). 30, 35, 44, 47, 68, 69, 72, 616, 648, 694, 995, 1050. See also Ecclesia Sancti Petri.

Pihtwinus, Pihtwine bp of Whithorn(Wigtonsh., Galloway) 763-76. 762, 776.

Pilatus, Pontius Pilate procurator of Judaea 26-36. 26, 38, 44.

Pipinnus rex, Pipin or Pepin II, Merovingian k., d. 714. 714.

Pius, St Pius I pope c.140-54. 164.

*Plegmundus, Plegmund abp of Canterbury(K) 890-914. 890.

Policarpus, St Polycarp martyr and bp of Smyrna(Asia Minor) 69-155. 160.

Port, Port f. of Biedda and Megla, eponymous of Portsmouth(Ha). 501.

Prean, Præn, by-name of 3 Eadbertus. 794, 796.

Primus, St Primus (with St Felician, 9 June) martyr, d. 304. 995.

R

*Reduualdus, Redwald or Rædwald k. of East Anglia 593-627?, erroneously said to be k. of Essex. 827.

Regnoldus, Rægnald I(ON Rögnvaldr), Norweg. k. of York. 923, 924.

*Reinold, Reginald Godfreyson or Rægnald II(ON Rögnvaldr Guð[f]röðarson), half-Dan. k. of York, d. 944? 944.

Remigius(sanctus), see Sanctus Remigius under place-names.

1. Ricardus(senior, vetus), Richard I the Fearless, duke of Normandy 942-96. 942, 1002, 1004.

2. Ricardus(iunior, secundus), Richard II the Good, s. of Ymma and duke of Normandy 996-1026. 1000, 1013, 1023, 1040.

3. Ricardus, Richard III, duke of Normandy 1026-27. 1023.

1. Rodbertus comes, Robert the Devil or the Magnificent, duke of Normandy 1027-35, s. of 2 Ricardus and f. of 2 Willelmus. 1023, 1031.

2. Rodbertus, Robert abb. of Jumièges, bp of London, abp of Canterbury(K) 1051-52. 1050, 1051.

1. Rodulfus, Rudolph abb. of Abingdon(Berks.) and bp in Norway. 1050.

2. Rodulfus, Rodolph I k. of the Middle Kingdom(Medium Regnum, Jurane Burgundy) 888-911(912?). 887.

Rufianus, Rufianus, Ital. abb. of the monastery of St Peter and St Paul, commonly called abbey or church of St. Augustine, Canterbury(K), d. 626? 995.

S

Scrocmagil, error for Bede's Brocmail, Welsh leader. 605.

Sergius, St Sergius I pope 687-701. 688.

Severus, Lucius Septimus Severus, Roman emperor 193-211. 188.

1. Sexburh, Seaxburg dau. of Anna k. of East Anglia and m. of Ercengota. 640.

*2. Sexburh, Sexburga or Seaxburg queen of Wessex 672-73, w. and successor of Cenuualchus. 672.

Sibertus, see Sigbertus.

*1. Sidroc iunior, Sihtric(ON Sigtryggr), Dan. jarl. 871.

*2. Sidroc senior, Sihtric(ON Sigtryggr), Dan. jarl. 871.

*1. Sigebertus, St Sigebert k. of East Anglia 631-34, d.637? 633.

*2. Si(g)bertus, Sigebert k. of Wessex 754?-56? 755.

1. Sigeric, Sigeric k. of Essex ?-799. 797.

*2. Sigeric(us), Siricus, Sigeric or Siric abp of Canterbury(K) 990-94. 989, 991, 995.

Si(g)ferth(us), Siferth(ON Sigfröðr Arngrímsson) br. of Marcherus and with him joint-ruler of the Seven Boroughs(Septem Civitates). 1015.

*Sihtricus, Sihtric(ON Sigtryggr Gale "the bold" or Caech "caecus, the blind") grands. of Ivar(Yngvarr?), Dan. k. in Dublin and in York, d. 927; perh. half-br. of Niellus. 921.

Silvius, Silvius s. of Aeneas and Lavinia. Pr.

1. Simon, St Simon the Apostle(28 Oct.). 100.
2. Simon, Simeon s. of Cleophas and bp of Jerusalem. 112.

Siricus, see 2 Sigericus.

*1. Siwardus comes, Siward (ON Sigurðr digri), Dan. earl of Northumbria, d. 1055. 1055.

2. Siwordus, Sigeweard or Siward abb. of Abingdon(Berks.) and abp of Canterbury(K) 1044-48. 1043, 1047.

Sixtus, Sixtus(Xystus) I pope 116-?125, 6th bp of Rome. 124.

Sperhafoc, Spearhafoc("sparrow-hawk, sparhawk") abb. of Abingdon (Berks.) and bp-elect of London 1050. 1050.

1. Stephanus, St Stephen the Martyr. 34.
2. Stephanus, Stephen (IV) V pope 816-17. 816, 817.
3. Stephanus, Stephen(IX) X abb. of Montecassino(prov. Umbria, Italy) and pope 1057-58. 1057.

*Stigandus, Stigand, d. 1072, bp of Winchester(Ha) 1047 ff. and in plurality abp of Canterbury(K) 1052-70. 1042, 1046, 1051.

Stuf(us), Stuf, Germ. leader in Wessex and IoW. 513, 534.

Suanus, see Swænus, Swanus.

Suifneh, OIr Suibhne (Anglicized Sweeny), unidentified Irish scholar. 891.

*Suithunus(sanctus), St Swithhun or Swithin bp of Winchester(Ha) 852-62. 861.

*Swænus, Sweyn or Svein Forkbeard(ON Sveinn tjúguskegg) f. of Cnut and k. of Denmark, d. 1014. 994, 1003, 1004, 1013, 1014.

*Swanus (filius Godwini), Sweyn or Swegen s. of 4 Goduuinus, d. 1052. 1046, 1048, 1050.

T

*Tatwinus, Tatwin or Tatuini abp of Canterbury(K) 731-34. 731, 734, 995.

Thelesphorus, St Telesphorus martyr and pope c.125-c.36. 134.

*Theodorus(beatus), Theodore, native of Tarsus(Cilicia), 602?-690, prob. Basilian monk and abp of Canterbury(K) 668-90. 668, 670, 673, 680, 685, 690, 995.

Theodosius(iunior), Theodosius II emperor of the East, d. 450. 423.

1. Thomas(sanctus), (the shrine of) St Thomas the Apostle, associated with the foundation of the Church in India; shrine legendarily located at Mylapur nr Madras. 883. Cp. Bartholomeus.
2. Thomas bp of East Anglia c.648-c.654. 653.

Thored(filius Gunneres), Thored(ON Þórðr Gunnarsson) jarl in Westmorland. 966.

*Thurcyllus, -cillus(comes), Thurkill or Thorkell the Tall(ON Þorkell hávi), Dan. Jómsviking, earl in East Anglia, regent of England. 1013, 1017, 1021.

Tiberius(Cesar), Tiberius Claudius Nero, Roman emperor A.D.12-37. 15, 16, 25, 29.

*Tidfridus, Tidferth or Tidfrith bp of Dunwich(Sf) 798-823? 797.

Ti(l)berhtus, Tilberht bp of Hexham(Nb) 781-89. 780.

Titus, Titus s. of Vespasian and Roman emperor 79-81. 71, 81, 83.

*Tobias, Tobias bp of Rochester(K) 697?-726. 693, 694, 727.

*Tosti, Tostig or Tosti s. of 4 Goduuinus and earl of Northumbria, d.1066. 1055.

Traianus, Trajan, Roman emperor c.98-117. 100.
Trumberhtus, Trumberht(Tunberctus of Bede) bp of Hexham(Nb) 681-84. 681, 685.
Trumwine, Trumwine bp of Whithorn(Wigtonsh., Galloway) 681-86. 681.

U(V)

Valentinianus, Valentinian III, Roman emperor of the West 425-55. 448.
Valentinus(sanctus), St Valentine(14 Feb.). 1041.
Ubba, Ubba(ON Ubbi), perh. s. of Ragnar loðbrók and Dan. leader in East Anglia. 870.
Vespasianus, Vespasian, Roman emperor 70-79, f. of Titus. 46, 70, 71, 72, 81.
Victor, Gebhard bp of Eichstätt(Bavaria) and, as Victor II, pope 1055-57. 1054, 1057.
Victorius, Victorius Aquitanus(fl.450-60), originator of the Dionysian or Great Paschal Period, also known as Victorian Period. 25, 29.
Vitalianus, Vitalian pope 657-72. 667, 668.
*Ulfcytel, Ulfcytel or Ulfkell the Heroic(ON Úlfkell snillingr) ealdorman in East Anglia, d. 1016. 1004, 1010.
Ul(l)f, Ulf(ON Úlfr) bp of Dorchester(O) 1050-52. 1048, 1049.
Ulnodus, see Wlnoðus.

W(Uu)

Warburga, Wærburg w. of Wihtredus k. of Kent. 694.
Webheardus, Webheard(Suaebhard of Bede), with Wihtredus joint-ruler of Kent c.692. 692.
Wido, Guy or Guido(OHG Wido) emperor, k. of Italy, and duke of Spoleto 891-94. 887.
Wigbertus, Wigberht bp of Sherborne(Do) c.797-c.820. 814.
Wigferðus, Wigfrith, error for Wigthegn bp of Winchester(Ha) c.809-833. 834.
*Wighardus, Wighard or Wigheard abp-elect of Canterbury(K), d. of the plague in Rome 664. 667.
*Wiglaf, Wiglaf k. of Mercia 827-29, 830-39. 825, 828.
Wihtburga, St Wihtburg dau. of Anna k. of East Anglia c.690-c.743. 797.
*Wihtgarus, Wihtgar, Saxon leader and 1st k. of IoW, d. 544. 513, 534, 544.
*Wihtredus, Wihtred, 552?-616, k. of Kent 690?-725. 692, 694, 725, 742, 760.
1. Wilferdus, Wilfrid abp of York 664-69, 686-91. 661, 677.
2. *Wilfridus(beatus), St Wilfrid or Wilfrith, 634-709, bp of Mercia and in plurality bp of York 705-09. 709, 710.
1. Willelmus, William Longsword s. of Rolla and 2d duke of Normandy 928?-942? 928.
2. *Willelmus, William the Conqueror, 1027?-1087, s. of 1 Rodbertus, duke of Normandy (1035 ff.) and k. of England 1066-87. 1031.
3. Willelmus, William bp of London 1051-75. 1050.
Uuipped (Wipped), Wipped, a thegn slain at Uuippedesfleot. 465.
Wlencing, Wlencing s. of 2 Ælle, early Germ. leader in Britain. 477.
*Wlfelmus, Wulfhelm abp of Canterbury(K) 923-42. 925, 927.
1. *Wulferus(Uulherus), Wulfere s. of Penda and k. of Mercia 659-75. 656, 661, 675.
2. Wlferus, Wulfhere abp of York 854-900. 892.
Wlfredus, Wulfred abp of Canterbury(K) 805-29, d. 832. 803, 804, 814, 815, 829, 995.
Wlfricus, Wulfric abb. of St Augustine's, Canterbury(K). 1044, 1048.
Wlnoðus(Ulnodus), Wulfnoth thegn of Sussex and f. of 4 Goduuinus. 1009.

1. Wlstanus, Wulfstan I abp of York 931-56. 956.
2. Wlstanus, Wulfstan bp of London 996-?. 996.

*3. Wlstanus, Wulfstan II abp of York 1003-23. 1020, 1023.

Y

*Ymma (regina), Emma, called Ælfgifu, dau. of Richard I of Normandy and w. of Æthelred II, later w. of Cnut the Great, d. 1052. 1002, 1013, 1017, 1040, 1051. See 2 Ælfgifa.

Yric, Eric Bloodax (ON Eiríkr blóðöx) s. of 2 Haroldus and k. of Northumbria 952-54. 952, 954.

Yrling, Yrling, prob. ON Erlingr Skjágsson, Norw. viking and f. of Lothen, above. 1047.

Mediaevalia

I. Die Quellen der anonymen *Summe* des Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754

Erst in jüngster Zeit ist die anonyme *Summe* des Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, der dem *Convento di S. Maria delle Grazie* in Padua entstammt, der Forschung zugänglich geworden. Wenn es sich darin auch nicht um das Werk eines der ganz grossen Theologen handelt, so nimmt es doch einen ehrenvollen Platz in der Theologie seiner Zeit ein, da es nicht zuletzt zeigt, wie man am Ausgang der Frühscholastik fähig war, ein geschlossenes Kompendium des von anderen erarbeiteten Wissens zu schaffen.

Die Sentenzenliteratur, die am Anfang dieser Periode stand, hatte die wertvollen Schätze der Vätertradition zusammengefasst. Mit dem Wachsen der Rolle, die mehr und mehr der vernunftmässigen Durchdringung und Formung dieses Stoffes zugewiesen wurde, wuchsen natürlich auch die bedeutenderen Lehrer der Zeit zum Rang der Autorität empor und ihre Lehren wurden so zitiert und ausgewertet. Dies geschah nun zu einem Teil so, dass sich um die grossen magistri eine Reihe von Trabanten scharte. Zu einem anderen wieder so, dass man das Werk eines bedeutenden Lehrers zum Textbuch im Unterricht machte und es zuerst glossierte und später kommentierte. Das beste Beispiel dafür bietet Petrus Lombardus, um dessen Sentenzen und Paulinenkommentar sich alsbald Glossatoren bemühten, um schliesslich die Arbeit an die grossen Kommentatoren weiterzugeben. Eine ähnliche Beobachtung kann man auch am Paulinenkommentar des Gilbert de la Porrée machen. Aber auch wo dies nicht geschah, kann man von Schulen sprechen, die die wichtigsten Lehren ihres Hauptes übernahmen, ohne sich aber meistens zu sträuben, auch noch von anderen zu lernen. Doch blieben im allgemeinen solche Nebeneinflüsse beschränkt, ganz abzusehen von den grossen Gelehrten, an denen auch die Frühscholastik keinen Mangel hatte und die es verstanden, das empfangene Gut selbständig weiterzubilden.

In dieser Umgebung ist nun der Anonymus des Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754 insofern etwas Besonderes, als er sich nicht vollständig in irgend eine Schule einreihen lässt, weil er von einer grösseren Anzahl von Quellen, als man sonst gewohnt ist, herübernimmt.

Bereits ist darauf hingewiesen worden, dass Praepositinus auf ihn grossen Einfluss gehabt hat.[1] O. Lottin[2] hat sodann dafür den Nachweis erbracht, dass auch Simon von Tournai Pate gestanden hat. Dabei handelt es sich nicht um eine vereinzelte Stelle; denn wir können z.B. aus der Christologie hinzufügen:

Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, fol. 22^{v}:	Simon von Tournai, *Quästionen*[3]:
Rationalitas enim predicatur de anima	Rationalitas enim de anima ut de primo

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[1] A. Landgraf, 'Eine neuentdeckte Summe aus der Schule des Praepositinus' *Collectanea Franciscana* I (1931), 289-318. Weitere Belegstellen hiefür vgl. man bei A. Landgraf, 'Der verfolgte Feind und das nicht gehaltene Versprechen in der Theologie der Frühscholastik' *Divus Thomas* (Freiburg-Schweiz, 1944), 27. 'Die Stellungnahme der Frühscholastik zur Lüge der alttestamentlichen Propheten'. Sonderdruck aus der *Theologisch Praktischen Quartalschrift* 92 (1939), 27. Derselbe, 'Die Bestrafung lässlicher Sünden in her Hölle nach dem Urteil der Frühscholastik' *Gregorianum* XXII (1941), 381. Derselbe, 'Die Lehre der Frühscholastik von der knechtischen Furcht' *Divus Thomas* (Freiburg-Schweiz, 1938), 101.

[2] *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale* I (1932), 525*.

[3] J. Warichez, 'Les *Disputationes* de Simon de Tournai' *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 12 (1932), 160 f.

ut primo subiecto et de Simone ut de secundo. A simili, si Christus assumeret Petrum, non fieret Christus Petrus nec econverso. Sed Petrus assumptus inciperet esse de assumente Christo et cum Petro inciperet esse de alio, desineret esse persona. Est enim persona quasi per se una, quia non est de alterius compage vel existantia. Et licet Christus assumtione Petri non fieret Petrus, fieret tamen homo et predicaretur homo de Petro ut de primo subiecto, de Christo vero ut de secundo. Quo modo Simon non est anima, quam habet partem, tamen eius habitu est rationalis.

et de Symone ut de secundo subiecto predicatur. A simili ergo, si Christus assumeret Petrum, nec Christus fieret Petrus nec Petrus fieret Christus. Nec enim assumens fieret assumptum; sed assumptum inciperet esse de assumente, id est Petrus de Christo; et cum inciperet esse de alio, desineret esse persona. Est enim persona quasi per se una, quia non est de alterius compage vel existentia. Et licet assumptione Petri non fieret Petrus, tamen assumptione Petri fieret homo; et predicaretur homo de Petro ut de primo subiecto, de Christo vero ut de secundo; quo modo Symon non est anima, quam habet partem sui, tamen habitu anime est rationalis.[4]

Eine weitere Quelle ist Petrus von Capua:

Summe (Cod. Vat. *lat.* 4304, fol. 66ᵛ):
Quidam ponunt quadrimembrem divisionem dicentes summe bonos omnes, qui sunt in patria, mediocriter bonos omnes, qui sunt in purgatorio; summe malos quidam eorum vocant omnes infideles, qui sine sacramentorum participatione decesserunt, et mediocriter malos fideles dampnatos.

Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, fol. 49ᵛ:
Que omnia ut clarius eluceant, premittenda est defunctorum quadrimembris divisio. Quidam enim sunt summe boni, ut omnes, qui sunt in patria; quidam mediocriter boni, ut omnes, qui sunt in purgatorio; quidam summe mali ut infideles, qui nec fidem habuerunt nec ecclesie sacramenta susceperunt. Quidam mediocriter mali, ut ceteri reprobi.

Ich habe auf diese Stelle,[5] sowie auf den Umstand, dass unser Anonymus in der nun folgenden Diskussion des Problems auf Petrus von Capua Bezug nimmt,[6] bereits hingewiesen.

Eine weitere Stelle ist die folgende:

Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, fol. 20ᵛ:
Item crux est adoranda propter Deum. Sed Deus digniori modo est in bono homine, quia per gratiam, quam in cruce, quia per solam essentiam. Ergo potius bonus homo quam crux est adorandus. Quod falsum est, quia crux, non adoratur ideo, quod Deus in ea digniori modo quam in homine, sed propter institutionem ecclesie, que facta est propter sacramenta nostre salutis ab ea patrata.

Petrus von Capua, *Summe* (Cod. Vat. *lat.* 4304, fol. 55ᵛ):
Item apostolus: Absit michi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Ergo crux est adoranda. Sed Deus non in cruce nisi per essentiam. In homine vero est per essentiam et quodam digniori modo, scilicet per gratiam. Ergo magis est etiam adorandus homo. Responsio: Huiusmodi illatio esset probabilis, si ideo esset crux adoranda, quia Deus est in ea. Sed non ideo est adoranda, sed tantum, quia ecclesia hoc

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[4] Uber einen weiteren Gleichklang vgl. man A. Landgraf, 'Die Stellungnahme der Frühscholastik zur Frage "utrum veniale peccatum possit fieri mortale"' *Acta Pontificiae Academiae Romanae S. Thomae Aq. et Religionis Catholicae* (1941), 120.

[5] A. Landgraf, 'Die Linderung der Höllenstrafen nach der Lehre der Frühscholastik' *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 60 (1936), 318 Anm. 34.

[6] *Ebenda*, 358.

	instituit. Ecclesia autem hoc instituit, quia in ea patrata sunt sacramenta nostre salutis.[7]

Des ferneren teilte ich bereits mit, dass sich auch die Einflusssphäre des Magisters Gandulphus von Bologna[8] hier bemerkbar macht:

Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, fol. 20:	Gandulphus, *Sententiae*, lib. 3, 92:[9]
Predicta autem auctoritas sic est intelligenda: *quem adoramus*, id est exaltamus super omnem creaturam diligendo et credendo cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto una adoratione, id est pari fide et dilectione, ipsum, dico, existentem cum intaminata carne eius et habentem sibi unitam incontaminatam carnem non dividentes carnem eius in adorabilem et non adorandam, non tamen latria, sed dulia.	"Unus igitur Christus est Deus perfectus et homo perfectus, *quem adoramus* cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto", id est quem exaltamus diligendo et credendo supra omnem creaturam cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto "una adoratione", id est pari fide et dilectione, ipsum dico existentem "cum incontaminata eius carne", id est habentem sibi unitam incontaminatam carnem suam "non inadorabilem carnem dicentes", id est non minime adorandam eius carnem dicentes, id est eius carnem venerandam asserentes . . .
Item obponitur: Dicit Augustinus: Ego dominicam carnem, immo perfectam in Christo humanitatem idea adoro, quia ad divinitatem susceptam et divinitati unita<te>m, sed sic est intelligendum: In Christo humanitatem ideo adoro, id est super omnem aliam creaturam exalto, quod, id est quia a divinitate suscepta est et divinitati unita in unionem persone.	Ego dominicam carnem, immo perfectam in Christo humanitatem, ideo adoro, quod a divinitate suscepta et deitati unita est et non aliam . . . Sed predicta verba intelliguntur ita: "Ergo dominicam carnem, immo perfectam in Christo humanitatem ideo adoro," id est super omniam aliam creaturam exalto, "quod", id est quia, "a divinitate suscepta et deitati unita est, et non alium et alium" id est non aliam personam et aliam secundum duas naturas . . .

Auch in der Frage von der Unsündbarkeit Christi zeigt sich ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von Gandulphus.[10]

Die Verwandtschaft des Prologs unseres Anonymus mit dem des Petrus Manducator im *Ms F* 208 (neue Zählung 42) der *Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid* zugeschriebenen zusammen mit dem Umstand, dass sich zugleich in unserm Cod. Vat *lat.* 10754 eine relativ grosse Anzahl von sonst dem Petrus Manducator zugeschriebene Lehren findet, hat mir die Möglichkeit gegeben darzutun, dass der Madrider Prolog ein echtes Werk des Comestors ist und dass dieser eine Sentenzenglosse geschrieben hat.[11] Die Frage bleibt nur, ob der Manducator nun unmittelbar oder bloss mittelbar auf unsern Anonymus eingewirkt hat; denn wir wissen dass schon der Prolog der Manducatorglosse auf den Prolog der Pseudo-Poitiersglosse eingewirkt hat und mit dieser wieder eine ganze Reihe anderer Glossen, wie diejenige zum 4. Sentenzenbuch des Cod. Bamberg Patr. 128 und des *Clm* 22288, oder auch die Glossen des Cod. Paris. Mazarin. *lat.* 758 und der vierten Stichwortglosse des Cod. *lat.* VII C 14 der Bibliotheca Nazionale von Neapel oder auch die Stichwortglosse des Cod. Paris. Nat. *lat.* 3572 verwandtschaftlich verknüpft sind.[12]

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[7] Man vgl. A. Landgraf, 'Der Kult der menschlichen Natur Christi nach de Lehre der Frühscholastik' *Scholastik* XII (1937), 507. Über einen weiteren Gleichklang zwischen Petrus von Capua und unsern Anonymus vgl. man noch A. Landgraf, 'Die Ansicht der Frühscholastik von der Zugehörigkeit des Baptizo te zur Taufform' *Scholastik* XVII (1942), 540. Derselbe, 'Die Stellungnahme der Frühscholastik zur Frage "utrum veniale peccatum possit fieri mortale"' *Acta Pont. Acad. Rom. S. Thomae Aq. et Rel. Cath.* (1941), 118-121.

[8] 'Drei Trabanten des Magisters Gandulphus von Bologna' *Collectanea Franciscana* VII (1937), 372 f.

[9] J. de Walter, *Magistri Gandulphi Bononiensis Sententiarum libri quatuor* (Wien-Breslau, 1924), p. 341.

[10] A. Landgraf, 'Die Lehre von der Unsündbarkeit Christi in der reifenden Frühscholastik' *Scholastik* XIV (1939), 205 f.

[11] A. Landgraf, 'Recherches sur les écrits de Pierre le Mangeur' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* III (1931), 350-357.

Wir können nun dartun, dass der Anonymus des Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754 auch Teile enthält, die sich in der Pseudo-Poitiers-Glosse finden:

Pseudo-Poitiers-Glosse[13] *zu Sent.* 4, dist. 1, c. 7, n. 9:[14]	Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, fol. 32:
"Excepto quod ianuam" etc. Caute lege istud. Non enim baptismus aperit vel umquam aperuit, quod inde palam, quia ante hostie ablationem non aperuit, sicut nec circumcisio, sed potius leo de tribu Juda, id est virtus passionis dominice. Sic ergo expone "excepto quod" etc., id est excepto quod non tantum beneficium circumcisionem sequebatur, quod [*Ms.* hat quam] tamen sequitur baptismum, quia, si parvulus statim decedat post susceptum baptismum, evolat ad gloriam, quod non post [*Ms.* hat potest] circumcisionem. Vel potest dici, quod baptismus aperit ianuam paradisi baptizatis, etsi non simpliciter aperiat, quia ante baptismum est eis clausa, etsi non simpliciter clausa, sicut licet ianua regii palatii sit aperta, non michi est aperta, quia repellor a duro ianitore cum baculo. Circumcisio vero nec circumcisis nec simpliciter aperiebat.	. . . excepto quod regni celestis ianuam intrare poterant etc. Sed hec nulla videtur esse exceptio, quia nec baptismus aperit ianuam paradisi. Solus enim leo de tribu Iuda, id est Christus, id est passionis eius virtus aperuit. Hoc ergo sic intelligendum est: excepto quod non tantum beneficium sequebatur circumcisionem, quantum sequitur baptismum, quia statim parvulus post baptismum decedens evolat ad gratiam, quod non post circumcisionem. Vel potest dici, quod baptismus aperit ianuam baptizatis, etsi non simpliciter aperiat, que ante baptismum est eis clausa, licet non simpliciter clausa.

Eine weitere Stelle:

Pseudo-Poitiers-Glosse[15] *zu Sent.* 4, *dist.* 3, c. 9:[16]	Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, fol. 35:
. . . subaudi communionem superne	. . . subaudi exteriorem communionem societatis fraterne, id est christiane,

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[12] R. M. Martin, 'Notes sur l'oeuvre littéraire de Pierre le Mangeur' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* III (1931), 60-64. A. Landgraf, 'Recherches sur les écrits de Pierre le Mangeur' *Ebenda*, 350-357. Derselbe, 'Mitteilungen zum Sentenzenkommentar Hugos a S. Charo' *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 58 (1934), 396-400. O. Lottin, 'Le prologue des Gloses sur les Sentences attribuées à Pierre de Poitiers', *Recherches de theologie ancienne et médievale* VII (1935), 70-73. H. Weisweiler, 'Eine neue frühe Glosse zum vierten Buch der Sentenzen des Petrus Lombardus' *Geisteswelt des Mittelalters. Studien und Texte.* Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet (Münster i. W. 1935), 360-400. Philip S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers, Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193-1205)* (Washington, D.C., 1936), pp. 145-164. A. Landgraf, 'Drei Zweige der Pseudo-Poitiers-Glosse zu den Sentenzen des Lombarden' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* IX (1937), 167-204. Derselbe, 'Sentenzenglossen des beginnenden 13 Jahrhunderts' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* X (1938), 36-55.

[13] Cod. Paris. Nat. *lat.* 14423 fol. 93^{v}.

[14] Quaracchi (1916), 748.

[15] Cod. Paris Nat. *lat.* 14423 fol. 94^{v}.

[16] Quaracchi (1916), 761.

religionis, quia post susceptum baptismum mortuus in cimiterio sepelietur, missa defunctis pro eo cantatur, ad participationem sacramentorum admittitur, ad sacros ordines et dignitates plerumque promovetur, quod non ante.	quia post baptismum mortuus in cimiterio sepelitur, missa pro eo cantatur, ad sacramenta admittitur, ad ordines et dignitates recipitur.

Erst wenn wir die Glosse des Petrus Manducator besitzen, können wir sagen, ob dieses Gemeinschaftliche mit der Ps. Poitiers-Glosse aus der Manducatorglosse oder aus einer unmittelbaren Benützung der Ps.Poitiers-Glosse stammt.

Schliesslich dürfte es noch interessieren, dass sich auch zu Petrus von Poitiers selber Beziehungen finden. So haben beide, der Anonymus und er,—was ich sonst nirgends fand—gemeinsam, dass sie für die Unterlassung eines Traktates über das Sakrament des Ordo sich darauf berufen, dass dies eher Sache der Dekretisten sei.[17] Man könnte ferner auch an die folgende Stelle denken:

Petrus von Poitiers, *Sententiae*, Lib. 3, c. 1:[18]	Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754, fol. 49:
Sit enim, quod aliquis decedat in peccato mortali et peccato veniali; iste reus est utriusque istorum peccatorum et de neutro penitet, nec punitur modo pro aliquo illorum. Ergo pro utroque illorum punietur. Ergo pro veniali peccato aliqua pena.	. . . ille, qui decedit cum mortali et veniali, pro utroque fuit reus nec penituit nec punitus est pro aliquo illorum ante mortem vel in morte. Ergo pro utroque punietur post mortem in inferno.

Die Abhängigkeit von diesen verschiedenen Quellen ist, wie die von uns gegebenen Proben beweisen, keine servile. Im Gegenteil, der Verfasser weiss durchaus die verschiedenen Ansichten, die er vorfindet, gegen einander abzuwägen. Die Quellen selber scheinen aber von unserm Anonymus eingesehen worden zu sein, so dass die Kenntnis ihres Inhaltes nicht erst aus zweiter Hand kommt. Dies scheint dadurch bewiesen zu sein, dass sich in der ganzen Literatur der Frühscholastik, die ich einsehen konnte, jeweils keine weitere Parallelstelle feststellen liess.

ARTUR LANDGRAF,

Auxiliary Bishop of Bamberg.

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[17] Cod. Vat. *lat.* 10754 fol. 43^{v}: Sexto loco videndum est de sacramento ordinis, qui est ecclesie VI sacramentum, set, ut reverentia de cretistis, qui de eo ultra quam satis est in ipsa decretorum parte pertractant, deferatur et, quia exinde a pueris theologis raro tantum vel numquam sollempniter disputatur, hunc tractatum cum silentio preterimus. Petrus von Poitiers, *Sententiarum libri quinque*, Lib. 5, c. 14 (SSL 211, 1257B): De quinto [sacramento], id est de ordine nil hic dicendum, eo quod decretistis disputatio de his potius quam theologis deservit.

[18] SSL 211, 1062.

II. Le Texte de la *Summa Totius Logicae*

NOUS avons depuis longtemps signalé quelles libertés, parfois singulières, les copistes ont prises avec le texte du *Commentaire des Sentences* de Guillaume d'Occam et celui du *De Sacramento Altaris*.[1] La même chose leur est arrivée avec les *Quodlibets*, le *De Predestinatione*, les *Questiones in Libros Physicorum* et la *Somme de Logique*. Voici, à propos de ce dernier ouvrage, quelques remarques choisies parmi d'autres que l'on pourrait apporter.

On connaît actuellement plus de cinquante copies de ce traité. Un simple coup d'oeil jeté sur ceux des catalogues qui les décrivent avec un peu de précision, suffit à mettre le chercheur en éveil. Bon nombre de manuscrits omettent les deux prologues placés en tête de l'ouvrage dans les diverses éditions. D'autres reproduisent le deuxième et laissent le premier de côté. Alertés par ces divergences, reportons-nous à quelques uns d'entre eux et, sans pousser l'enquête jusque dans le détail, voyons si les différences qu'ils présentent ne poseraient pas des problèmes importants.

Ouvrons en premier lieu le manuscrit *latin* 6430 de la Bibliothèque Nationale qui compte, à ce point de vue, parmi les plus significatifs. Immédiatement une chose nous frappe: le premier prologue ne s'y trouve pas. Quant au deuxième il comprend, en plus du texte fourni par l'édition, un fragment à peu près égal en étendue à ce que celle-ci renferme.[2] Ce fragment dont voici l'explicit . . . *tam per regulas quam per exempla tam philosophica quam theologica declarando* figure en plusieurs autres manuscrits, par exemple le manuscrit *latin* 6431, Florence Laurent. *Plut.* XII *sin cod.* 2, Vatican *latin* 950, 951, 952 et *Ottoboni* 2071. Dans cette partie additionnelle nous trouvons un passage qui rappelle certaines déclarations de Guillaume dans son *Expositio* sur la physique d'Aristote.[3] Faut-il en inférer que cette partie additionnelle, retenue seulement, semble-t-il, par un petit nombre de manuscrits, provient d'un remaniement et constitue une interpolation? Il serait téméraire de l'affirmer. Ce fragment s'harmonise avec ce qui le précède. D'autre part Guillaume s'est beaucoup répété; il a pu, ici comme ailleurs, renouveler spontanément ou à dessein des remarques qu'il avait déjà faites.

Tournons les pages de notre manuscrit et arrivons au feuillet 124^v. A la fin de la première colonne un explicit ainsi conçu: *Expliciunt fallacie* donne à croire que nous sommes à la fin de l'ouvrage. Et en effet la phrase qui le précède: *ut sic consequenter semper respondeat. Et hec de fallaciis ad presens sufficiant* correspond textuellement à celle qui termine le texte dans les éditions. La deuxième colonne a été laissée en blanc par le copiste, mais au feuillet 125^a nous trouvons, transcrit par la même main, sans aucun titre, un fragment qui remplit treize colonnes. Ce fragment débute en ces termes: *Quoniam logici circa obligationes et insolubilia speciales faciunt difficultates* et finit ainsi: *potest faciliter patere equipollentia propositionum modalium; et ideo ista de equipollentiis earum sufficiant.* En présence de quelle oeuvre nous trouvons-nous donc?

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[1] 'Fragments inconnus de G. d'Occam', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1927), 46. 'Sur trois manuscrits occamistes', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, X (1936), 129. 'Remarques sur trois manuscrits occamistes', *loc. cit.* XV (1946), 169.

[2] Voici ce passage tel que nous le lisons dans les manuscrits *latin* 6430 et 6431: Logyce igitur consuetudines prosequendo a terminis ut a principiis exordium sumendum est, deinde de propositionibus, postmodum (6431: postremo) de sillogismis et aliis speciebus argumentationis perscrutatio subsequetur. Et quia, ut plurimum contingit, ante magnam experientiam, subtilitatibus theologie aliarumque facultatum juniores impendere studium, ac per hoc in difficultates inexplicabiles incidunt, que tamen aliis parve sunt aut nulle, et in multiplices prolabuntur errores, veras demonstrationes tanquam sophysticas respuentes et sophysticas pro demonstrationibus recipientes, tractatum hunc scribendum nonnunquam in processu tam (*om.* 6431) per regulas quam (6431: et tam) per exempla tam phylosophica quam theologica (6431: theologica quam philosophica) declarando. Ce passage a été déjà publié par Ehrle, 'Der Sentenzenkommentar des Pisaner Papstes . . .', *Franziskanische Studien*, IX (1925), 101; il suit le ms. *Ottoboni* 2071.

[3] Berlin, *cod. elect.* 974, fol. 86^c; 95^d; Bruges, 557, fol. 105^a, 113^d.

Le manuscrit se charge lui-même d'orienter nos recherches. En effet, à la suite de ce fragment, figurent deux explicits l'un sis au bas de le première colonne du feuillet 128, immédiatement après le texte: *Explicit logyca magistri Guillelmi Occam. Amen*, l'autre placé au haut de la deuxième colonne restée blanche: *Explicit logyca magistri Gulielmi Ocham(?) ordinis minorum.*

Reportons-nous donc, en nous aidant de la table des matières, à l'édition d'Oxford 1665 et voyons si le fragment qui nous occupe ne s'y rencontrerait pas. Nous ne tardons pas à nous apercevoir qu'il s'y trouve effectivement mais qu'on doit y discerner deux parties. La première va de l'incipit signalé ci-dessus au feuillet 127^{a}. En voici la finale:

> Per predicta potest studiosus respondere ad omnia insolubilia, si servando ea velit naturam insolubilium inquirere; quod relinquo ingeniosis quia ista de obligationibus et insolubilibus non inserui nisi propter istius summule complementum ne tanta pars logyce totaliter dimitteretur intacta.

Cette première partie n'est autre que les chapitres 38-45 inclus du troisième livre de la troisième partie; chapitres que l'on ne rencontre pas dans le traité à l'endroit (fol. 111^{a}) où, d'après l'édition,[4] ils auraient dû trouver place.

La deuxième partie, de beaucoup la plus courte, puisqu'elle occupe seulement cinq colonnes, débute par ces mots: *Quia circa propositionum modalium equipollentias* . . . Il s'agit des chapitres 13-16 inclus du livre dont nous venons de parler. Ces chapitres font également défaut dans le corps du traité là (fol. 102^{c}) où, si l'on s'en fie à l'édition,[5] ils devraient se trouver.

Si le manuscrit *latin* 6430 était le seul à présenter ainsi les choses, il n'y aurait pas lieu de s'y arrêter, mais ce n'est pas le cas. Pour mettre un peu de clarté dans nos explications, divisons le problème et considérons d'abord la deuxième partie du fragment, c'est-à-dire les chapitres 13-16.

Ces chapitres ne figurent pas dans le texte donné par le manuscrit *latin* 6431, fol. 60^{a}. Ils ne figurent pas davantage à la fin du traité. On ne les trouve pas non plus dans le manuscrit *latin* 6432, fol. 32^{c}. Auraient-ils pris place à la fin du traité comme dans le manuscrit *latin* 6430? Problème insoluble, puisque le manuscrit s'arrête au chapitre dix-huitième de ce troisième livre de la troisième partie. Dans le manuscrit *latin* 953 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, au fol. 81^{r}-82,^{r} la même lacune se produit; mais les chapitres en question apparaissent à la fin du manuscrit aux feuillets 148^{v}-149^{v}, où, détail que peut-être il convient de relever, ils portent les numéros 1-4.[6]

Et, comme si ces constatations n'étaient pas par elles-mêmes suffisamment troublantes, deux faits les renforcent. Les manuscrits auxquels nous venons de nous reporter doivent appartenir à des familles différentes. Le manuscrit *latin* 6432 ne donne du prologue que la partie contenue dans l'édition; il présente avec les deux autres bien d'autres différences qu'on nous pardonnera de ne pas mentionner. Le manuscrit *latin* 953 contient les deux prologues; les manuscrits *latin* 6430, 6431 et 6432 omettent le premier. D'autre part, confrontons la finale du chapitre douzième donnée par les manuscrits *latin* 6430, 6431 et 6432 avec celle de l'édition. Dans les manuscrits cette finale est ainsi conçue:

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[4] Pp. 479-489.

[5] Pp. 420-425.

[6] Cf. A. Pelzer, *Bibliothecae apostolicae vaticanae codices manuscripti . . . Codices vaticani latini*, II, pars prior, p. 397.

quia si accipiantur materialiter vel simpliciter tales consequentie non tenerent.[7] Dans l'édition nous lisons . . . *non valerent predicte regule. Ut autem habeatur completus tractatus de modalibus dicendum est aliquid de equipollentiis earum.*[8] En voyant cette phrase se greffer ainsi sur le texte, comment ne pas éprouver l'impression qu'elle a été introduite après coup pour justifier la présence dans l'ouvrage de chapitres qui, à l'origine, n'en faisaient pas partie?

Cependant ne nous hâtons pas de conclure. Si nous nous reportons au manuscrit 942 (841) de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai, nous nous trouvons devant un texte tout pareil à celui de l'édition avec laquelle cependant ce manuscrit présente, par ailleurs, des divergences non négligeables. Ouvrons encore le manuscrit 3521 (586) de la Bibliothèque Mazarine. Non seulement les chapitres 13-16 y occupent les feuillets 112^{c}-113^{d}, mais la finale du chapitre douzième est exactement celle que donne l'édition. Or ces deux manuscrits datent du XIV^{e} siècle. Celui de la Mazarine renferme une copie particulièrement soignée.

La première partie du fragment donne lieu à des observations analogues. Les chapitres 38-45 font complètement défaut dans les manuscrits *latin* 6431, fol. 70^{a}. Ils se trouvent à la fin du traité dans les manuscrits *latins* 952, fol. 115^{r}-117^{r}, et 953 fol. 149^{v}-151^{v} de la Bibliothèque Vaticane; dans le premier de ces deux manuscrits ils portent les numéros 1-8; dans le deuxième les chapitres 38-44 portent les numéros 1-7 et le chapitre 45 le numéro 8.[9] Si j'en juge par la description fournie par les catalogues, ils figurent à la même place dans les manuscrits Laurent. *Plut. XII, sin cod.* 4[10] et Cambridge, Peterhouse 102.[11] Quant au manuscrit Vatic. *latin* 951, seuls les chapitres 38 et 39 y sont transcrits après le traité.[12] Ces divers manuscrits appartiennent à des familles différentes puisque, par exemple, les uns 952 et 953, et Laurent *XII, sin cod.* 4 contiennent les deux prologues cependant que d'autres, *latin* 6430 et 951, reproduisent seulement le deuxième ou même, comme celui de Cambridge, n'en reproduisent aucun; puisque, d'un autre côté, le manuscrit *latin* 6430 reproduit les chapitres 13-16 après les chapitres 38-45 et présente tous ces chapitres comme formant un même tout.[13] Dans les manuscrits auxquels j'ai pu me reporter ou dont j'ai eu une description suffisamment précise, le début du chapitre 38 ou premier chapitre de cette partie du fragment ne présente avec le texte fourni par l'édition que des variantes sans aucune importance. Mais à la phrase qui termine le chapitre 45 dans l'édition: *Et ista de insolubilibus pro nunc sufficiant*, les manuscrits substituent celle-ci: *Quia ista de insolubilibus et de obligationibus non inserui nisi propter istius summule complementum, ne tanta pars logyce totaliter dimitteretur intacta.*[14] Ici encore tout se passe comme s'il s'agissait de justifier la présence de ces huits chapitres. Et cette remarque semble trouver confirmation dans le manuscrit *latin* 6431. Le copiste a fait suivre la dernière phrase du chapitre 37: *Iste regule non multum sunt usitate* de l'explicit que voici: *Explicit liber topicorum Guillelmi Ochie*[15] comme pour bien marquer que ce troisième livre de la troisième partie ne comprenait rien de plus.

Faut-il donc admettre, à la suite de Prantl,[16] que la *Somme de Logique* a subi des remaniements et voir dans les chapitres dont nous venons de parler le résultat d'une interpolation?

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[7] Ms. *latin* 6430, fol.102^{c}; 6431, fol.60^{a}; 6432 fol.32^{c}. Les manuscrits *latin* 6430 et 6431 omettent *tales consequentie*; 6430 remplace *tenerent* par *valerent*.

[8] P.420.

[9] Cf. A. Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp.396-397.

[10] Bandini, IV, col. 97.

[11] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1899), p.119.

[12] Cf. Pelzer, *op. cit.* p.395.

[13] C'est peut-être la même distribution que l'on retrouve dans Cézène Malatestiana, *Plut. X sin. cod.* 4. D'après la description donnée par J. M. Muccioli, *Bibliothecae malatestianae catalogues* (Cezenae, 1780), II, p.49, la dernière partie de la *Somme* est constituée dans ce manuscrit par un *De Equipollentia Modalium.*

[14] Ms. Mazarine 3521, fol. 132^{c}. Cambrai, 942 (841), fol. 94^{c}. Cf. Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-397.

[15] Fol. 67^{a}. Cf. *édit. cit.*, p. 479.

On ne saurait résoudre un si gros problème au pied levé. Voici néamoins quelques remarques. D'après Prantl, le remaniement du texte aurait été opéré en Italie à la fin du XIV^e siècle. Si le fait s'est vraiment produit, il doit être antérieur à cette date car tous les manuscrits que nous avons signalés, manuscrits provenant de sources différentes, datent du XIV^e siècle. Mais y a-t-il eu vraiment interpolation? Les chapitres 38-45, pour ne pas revenir sur les chapitres 13-16, figurent dans les manuscrits Vat. *latin* 947, 948, 949, 950 dans le corps même du texte.[17] Ainsi en est-il encore dans le manuscrit de Cambrai et dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Mazarine. Dans ces deux derniers manuscrits, les seuls que j'ai pu voir personnellement, la finale du chapitre 45 est à peu de chose près celle que nous avons signalée ci-dessus: *quia ista de obligationibus et insolubilibus non inserui nisi propter istius summe complementum* (Cambrai: *similitudinem completam*) *ne ista pars logice diminuatur* (Cambrai: *dedicatur*) *intacta*.[18] Or ces deux manuscrits datent du XIV^e siècle. De plus les divergences qu'ils présentent l'un avec l'autre et avec les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane donnent à penser qu'ils ne dérivent pas directement d'un même original. C'est pourquoi l'hypothèse émise par Prantl nous paraît extrèmement problématique.

Quoiqu'il en soit, ces quelques remarques suffisent à montrer combien une édition de la *Somme de Logique* est chose désirable. Certes, étant donné le nombre des manuscrits et l'étendue du texte qu'ils renferment il y faudra beaucoup de travail et de patience. Souhaitons à celui ou à ceux qui entreprendront cette tâche de ne pas trop se hâter, de mener leur enquête jusqu'au bout, d'avoir le courage de compulser tous les manuscrits, d'en déterminer l'âge et la provenance, d'en fixer les rapports, d'en relever les variantes avec soin et de mettre ainsi à la portée des chercheurs un texte auquel ils puissent accorder toute confiance.

L. BAUDRY,
Paris, France.

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[16] *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, (Leipzig, 1855-1870), III, p.329, n.740.

[17] Cf. Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp.391-395.

[18] Mazarine 3521, fol. 129^c. Cambrai, 3521, fol. 94^c.

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